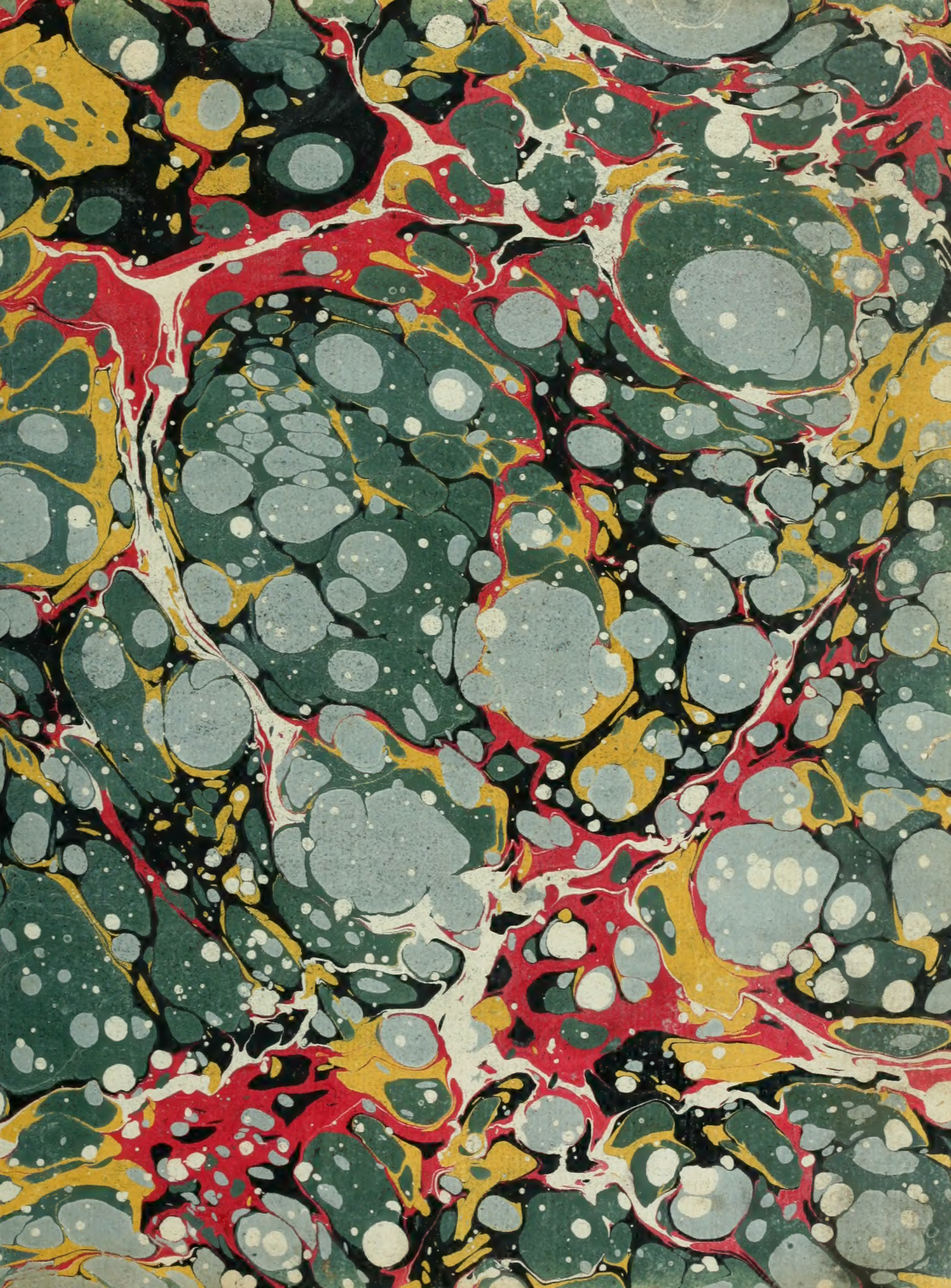


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THE

HISTORY OF AMERICA,

FROM ITS

DISCOVERY BY COLUMBUS

TO THE

CONCLUSION OF THE LATE WAR.

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE PRESENT UNHAPPY CONTEST

BETWEEN

GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES.

BY WILLIAM RUSSELL, ESQ. OF GRAY'S-INN.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

AMERICA.

BOOK III.

CHAP. III.

The Spaniſh *Settlements in the* Weſt Indies.

THE honour of having diſcovered the great archipelago of America, and of having formed the firſt ſettlements there, is due to Spain. The iſland moſt advanced in the range is called Trinidad. Columbus landed on it in 1498, when he diſcovered the mouth of the Orinoco; but other objects interfering, it was at that time neglected, and has never been treated with any degree of attention, though its extent, the fruitfulneſs of its ſoil, and the conveniency of its harbours, would have made it a valuable poſſeſſion. Its culture hath been confined merely to cacao. But this was produced in ſuch perfection, that it was preferred even to that of Caracca; and the Spaniſh merchants in order to ſecure it, ſtrove to anticipate each other by paying for it in advance. Such eagerneſs may ſometimes prove a ſpur to the induſtry of a people naturally active, but is certain ruin to thoſe among whom the love of eaſe has acquired the force of a paſſion. So it proved to the planters in Trinidad, who having received more money and goods than they could repay with that ſingle commodity, in which their whole produce conſiſted, fell by degrees into deſpair; and from the dread of unuſual toil, gave over all thoughts of labour. Since the year 1727, there has been no more cacao to be found on the iſland; which, from that time, hath had no immediate correſpondence with the mother-country. CHAP. III.

The ſame negligence had before ruined Margaretta. This iſland enjoyed a momentary proſperity, in conſequence of a ſpecies of wealth drawn from the bottom

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of the ſea by which it is encompaſſed. In 1498, Columbus diſcovered, at the diſtance only of four leagues from the continent, the little iſland of Cubagua, afterwards called *Pearl Iſland*. The quantity of pearls which were there found, attracted the Spaniards to Cubagua in 1509. They brought with them ſome ſavages from the Bahama iſlands, who had been found little ſervicable in working the mines, but who had a faculty of continuing a long time under water. This talent was employed ſo ſucceſsfully, that great fortunes were acquired in a ſhort time by the fiſhing of pearls. But the pearl banks being ſoon exhauſted, the colony was transferred in 1524, to Margaretta, where ſome banks equally rich had been diſcovered, and which diſappeared in a ſtill ſhorter time. From that period Margaretta became more neglected by Spain than Trinidad.

If the court of Madrid ſtill maintains poſſeſſion of theſe two iſlands, it is more for the ſake of keeping nations of greater induſtry at a diſtance from the continent, than with a view of deriving any advantage itſelf from them. The inhabitants are a mixed race, formed between Spaniards and Indian women, who joining the indolence of the ſavage to the vices of civilized nations, are ſluggards, cheats and zealots. They live on what fiſh they catch, and on bananas, which nature, out of indulgence as it were to their ſlothfulneſs, produces there of a larger ſize, and better quality than in any other part of the American archipelago. They have a breed of lean and taſteleſs cattle, with which they carry on a fraudulent traffic to the French iſlands, exchanging them for European manufactures. All the money which the government ſends to Margaretta and Trinidad falls into the hands of the commandants, the officers civil and military, and the monks. The remainder of the people, who do not amount to more than ſixteen hundred, live in a ſtate of the moſt deplorable poverty.

The inhabitants of Porto Rico are not in a much better condition. This iſland, which is ſituated in the centre of the archipelago, is forty leagues in length, and twenty at its greateſt breath. It was conquered, as already related *, in 1509, by the Spaniards under Ponce de Leon. But that conqueſt, which afterwards coſt the victors dear, was accompanied with ſome circumſtances which deſerve to be particularly noticed. It is generally known that the invention of poiſoned weapons is of the higheſt antiquity. In moſt countries it preceded the uſe of ſteel. When darts headed with ſtone, bones of fiſh, or other hard ſubſtances, proved inſufficient to repel the attacks of wild beaſts, men had recourſe to poiſoned juices; which, though originally deſigned for the deſtruction of animals, were afterwards imployed in war againſt their own ſpecies. Ambition and revenge ſet no bounds to their outrages, till ages had been ſpent in deluging the earth in blood. At length perceiving the fatal effects of ſuch deſolation, men conſented to moderate in ſome degree the thirſt of vengeance. They eſtabliſhed what are called the laws of war, which required the abolition of certain abuſes in the art of killing, and particularly prohibited the uſe of poiſoned weapons.

* Book I. chap. iii. p. 43.

Of

Of all the regions productive of venomous plants, none abound ſo much in them as the ſouthern parts of America; which owe this malignant fertility to a ſoil in general rank, as if purging itſelf from the ſlime of a deluge. The plants called *lianes* furniſh a poiſon that was in univerſal requeſt on the continent. In the iſlands the natives drew their poiſon from trees, more than from the lianes: and of all the poiſonous trees, the moſt deadly is the manchineel. Its trunk, which is ſeldom more than two feet in diameter, is covered with a ſmooth tender bark. Its flowers are of a reddiſh caſt. Its fruit is of the colour of a peach, and has a ſtone in the middle. Its leaves reſemble thoſe of the laurel, and contain a milky fluid. In the heat of the day it is dangerous to handle them, on account of the moiſture which exudes from their pores; and it is ſtill more dangerous to repoſe under the branches, on account of the prodigious quantity of duſt that falls from the innumerable flowers borne by theſe noxious trees. Inciſions being made in the trunk of them, ſhells are placed under to receive the ſap: as ſoon as it is grown a little thick, the Indians ſteep in it the points of their arows, which thence acquire the power of conveying ſudden death, be the wound that they make ever ſo ſlight.

Of the various ſpots where the manchineel is found, Porto Rico is that in which it delights moſt, and where it is found in the greateſt abundance. It ſeems, however, to have proved fatal only to the Americans. The inhabitants of Porto Rico uſed it to repel the Caribs, who made frequent deſcents on their coaſts. The ſame poiſon might have been employed againſt the Europeans; and as the Spaniards were then ignorant, that ſalt applied immediately to the wound is an infallible cure, they would probably have fallen a ſacrifice to the malignant effects of the manchineel. But they did not meet with the ſmalleſt reſiſtance from the natives; who, informed of what had happened in the neighbouring iſlands, regarded thoſe ſtrangers as a ſuperior order of beings, to whoſe dominion they voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves. It was not long, however, before they wiſhed to ſhake off the intolerable yoke which had been impoſed upon them, and poſtponed the attempt only till they could be aſſured whether their tyrants were immortal.

A cazique, named Boyo, was intruſted with this commiſſion. Chance favoured his deſign, by bringing to him Salcedo, a young Spaniard, on a journey. He received him with much reſpect, and at his departure, ſent ſome Indians to ſerve him in the quality of guides. When they came to a river, which they were to paſs, one of theſe ſavages took Salcedo on his ſhoulder, under pretence of carrying him over; but as ſoon as they had got into the middle of the ſtream, he threw him into the water, and with the aſſiſtance of his companions, kept him down till there remained no appearance of life. They then draged him to the bank, where they begged pardon a thouſand times for the accident that had happened, as they were yet uncertain whether he was dead or alive, and afraid of the vengeance that might follow ſuch an atrocious action. This farce laſted three days. At length convinced by the ſtench of the corpſe, that it was poſſible for a Spaniard to die, the Indians roſe, to the number of five thouſand, and maſſacred about a hundred of their oppreſſors.

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Ponce de Leon immediately aſſembled all the Caſtilians that had eſcaped, and without loſs of time fell upon the natives, who were routed with great ſlaughter. In proportion as the number of their enemies encreaſed, by reinforcements from Hiſpaniola, their panic became more violent; and that not merely from the dread inſpired by an augmentation of force: they believed that thoſe whom they had killed were again come to life, and eager on vengeance *. Dreading therefore to continue a war with men who had the power of reviving after death, they ſubmitted once more to the Spaniſh yoke; and being condemned to the mines, which were unfortunately found in their country, fell victims in a ſhort time to the toils of ſlavery.

Theſe acts of barbarity, however, very little promoted the intereſts of Spain. The mines ſoon failed; and an iſland of conſiderable extent, fruitful though unequal, enriched by a great number of rivers, and furniſhed with an excellent port, and coaſts of eaſy acceſs—an iſland which would have formed the proſperity of an active nation, is ſcarcely known in the commercial world. The inhabitants amount barely to fifteen hundred, including Spaniards, Meſtizos and Muſlattoes. They have about three thouſand negroes, whoſe employment is rather to gratify the indolence, than to aſſiſt the induſtry of the proprietors. Both maſters and ſlaves, brought nearly on a level by their ſloth, ſubſiſt alike on maize, potatoes, and caſſada. If they cultivate ſugar, tobacco, cacao, it is only ſo much of each as is neceſſary for their own conſumption. Their exports conſiſts of about two thouſand hides, which they furniſh annually to the mother-country, and a conſiderable number of mules, good in their kind but ſmall. Theſe mules are ſmuggled in to the French and Engliſh ſettlements. The inhabitants of Porto Rico are protected in their idleneſs by a garriſon of two hundred men; which, with the clergy and civil officers, coſt the court of Madrid upwards of ten thouſand pounds ſterling annually. This money, added to what they get for their cattle, is ſufficient to pay the Engliſh, Dutch, French, and Danes, for the linens and other merchandiſe, with which they furniſh them. All the advantage that the Spaniards derive from Porto Rico, is the conveniency of there ſupplying with water and freſh proviſions, their ſhips bound for South America.

Hiſpaniola is now of no more ſervice to Spain than Porto Rico. This iſland, famous for being the firſt European ſettlement in the New World, was for a time in high eſtimation, on account of the quantity of gold which it furniſhed. But that wealth diminiſhed, as we have already ſeen †, with the inhabitants of the country, whom the conquerors obliged to dig it out of the bowels of the earth; and the ſource of it was entirely dried up, when the neighbouring iſlands no longer ſupplied the loſs of thoſe wretched victims to Spaniſh avarice. A vehement deſire of opening again this ſource of wealth, inſpired the barbarous thought of procuring ſlaves from Africa: but the negroes, though more fit than the Indians for the labours of the field, were found incapable of ſuſtaining

* Herrera, dec. I. lib. viii. c. 4.

† Vol. I. book I. chap. iii. p. 41, 42.

the

the ſubterraneous air; and the multitude of mines, which began about that time to be wrought on the continent, made thoſe of Hiſpaniola be entirely neglected.

An idea now ſuggeſted itſelf to the Spaniards, that their negroes, who were healthy, ſtrong, and patient, might be uſefully employed in huſbandry; and they adopted through neceſſity a meaſure, which, had they known their own intereſt, they would ſooner have embraced from choice. The produce of their induſtry was at firſt inconſiderable, becauſe the labourers were few. Charles V. who like moſt ſovereigns, occaſionally ſacrificed the welfare of his ſubjects to the aggrandizement of his favourites, had granted to a Flemiſh nobleman the excluſive right of importing negroes to the New World *. The favourite ſold his patent to the Genoeſe; and thoſe avaricious republicans, carried on their infamous commerce as all monopolies are conducted: they reſolved to ſell dear, though they ſhould ſell only few. But when time and competition had fixed the natural and neceſſary price of ſlaves, their number increaſed, and agriculture was purſued with ſome degree of ſucceſs. It may eaſily, however, be imagined, that the Spaniards who had been accuſtomed to treat the Indians as beaſts of burden, though they differed but little in complexion from themſelves, did not entertain an higher opinion of thoſe African blacks, who had been ſubſtituted in their place. Degraded ſtill lower in their eyes by the price they paid for them, even the menaces of religion could not reſtrain them from aggravating beyond meaſure the weight of the ſervitude of the negroes. It became intolerable; and thoſe wretched ſlaves made an effort to recover the unalienable rights of mankind. The attempt proved unſucceſsful, but it was not altogether fruitleſs: they were afterwards treated with leſs inhumanity.

This moderation, if tyranny reſtrained by the fear of revolt can deſerve that name, was followed by beneficial conſequences. Cultivation flouriſhed; and about the middle of the ſixteenth century, the mother-country drew annually from this colony twenty hundred thouſand weight of ſugar, a large quantity of wood for dying, ſome tobacco, cacao, caſſia, ginger, cotton, and abundance of hides. It might be imagined that ſuch favourable beginnings would have communicated both the means and the deſire of carrying cultivation further; but a train of unfortunate circumſtances, ſome of which have been already enumerated, conſpired to ruin theſe promiſing hopes. The firſt, and moſt fatal of theſe circumſtances, was the depopulation of the iſland in conſequence of the diſcoveries on the continent. On hearing of the immenſe fortunes made in Mexico and Peru, the moſt opulent inhabitants of Hiſpaniola began to deſpiſe their ſettlements: they quitted the true ſource of riches, which is on the ſurface of the earth, to go and ranſack its bowels, in queſt of mines of gold; a leſs uſeful, and more precarious purſuit.

The government endeavoured in vain to ſtop this rage of emigration: the laws were always either artfully eluded or openly violated; and the weakneſs of

* Herrera, dec. II. lib. ii.

BOOK III. the colony, a neceſſary conſequence of ſuch deſertion, by leaving the coaſts without defence, encouraged the enemies of Spain to ravage them. Even St. Domingo, its capital, was taken and pillaged by Sir Francis Drake in 1586. Navigators of leſs conſequence contented themſelves with intercepting veſſels in their paſſage through thoſe latitudes, at that time the beſt known of any in the New World. In this diſtreſs the foreign trade of the colony, and that was illicit, proved its only reſource; and as it continued to be carried on, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the governors, or with their connivance, the policy of an exaſperated ſhort-ſighted court exerted itſelf in demoliſhing moſt of the ſea ports, and driving the miſerable inhabitants into the inland country. This act of violence threw them into a ſtate of dejection, which the incurſions and ſettlement of the French on the iſland, afterwards carried to the utmoſt pitch.

Totally occupied with the government of that vaſt empire which it had eſtabliſhed on the continent, the court of Madrid uſed no means to diſſipate this lethargy; and the colony of Hiſpaniola, which had no longer any intercourſe with the mother-country, except by a ſingle ſhip, that ſailed every third year, conſiſted in 1717, of eighteen thouſand four hundred and ten inhabitants, of all claſſes and conditions, including Spaniards, Meſtizos, negroes, and mulattoes. The complexion and character of theſe people differed according to the different proportions of American, European, or African blood which they had received from their parents. Theſe demi-ſavages, if we may ſo ſpeak, plunged in the extreme of ſloth, lived upon fruits and roots; dwelt in cottages, without furniture, and almoſt without cloaths.

A company was formed at Barcelona in 1757, with excluſive privileges, for the re-eſtabliſhment of Hiſpaniola. It made, however, no conſiderable progreſs; but the free trade which has been ſince opened, as already mentioned *, to all the ſubjects of Spain with her colonies in the Weſt Indies, promiſes more conſiderable advantages. St. Domingo, the capital of the iſland, and the place where this trade is chiefly carried on, is ſituated on the ſide of a plain thirty leagues in length, and from eight to twelve in breadth. This large tract, which if properly cultivated, would furniſh both the luxuries and conveniencies of life to a numerous body of inhabitants, is covered with foreſts and underwood, with ſome paſture-lands interſperſed at intervals. It is level through almoſt its whole extent, but becomes unequal in the neighbourhood of the town, which is built on the banks of the Lozama. Some magnificent ruins are all the remains of this once celebrated city. On the land ſide it has no fortification but a ſimple wall, without either ditch or outworks; but towards the ſea and the river, it is well defended.

Such is the only ſettlement which the Spaniards have maintained on the ſouthern coaſt of Hiſpaniola. On the northern coaſt there is one called Monte Chriſto. This maritime and commercial place has little or no connexion with Spain. It owes its trade to the vicinity of the French plantations. In time of

* Vol. I. book II. chap. ii. p. 370.

peace,

peace, the produce of the plain of Mariboux, ſituated between Fort Dauphin and the bay of Manchineel, is all carried to this port, which is conſtantly filled with Engliſh ſmugglers. When a rupture happens between the courts of London and Verſailles, without involving that of Madrid, Monte Chriſto becomes a conſiderable mart. All the produce of the northern part of the French colony is ſent thither, where ſhips are always ready to take it off; but the moment Spain finds herſelf obliged to take a ſhare in the quarrel between the two rival nations, this trade ceaſes.

The Spaniards have no ſettlements in the weſtern part of Hiſpaniola, which is wholly occupied by the French; but it is not many years ſince they thought of ſettling in the eaſtern part of the iſland, which they had long entirely neglected. This project of cultivation, which by accident ſeems to have found its way into the council of Madrid, might be ſucceſsfully carried into execution in the plains of Vega-Real, ſituated in the interior part of the iſland, and fourſcore leagues in length, by ten at their greateſt breadth. It would be difficult to find throughout the whole New World a tract of equal extent more level, more fruitful, or better watered. All the productions of the Weſt Indies would ſucceed admirably there; but it would be impoſſible to convey them to the ſhore without making roads, an undertaking which would ſtagger nations more enterpriſing and induſtrious than the preſent Spaniards. This difficulty ſhould naturally have led the Spaniſh miniſtry to fix their eyes on the plains of St. Domingo, which are fruitful, though not in ſo great a degree as thoſe of Vega-Real. Probably they were apprehenſive the new coloniſts would adopt the manners of the old, and therefore determined upon Samana.

Samana is a peninſula on the eaſtern part of Hiſpaniola, five leagues broad, and ſixteen long, and is joined to the iſland by a narrow ſlip of very marſhy ground. It forms a bay of fourteen leagues in length, where the anchorage is in fourteen fathom of water, and ſo commodious that ſhips may lie cloſe to the ſhore. This bay is full of little iſlands, of which it is eaſy to keep clear by ſteering cloſe to the weſtern coaſt: beſides the advantage of a fertile ſoil, that peninſula therefore affords a ſituation otherwiſe favourable to trade. Theſe conſiderations induced the firſt French adventurers, who ravaged Hiſpaniola, to ſettle at Samana; where they maintained their ground a long time, though ſurrounded by their enemies. But at length it was found, that they were too much expoſed, and at too great a diſtance from the reſt of the French ſettlements on the iſland, to receive the neceſſary ſupport; they were therefore withdrawn. The Spaniards rejoiced at their departure, but did not take poſſeſſion of the ſpot they had quitted. Within thoſe laſt ten years, however, in conſequence of the reſolution of reſtoring the trade of Hiſpaniola, they ſent thither ſome people from the Canaries, at the expence of the ſtate, which alſo furniſhed them with proviſions for two ſeaſons. But this prudent meaſure has not been attended with ſucceſs: the greater part of the new inhabitants have fallen victims to the climate, to the labour of clearing the ground, or to the arbitrary impoſitions of the governors, whoſe military diſpoſition is deſtructive to commercial eſtabliſhments.

BOOK III. These unpropitious circumstances make the future prosperity of Hispaniola very doubtful, as far as it concerns the Spaniards; but Cuba, favoured both by nature and fortune, will probably compensate for this disadvantage. The island of Cuba, separated from Hispaniola only by a narrow channel, is of itself equal in value to a great part of the West Indies: it is near seven hundred miles in length, and in breadth from fifty to ninety. It was discovered by Columbus in 1492, and conquered in 1511, by Don Diego Velasquez, as has been already related in a manner sufficiently particular *. The principal produce of Cuba is naturally cotton. This shrub, at the time of the conquest, was very common over all the island, and the preservation of it would have been attended with little expence or trouble, as the dryness of the soil is peculiarly adapted to such a culture. It is now, however, become so scarce there, that sometimes several years pass without any of it being sent to Europe.

Although the Spaniards have an insurmountable antipathy against imitation, they have of late adopted the cultivation of coffee at Cuba, in consequence of having observed the rapid progress which it made in the neighbouring islands. But in borrowing the method of culture from foreign planters, they have not borrowed their industry: the whole annual produce therefore amounts barely to thirty or thirty-five thousand weight, one third of which is exported to New, and the rest to Old Spain. It might naturally be expected, that this produce would increase, in proportion as a liquor so familiar to people in hot climates, and so generally desired in Europe, shall become more common among the Spaniards; but a nation which first introduced among its neighbours a taste for coffee, and was the last to cultivate it, is likely to be slow in its improvements.

The propagation of coffee requires that of sugar: it may therefore be worth while to inquire, how far the Spaniards are prepared by the one for the consumption of the other. Sugar, which, as already observed, is the most valuable produce of the West Indies, would of itself be sufficient to give to Cuba that flourishing state of prosperity for which nature seems to have designed it; for although the surface of the island is in general unequal and mountainous, it has plains abundantly extensive and rich to supply the consumption of the greater part of Europe in that article. But so little use has been made of these advantages, that Spain has not only ceased to derive any benefit from the culture of the sugar-cane, but since the juice of this valuable plant has become an article of primary necessity in Europe, the Spaniards have had the mortification to see their country drained annually of an immense sum on that account. Cuba, till within these last ten years, had only a few sugar plantations, where a small quantity of bad sugar was made from very good canes; but since the opening of the free trade in 1765, this and every other culture is said to be considerably increased; so that the Spanish colonies will probably, in time, be able at least to supply the consumption of the mother country, in all those articles which are the produce of the West Indies.

* Vol. I. book I. chap. iii. p. 49, 50.

The moſt conſiderable commodity that Cuba furniſhes at preſent is tobacco, with which it ſupplies both Old and New Spain; but as this tobacco is in univerſal requeſt, wherever it is known, the culture might be greatly extended, and rendered a perpetual ſource of riches. Like all the Spaniſh colonies, Cuba alſo exports hides, ten or twelve thouſand of which it annually ſhips for the mother country; and the number might eaſily be increaſed in an immenſe country abounding in wild cattle, till ſuch time as the lands ſhall be turned to more valuable purpoſes. It would perhaps be aſſerting too much to affirm that the hundredth part of this fertile iſland is cleared. There are only a few inconſiderable plantations in the neighbourhood of St Jago, the neglected capital, and about Matanza, a ſafe and ſpacious bay at the mouth of the Old Channel or Bahama. The valuable plantations are chiefly confined to the beautiful plains of the Havana, and even theſe are not what they ought to be.

Theſe different plantations are ſuppoſed to employ thirty thouſand ſlaves, of every age and ſex, and the Spaniards, Meſtizos, mulattoes, and free negroes upon the iſland, compoſe about an equal number. The food of theſe various races of inhabitants conſiſts of excellent pork, bad beef, but cheap and plenty, and maniac. Even the troops have no other bread but caſſada. The frequent intercourſe with Europeans, has preſerved the inhabitants of Cuba from that languid inactivity ſo common in the Spaniſh colonies in the New World. This intercourſe, the benefit of which it owes to its ſituation, commenced almoſt with the conqueſt of the iſland.

Ponce de Leon having diſcovered Florida in 1512, became acquainted with the New Channel or Bahama. It was immediately perceived, that this would be the beſt route which the ſhips bound from Mexico for Europe could poſſibly purſue. The ſettlement of the Havana, ſituated on the north ſide of Cuba, and which lies contiguous to the channel, was formed in conſequence of this idea; and that port being alſo found convenient for veſſels diſpatched from Carthagena and Porto Bello, which afterwards purſued the ſame courſe, they all put in there to wait for each other, that they might proceed together in more ſafety, and arrive in greater ſtate at the mother country. The vaſt ſums expended during the ſtay of the galleons and fleta, which were the vehicles of the richeſt commerce in the univerſe, made the city abound in money. The number of its inhabitants, which as early as 1601, conſiſted of three hundred families, and was nearly doubled before the end of the century, amounts at preſent to between fifteen and twenty thouſand ſouls. One part of theſe are employed in the dock yards, erected by government for building ſhips of war. The maſts, iron-work, and cordage are brought from Europe, but the other materials are found in abundance upon the iſland. The timber is more eſpecially valuable. Growing under the influence of the hotteſt rays of the ſun, it laſts for ages with moderate care; whereas ſhips built in Europe, dry and ſplit under the torrid zone. This timber begins to be ſcarce in the neighbourhood of the Havana, but it is common on all the coaſts, and the carriage is neither expenſive nor difficult.

Spain

BOOK IV.

Spain is the more interested to multiply her docks here, as the less moft frequented by her fleets lye between the tropics, and the gains which have been lately taken to render the air of the New World impregnable, by additional works, are a further motive for making the Havana the chief theatre of her naval power. The principal of these works is the Caraqua, compoſed of a baſtion, two curtains, and two half baſtions in front. Its right and left lie upon the bank of the harbour. It has caſemates, reſervoirs of water, and powder magazines that are bomb proof, a good covered way, and a wide ditch out in the rock. It is built on an eminence, which commands the Morro, but is itſelf expoſed to attacks from a hill of an equal height, and not above three hundred paces diſtant from it. As it would be eaſy for an enemy to open their trenches under the cover of this hill, the Spaniards intend to level it, after which the Caraqua may command it more eaſily, and its batteries be a great defence. If the garriſon ſhould not think it worth while to defend it, it might blow up the works, which are all underground, and retreat into the Morro, the communication with which cannot poſſibly be cut off.

The fortreſs firſt has been entirely rebuilt ſince the peace: its parapets have been made higher and thicker; a good covered way has been added, and every thing that was wanting to render the garriſon and the Port. It would not be eaſier done to open the trench before the Morro than the Caraqua; and both are built with a view, which will be full conſiderable to the defendants than the common fortifications. Independent of theſe advantages, the two fortreſſes have in their turns a fire extremely hazardous to the beſieged, and eaſily communicating with the way for receiving all ſorts of proviſions, without a poſſibility of being intercepted. Theſe conſiderations, the Morro and Caraqua may be conſidered as impregnable, or at leaſt very difficult to be taken, provided they are ſtrictly and properly, and provided with courage and conduct. Their condemnation is looked on as the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in the Weſt Indies, and muſt be followed by that of the town and harbour, which are both commanded by, and muſt be battered from thoſe eminences.

The fortifications of the city have alſo been improved ſince the peace, and thoſe of the Punta fort, which were very much damaged during the ſiege, repaired. The fort of the Punta conſiſts only of a fort of four baſtions, incloſed from the ſea, which has a ditch, a covered way, a ſmall parapet, caſemates, and reſervoirs of water. This fortification, which is ſituated on an eminence called Cabanas, at the diſtance of three quarters of a mile from the town, will require a large ſtrong garriſon. As the Havana ſtands in a bad air, is ſurrounded at a little diſtance with hills, ſo as to have a view of the ſea, is commanded by a conſiderable fort on the land ſide, and in caſe of an enemy's approach, no freſh water, would they muſt have to be brought from a conſiderable diſtance. A little farther inland, is a burying place, built by the Jeſuits, who built ſince the peace. It is of ſtone, has four baſtions, a covered way, an half moon before the gate, a large ditch, a good rampart, caſemates, reſervoirs, and a ſpacious parade. It is ſcarce three quarters of a mile from the town, and is ſituated on the further

ſide

ſide of a river and an impracticable morass, which cover it in that direction. The riſing ground on which it is founded, is entirely occupied by it, and has been intrenched by the digging of a broad ditch, into which the ſea has a paſſage from the bottom of the harbour. Beſides commanding the communication between the town and the interior part of the iſland, it defends the circuit of the place, by croſſing its fires with thoſe of Arcolitany.

This continuation of works, which will require a garriſon of four thouſand men, has coſt Spain incredible ſums. The purchaſe of the mere materials is computed at two millions of pieces, and the annual expence of labour, for ſix or ſeven years, at upwards of one million. Beſides thoſe immenſe fortifications, the Spaniſh government has formed a particular army for the ſecurity of Cuba. This army is compoſed of two ſquadrons of European dragoons, well mounted and armed; an hundred Miqueletes; a regiment of provincial cavalry, conſiſting of four ſquadrons, and ſeven battalions of militia, who ſince the peace, have been taught to perform their military evolutions with ſurpriſing regularity. Theſe troops, armed, cloathed, and every way accoutred at the expence of government, are to be paid in time of war on the footing of regulars. Their officers, down to the ſerjeants and corporals, are all ſent from Spain, and picked from the moſt diſtinguiſhed regiments.

Whether the ſervice of this militia will be anſwerable to the enormous expence, which the forming of it has coſt, is a queſtion which future events alone can determine; but tho' it ſhould be found ſufficient for the ſecurity of Cuba, aſſiſted by the fortifications already deſcribed, ſuch a military eſtabliſhment is inexcuſable, viewed in a commercial, or even in a political light. The violence which the Spaniſh government has been obliged to uſe, in order to make the inhabitants ſubmit to exerciſes from which they were averſe, has produced no effect but that of increaſing their natural love of repoſe. They deteſt thoſe mechanical and forced movements, which appear ſo much the more inſupportable, as they contribute nothing towards their happineſs. This diſinclination to action extends even to thoſe labours, in which they are moſt intereſted. The eſtabliſhment of the militia has given a check to agriculture. Thoſe productions which were gradually improving have diminiſhed, and will be totally loſt, if Spain continues obſtinately to purſue a pernicious ſyſtem, which falſe principles have induced her to adopt.

The rage of keeping up an army—that madneſs, which under pretence of preventing wars, encourages them; which by introducing deſpotiſm into all the departments of government, paves the way for rebellion among the people; which, continually dragging the peaceful inhabitant from his dwelling, and the huſbandman from his field, extinguiſhes in them the love of their country, by depriving them of its comforts, which can alone be found in the undiſturbed enjoyment of domeſtic tranquillity, will ſooner or later prove the ruin of the Spaniſh colonies in the Weſt Indies, unleſs a change of policy takes place. Thoſe iſlands, which, in the hands of an induſtrious nation, would prove a ſource of inexhauſtible wealth, the moſt extenſive and fertile part of the

BOOK III.

American archipelago, at preſent exhibits nothing but a frightful ſolitude. In place of contributing to the ſtrength and riches of the kingdom to which they belong, theſe ſettlements ſerve only to weaken and exhauſt it, by the ſupplies of men and money required to maintain them.

The treaſures of Mexico and Peru only could enable Spain to ſupport ſuch a continual expence, or induce her to ſubmit to it. How much more profitably might theſe treaſures be employed in encouraging uſeful cultures!—Population, the natural attendant on induſtry, would enable the colonies to protect themſelves more effectually than the ſtrongeſt fortifications, at the ſame time that they enriched the mother-country by their produce, and rendered their own citizens happy, by the more plentiful enjoyment of the conveniencies of life.

CHAP. IV.

The Dutch *Settlements in the* Weſt Indies.

WHEN the inhabitants of the United Provinces, by their gallant efforts, had freed themſelves from the dominion of the ſea and of Spaniſh tyranny, they perceived that they could not reſt the foundation of their freedom on a ſpot that did not afford the neceſſaries of life. They were convinced that commerce, which to moſt nations is no more than an acceſſion, a method only of increaſing the quantity and value of the produce of their reſpective countries, muſt be to them the chief baſis of their exiſtence. Almoſt without territory and without productions, they determined to give a value to thoſe of other nations, ſatisfied that their own would be the neceſſary reſult of the general proſperity. The event has juſtified their political ſyſtem.

The firſt ſtep taken by the Dutch was to eſtabliſh, among the nations of Europe, an exchange of the commodities of the north for thoſe of the ſouth. In a ſhort time the ſea was covered with the ſhips of Holland. All the commercial effects of different nations were collected in her ports, and thence diſperſed to their reſpective deſtinations. There the value of every thing was regulated—and with a moderation which excluded all competition. The ambition of giving greater ſtability and extent to her commerce, excited in the republic a ſpirit of conqueſt. Her empire extended itſelf over a part of the Indian continent, and over all the iſlands of conſequence in the ſea that encompaſſes it. By her fortreſſes or her fleets, ſhe kept in ſubjection a portion of the coaſt of Africa; towards which her ambition, ever attracted by uſeful objects, had turned its attentive and prudent views. Her acquiſitions in America were ſcarcely leſs conſiderable than in Aſia: the immenſe chain of her connexions embraced the univerſe, of which by labour and induſtry ſhe was become the ſoul: in a word, ſhe had attained the univerſal monarchy of commerce, when the Portuguese recovering from that

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languor and inaction, into which the tyranny of Spain had thrown them, found means in 1661, to repoſſeſs themſelves of that part of Brazil which the republic had wreſted from them.

From that time the Dutch would have loſt all footing in the New World, had it not been for a few ſmall iſlands; particularly that of Curaçao, which they had taken from the Spaniards. This rock, which is not above three leagues from the coaſt of Venezuela is about ten leagues long and five broad. It has an excellent harbour, but difficult of entrance. The baſon is extremely large, and convenient in every reſpect. It is defended by a fort ſkilfully conſtructed, and always kept in good repair. The French having, in 1673, corrupted the governor, landed there to the number of five or ſix hundred men; but the treaſon having been diſcovered, and the traitor puniſhed, before their arrival, they met with a reception very different from what they expected, and were obliged to reimbark, with the diſgrace of having only expoſed their own weakneſs and the iniquity of their meaſures.

Lewis XIV. whoſe pride was hurt by this check, ſent out admiral D'Eſtrees, five years after, with eighteen ſhips of war, and twelve buccaneering veſſels, to wipe off the ſtain which, in his eyes, tarniſhed the glory of a reign filled with great and atrocious actions. D'Eſtrees was not far from the place of his deſtination, when by his raſhneſs and obſtinacy, he ran his ſhips a-ground on Davis's Iſland; and after collecting the ſhattered remains of his fleet, returned in a miſerable condition to Breſt, without having attempted any thing. From that time, neither Curaçao, nor the little iſlands of Aruba and Buen-Aire, which are dependent on it have had their tranquillity diſturbed. No nation has thought of diſputing the poſſeſſion of a barren ſpot, which produces only ſome roots and vegetables proper for feeding ſlaves, and paſturage for a few cattle, but not one article of commerce.

St. Euſtatia is little more inviting. This iſland, which is about five leagues in circumference, is nothing but a ſteep mountain riſing out of the ſea in the ſhape of a pyramid. It has properly no harbour, and only one place where ſhips can ride, or boats land with ſafety. The exact time when the Dutch took poſſeſſion of it is not aſcertained, but it is certain they were ſettled there in 1639. During the war between England and Holland in 1665, the Dutch were diſpoſſeſſed of St. Euſtatia by an armament from Jamaica. But the Dutch and French becoming confederates, the Engliſh were expelled, in their turn, by the French, who kept poſſeſſion of the iſland till after the peace of Breda, when it was reſtored to the Dutch. Towards the end of the laſt century, when England and Holland were in alliance againſt Lewis XIV. St. Euſtatia fell again into the hands of the French, who were driven out by the Engliſh under Sir Timothy Thornhill, with the loſs only of eight men. The peace of Ryſwick reſtored to the Dutch the entire property of this iſland, of which they have remained the undiſturbed poſſeſſors ever ſince.

St. Euſtatia produces ſome tobacco, and near ſix hundred thouſand weight of ſugar. The number of people employed in planting, conſiſts of about an hundred

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dred and fifty whites, and fifteen hundred blacks. The number of perſons engaged in trade amounts at leaſt to five hundred, in time of peace; and to twelve or fifteen hundred, whenever this place has the happineſs of being neuter in time of war. Though inconſiderable itſelf as a colony, it has ſpared ſome of its inhabitants to people a neighbouring iſland, known by the name of Saba. This is a ſteep rock, on the top of which is ſome ground very proper for gardening. Frequent rains, that do not lie any time on the ſoil, give growth to fruits of an excellent flavour, and cabbages of an extraordinary ſize. Fifty European families, with about an hundred and fifty ſlaves, here raiſe cotton, ſpin it, and make ſtockings of it, which they ſell to the other colonies as high as a guinea a pair. Throughout all the Weſt Indies there is no air ſo pure as that of Saba: hence the women preſerve a freſhneſs of complexion that is not to be found in any of the other iſlands. Happy colony! which, elevated on the ſumit of a rock, between the ſea and ſky, enjoys the benefit of both elements without dreading their ſtorms; whoſe induſtrious inhabitants breathe the moſt refreſhing gales, and cultivate a ſimple commodity, from which they derive the conveniencies, without the luxuries of life.

This, ſays Raynal, is the Temple of Peace, whence the philoſopher may contemplate at leiſure the errors and paſſions of men; who come, like the waves of the ſea, to daſh themſelves on the rich coaſts of America; for the ſpoils of which they are continually contending, and which, when obtained, they are continually wreſting from each other. Hence he may view at a diſtance the nations of Europe bearing thunder in the midſt of the ocean, and burning with the flames of ambition and avarice under the enfeebling heat of the torrid zone; devouring gold without ever being ſatisfied; wading through ſeas of blood to amaſs thoſe metals, thoſe pearls, thoſe diamonds, which are to adorn the proud oppreſſors of mankind; loading innumerable ſhips with thoſe precious caſks which furniſh tyranny with purple, and from which flow induſtry mingled with cruelty, debauchery, and effeminacy *. The tranquil inhabitant of Saba views this maſs of follies, and ſpins in peace the cotton, which conſtitutes all his finery and wealth.

Under the ſame climate lies the ſmall iſland of St. Martin, which is about fourteen or fifteen leagues in circuit, and contains a conſiderable number of hills, which are ſo many rocks covered with heath. The ſandy ſoil of its plains and vallies, in itſelf naturally barren, can only be rendered fruitful by ſhowers, which happen but ſeldom, and are ſo much the leſs beneficial, as they are in general either exhaled by the intenſe heat of the ſun, or drain off from the places where they fall. With due care, theſe catual refreſhments might be preſerved in reſervoirs, and thence diſtributed in ſuch a manner as to be productive of plenty. Though this iſland has no river, it is furniſhed with ſprings, which ſupply the inhabitants with very good water. The air is wholſome, the coaſt abounds with fiſh; the ſea is ſeldom tempeſtuous, and there is ſafe anchorage all around the iſland.

* Hiſt. Philoſ. &c. liv. xii.

The Dutch and French, who in 1638, met in St. Martin's, lived in peace with each other, but in ſeparate parts of the iſland, till they were diſpoſſeſſed by the Spaniards. The conquerors, however, ſoon grew weary of an eſtabliſhment from which they ſaw no proſpect of deriving any advantage, and which coſt them a conſiderable ſum annually: they therefore quitted it in 1648, after deſtroying every thing that they could not carry with them. But theſe devaſtations did not hinder the former poſſeſſors from returning to the iſland as ſoon as they knew that it was evacuated. They mutually agreed never to diſturb each other's repoſe, and have preſerved inviolably this engagement, which was equally for the advantage of both parties. The diſputes between their reſpective nations did not in the leaſt alter thoſe diſpoſitions: and they lived in unmoleſted tranquillity, till the year 1757, when the French were expelled by the commander of an Engliſh privateer, named Cook; but they returned again, as ſoon as hoſtilities ceaſed.

Out of the fifty-five thouſand acres of land, which this iſland contains, the French enjoy thirty-five thouſand. But over this large ſpace, which might maintain five hundred white families, and ten thouſand ſlaves, are ſcattered only about one hundred white inhabitants, and two hundred blacks. Theſe depend chiefly for their ſubſiſtence upon the culture of bananas, yams, and manioc. Cotton, till within theſe few years, was their only export. The line of ſeparation drawn from eaſt to weſt, which confines the Dutch within a ſmaller compaſs, has made them ample amends by giving them poſſeſſion of the only port in the iſland, and of a large ſalt-pit, which brings them annually two hundred thouſand dollars. Beſides theſe advantages, they have ſugar plantations which employ three thouſand ſlaves. Both colonies have of late begun the culture of coffee with ſucceſs. Perhaps this article may raiſe them above the difficulties with which they have ſo long ſtruggled, but they are not likely ever to be of much conſequence.

Thus far the ſettlements of the Dutch in the great archipelago of America, ſeem very unimportant; and conſidered as plantations, they are truly ſo. Their produce, which is ſcarcely ſufficient to freight four or five moderate veſſels, entitles them to no degree of attention; and they would accordingly have been condemned to neglect, if ſome of them, which are of ſmall conſequence in cultivation, were not very conſiderable in commerce. This is more eſpecially to be underſtood of Curaçao, and partly of St. Euſtatia. The deſire of opening a contraband traffic with the Spaniſh main, was the chief motive for ſettling the former. In a ſhort time a great number of Dutch ſhips arrived at that iſland: they were ſtout and well equiped; and their crew conſiſted of choice men, whoſe courage was ſeconded by their intereſt. Each according to his ſtation, had a ſhare in the cargo, which he reſolved of courſe to defend againſt the Guarda Coſtas, at the hazard of his life.

After a time, the method of carrying on this traffic, though ſucceſsful, was changed for one more ſafe, and no leſs advantageous. Curaçao itſelf became an immenſe magazine, ſtored with all the commodities of Europe and the Eaſt-

BOOK III. Indies. Thither the Spaniards reſorted in ſmall veſſels, to exchange their gold, ſilver, vanilla, cacao, cochineal, bark, hides, and other valuable commodities, for negroes, woollen and linen cloths, laces, ſilks, ribbands, hardware—the ſpices of the Moluccas, and the callicoes of Bengal, white and painted. Theſe viſits however, though continual, did not prevent a multitude of Dutch fleets from paſſing to the creeks on the continent. The wants, the ſupplies, the fatigues, and the voyages of the two nations were reciprocal, and made their coaſts a moſt active ſcene of trade; and tho' the modern ſubſtitution of regiſter-ſhips in place of the galleons, has made this communication leſs frequent, becauſe leſs neceſſary, it will revive, and even be encreaſed, whenever by the intervention of war, the immediate intercourſe between Spain and her colonies ſhall be cut off.

Hoſtilities between France and England open a new ſpecies of commerce to Curaçao. It then furniſhes proviſions to all the ſouthern coaſt of Hiſpaniola, and takes off its produce. In a word, Curaçao in time of war is in a manner the common emporium of the Weſt Indies. It affords a friendly retreat to the ſhips of all nations, but refuſes to none of them arms or ammunition to annoy one another. The French come hither, at all times, to buy the beef, pork, corn, flour, and lumber, which is brought from the Engliſh colonies in North-America; ſo that whether in peace or in war, the trade of Curaçao is conſiderable. Every commodity, without exception, that is landed in this iſland, pays one per cent. port duty. Dutch goods are never taxed higher; but thoſe that are ſhipped from the ports of other European nations, pay nine per cent. more. Foreign coffee of American growth is ſubject to the ſame duty, in order to encourage that of Surinam; but every other production of America is ſubject only to a duty of three per cent.

St. Euſtatia was formerly ſubject to the ſame duties as Curaçao, but they were taken off ſoon after the beginning of the late war. It derived this benefit from its vicinity to the Daniſh iſland of St. Thomas, which being a free port, engroſſed great part of its former trade. Under the preſent regulation, its contraband traffic, in time of peace, is chiefly confined to the barter of Engliſh cod for the molaſſes and rums of the French iſlands. A ſtate of hoſtility between the courts of London and Verſailles opens a very large field for St. Euſtatia, which is enriched by their diviſions. In the late war it became the ſtaple of almoſt all the merchandize of the French colonies, and the general magazine of ſupply for them. But this trade was not conducted ſingly by the Dutch. The Engliſh and French met on the coaſts of this iſland, to form under the ſhelter of its neutrality, commercial engagements. A Dutch paſſport, that coſt eleven pounds ſterling, and which was granted without enquiring to what nation the perſon belonged, who applied for it, kept their conventions from public view. This uncommon liberty gave riſe to numberleſs tranſactions between perſons very unequally ſituated in regard to each other. Commerce found the art of compoſing the violence or eluding the vigilance of diſcord.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Daniſh *Settlements in the* Weſt-Indies.

DENMARK and Norway, which are at preſent united under the ſame government, compoſed in the eighth century two ſeparate ſtates. While the former ſignalized itſelf by the conqueſt of England, and other bold enterpriſes, the latter peopled the Orkneys, Fero, and Iceland. Urged by that reſtleſs ſpirit, which had always animated their anceſtors the Scandinavians, this active people, ſo early as the ninth century, formed a ſettlement in Greenland, which there is good reaſon to ſuppoſe is united to the American continent, or divided from it only by a very narrow ſtrait. It is even thought, notwithſtanding the darkneſs which prevails over all the hiſtorical records of the north, during thoſe early ages, that there are ſufficient traces to induce a belief, that the Norwegian navigators in the eleventh century were hardy enough to penetrate as far as the coaſts of Labrador and Newfoundland, and that they left ſmall colonies on them *. But the wars which Norway had to ſuſtain, till the time it became united to Denmark; the difficulties which the government oppoſed to its navigation, and the ſtate of oblivion and inaction into which this enterpriſing people fell, not only occaſioned the loſs of their colonies in Greenland, but of whatever ſettlements or connections they might have had on the coaſts of America.

It was not, therefore, till more than a century after Columbus had diſcovered America, and begun the conqueſt of it under the Spaniſh banner, that the Danes and Norwegians, who were then become one nation, caſt their eyes upon the New World, which was nearer to them than to any of thoſe nations who had already poſſeſſed themſelves of different parts of it. They choſe, however, to ſeek their way to it by the ſhorteſt courſe. Accordingly in 1619, captain Munk was ſent to find out a paſſage, by the north-weſt, into the Pacific Ocean. This expedition was attended with as little ſucceſs as thoſe of many other navigators, both before and after him, in the ſame attempt. Yet it might have been imagined, that one diſappointment would not have entirely diſcouraged the Danes; that they would have continued their American expeditions, till they had either been peculiarly unfortunate, or had ſucceeded in forming ſome ſettlements, that would have rewarded them for their trouble: but the intereſt which they imprudently took in the wars of Europe, made them loſe ſight of every diſtant object; and their ſucceſſive loſſes reduced them to a deſperate ſtate, from which they would never have recovered, had not the aſſiſtance of Holland, and the ſteady perſeverance of the citizens of Copenhagen, procured them a peace in 1660, leſs humiliating and deſtructive than they had reaſon to fear.

The Daniſh government ſeized the firſt moment of tranquillity to examine the condition of the ſtate. Like all other Gothic governments, it was divided

* M. Mallet, *Introd. a l'Hiſt. de Dannemark.*

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between an elective chief, the nobility or ſenate, and the people. The king enjoyed no other preeminence than that of preſiding in the ſenate, and commanding the army. During the intervals between the diets, the government was in the hands of the ſenate; but all great affairs were referred to the diets themſelves, which were compoſed of the clergy, nobility, and commonalty. Though this conſtitution ſeems favourable to liberty, no country was leſs free than Denmark. The clergy from the time of the reformation, had forfeited their political as well as religious privileges, and the citizens had not yet acquired wealth ſufficient to make them of any conſequence in the ſtate. Both thoſe orders were overwhelmed by the power of the nobles, ſtill actuated by the original ſpirit of the feudal ſyſtem, which reduces every thing to the deciſion of the ſword. This critical ſituation of the affairs of Denmark did not inſpire the nobility with that juſtice, or moderation, which the circumſtances of the times required: they refuſed to contribute their proportion to the public expences; and by this refuſal exaſperated the other members of the diet. Theſe, in the exceſs of their reſentment, inveſted the king with an abſolute and unlimited power; and the nobles, who had driven them to this act of deſperation, found themſelves obliged to follow the example that had been ſet them.

After this change of government, the moſt imprudent and ſingular in the annals of mankind, the Danes fell into a kind of lethargic ſtate. The deluſive tranquillity of ſervitude ſucceeded thoſe great convulſions which are occaſioned by the claſhing of national rights; and a people, who had been conſpicuous for ſeveral ages, appeared no more on the theatre of the world. In 1671, Denmark juſt recovered ſo far from the trance into which the admiſſion of deſpotiſm had thrown it, as to be able to look abroad, and take poſſeſſion of a little American iſland, known by the name of St. Thomas. This iſland, the moſt weſterly of the Caribbees, was totally uninhabited when the Danes undertook to form a ſettlement upon it. They were at firſt oppoſed by the Engliſh, under pretence that ſome emigrants of that nation had undertaken to clear it; but the Britiſh miniſtry ſtopped the progreſs of this interference, and the Daniſh colony was left to form ſuch plantations as a ſandy ſoil, and a territory of no greater extent than five leagues in length, and two and an half in breadth, would admit of.

A cultivation ſo confined and unproductive, would never have given any importance to the iſland of St. Thomas, had not the ſea hollowed out from its coaſt an excellent harbour, in which fifty ſhips may ride with ſecurity. This advantage attracted ſuch of the Engliſh and French Buccaneers, as were deſirous of exempting their booty from the duties to which it was ſubject in the ports belonging to their reſpective nations. Whenever they had taken their prizes in the lower latitudes, from which they could not make the Windward Iſlands, they put into that of St. Thomas to diſpoſe of them. It was alſo the aſylum of all merchant ſhips, which frequented it as a neutral port, in time of war. It was the mart where the neighbouring colonies bartered their reſpective commodities; and the port whence they continually diſpatched veſſels richly laden, to carry on

on a clandeſtine traffic with the Spaniſh ſettlements on the continent. St. Thomas in a word, was a very active ſcene of commerce.

The parent ſtate, however, reaped little advantage from this rapid circulation. The perſons who enriched themſelves were chiefly foreigners, who carried their wealth to other countries. Denmark had no communication with its colony except by a ſingle ſhip, ſent out annually to Africa to purchaſe ſlaves, which being ſold at St. Thomas, the ſhip returned home laden with the productions of that iſland. In 1719 the Daniſh trade was encreaſed, by the clearing of the iſland of St. John, which is adjacent to St. Thomas, but not half ſo large. Theſe ſlender beginnings would have required the addition of Crab Iſland, where the Danes had attempted to form a ſettlement ſome years before. This iſland, which is from eight to ten leagues in circumference, has a conſiderable number of hills; but they are neither barren, ſteep, nor very high. The ſoil of the plains and vallies, which run between theſe hills, ſeems to be very fruitful; and they are refreſhed by a number of ſprings, the water of which is ſaid to be excellent. Nature, at the ſame time that ſhe has denied it a harbour, has made it amends by a multitude of the fineſt bays that can be imagined. At every ſtep ſome remains of plantations, with rows of orange and lemon trees are to be ſeen; which ſeem to prove that the Spaniards of Porto Rico, from which it is not diſtant above five or ſix leagues, have formerly occupied Crab Iſland.

The Engliſh obſerving that ſo promiſing a ſpot was without inhabitants, began to cultivate ſome plantations there, towards the end of the laſt century. But they were not permitted to reap the fruits of their labour: they were ſurpriſed by the Spaniards, who murdered all the men, and carried off the women and children to Porto Rico. This violence did not deter the Danes from making ſome attempts to ſettle there in 1717. But the ſubjects of Great Britain reclaiming their prior rights, ſent thither ſome adventurers, who after diſpoſſeſſing the Danes, were themſelves plundered, and driven off by the Spaniards. The jealouſy of theſe tyrants of the New World extends even to the prohibiting of fiſhing boats to approach any ſhore where they claim a right of poſſeſſion, though they do not exerciſe it. Too lazy to proſecute cultivation, too ſuſpicious to admit induſtrious neighbours, they condemn Crab Iſland to eternal ſolitude: they will neither occupy it themſelves, nor permit any other nation to ſettle in it.

This tyrannical exertion of excluſive ſovereignty, has obliged Denmark to give up Crab Iſland for that of Santa Cruz, whoſe natural importance gives it a better title to become an object of national ambition. It is eighteen leagues in length, and from three to four in breadth. In 1643 it was inhabited by the Engliſh and Dutch: but their rivalſhip ſoon made them enemies to each other; and in 1646, after an obſtinate and bloody engagement, the Dutch were routed, and obliged to quit a ſpot on which they had founded great expectations. The Engliſh were employed in cultivating thoſe lands which their victory had procured them, when, in 1650, they were attacked, and expelled in their turn, by twelve hundred Spaniards, who arrived at Santa Cruz in five ſhips. The triumph of

BOOK III. the Spaniards lasted but a few months. The remains of that numerous people was left to the defence of the island, unprovided without assistance to an hundred and forty Frenchmen, who had embarked from St. Christopher's to plant a temporary colony at Santa Cruz.

These new inhabitants left no time to making themselves acquainted with an island highly favoured. With a soil as rich as pettiness could, they found at Santa Cruz but one river of a moderate size, which glides gently on a level with the sea, through a flat country, furnished only a brackish water. Two or three springs, in the interior parts of the island, made but a small compensation for the defect. The woods, which they dug, were for the most part in the full bloom of vegetation required time, and the climate was perfectly new to Europeans constitutions. The island being flat, and covered with the trees, which had not sufficient access to carry off the pestilentious vapours, which in a manner clogged the atmosphere. There was but one remedy for this inconvenience, namely, to burn the woods. The French set fire to them without delay, and going on board their ships, became spectators from the sea, for several months, of the conflagration which they had raised in the island. As soon as the flames subsided, they again went on shore, and found the soil fertile beyond belief. Tobacco, cotton, arnotto, indigo, and sugar flourished equally well. So rapid was the progress of the colony, in consequence of this fertility, that within eleven years from its inconsiderable beginning, there were upon the island eight hundred and twenty-two white persons, with a proportional number of slaves, and it was fast advancing to a degree of prosperity, that would have eclipsed the most flourishing settlements of the French nation, when such obstacles were thrown in the way of its activity as made it suddenly decline. Its decay was as rapid as its rise. In 1696 there were no more than one hundred and forty-seven white families, and six hundred and twenty-three blacks, remaining on the island; and these were transported to Hispaniola.

Those writers who take it for granted, that the court of France is always governed in its decisions by the most comprehensive views of profound policy, have conjectured, that the neglect of Santa Cruz was the result of a determination to abandon the small islands, in order to unite all the strength, industry, and population in the larger ones. But this is a false idea of the matter. That relinquishment did not take its rise from the court, but from the farmers of the revenues, who found, that the contraband trade of Santa Cruz with St. Thomas was detrimental to their interests*. The spirit of finance has at all times been hostile to commerce. It has destroyed the source whence it sprung. Santa Cruz continued without inhabitants, and without cultivation, till 1733, when it was sold by France to Denmark for about thirty-two thousand pounds sterling.

The northern powers seemed now likely to take deep root in America. Unfortunately, however, the Swedes perished under the yoke of exclusive privi-

* Raynal, liv. xx.

leges.

leges. Induſtrious people of all ſects, eſpecially the Moravians, ſtrove in vain to overcome this difficulty. Many attempts were made to reconcile the intereſts of the colonies and their oppreſſors, but without ſucceſs. The two parties kept up a continual ſtruggle of animoſity, not of warfare. At length the government, with a moderation not to be expected from its conſtitution, purchaſed in 1754, the privileges and effects of the company. From that time, the navigation to the Danish iſlands has been open to all the ſubjects of that crown, but unfortunately the repurchaſement of the charter has been a great meaſure prevented the advantage that might have been hoped for from ſuch an arrangement. The national productions and manufactures, and whatever ſhould be taken from the firſt hand, and put on board Danish veſſels, were ordered to be ſhipped from the mother-country free from all duties; but for all commodities that did not fall under this deſcription, a tax of four per cent. was demanded. All imports into the colonies paid five per cent. and all exports ſix. A duty of two and an half per cent. was laid on all American productions conſumed in the mother-country, and of one per cent. on what was carried to foreign markets.

At the ſame time that the trade to the Weſt Indies recovered its natural independence, at the ranſom of theſe burthenſome duties, that to Africa, which is its baſis, was likewiſe laid open. The Daniſh government had, above a century before, purchaſed from the king of Aquambou, the two forts of Frederickſburg and Chriſtianſburg, ſituated on the Gold Coaſt, at a ſmall diſtance from each other. The African company, in virtue of its charter, had the ſole poſſeſſion of them; and exerciſed its privileges with that barbarity, of which the moſt poliſhed European nations have ſet the example in theſe devoted regions. Only one of its agents had the reſolution to renounce thoſe cruelties, to which cuſtom had given a ſanction. So great was the reputation of this man for humanity, and ſuch was the confidence repoſed in his probity, that the blacks would come from the diſtance of an hundred leagues to ſee him, and to ſubmit their differences to his arbitration. The ſovereign of a remote country ſent to him his daughter, with a preſent of gold and ſlaves, that Schilderop (for ſuch was the name of this European ſo much revered over all Nigritia) might give him a grandſon. Juſt and virtuous Dane! exclaims Raynal on this ſubject, what monarch ever received ſo pure, ſo glorious an homage, as thy nation has ſeen thee enjoy!—And where?—Upon a coaſt, upon a continent degraded for ever, by the infamous traffic of men exchanged for arms, and children ſold by their parents!

The excluſive privilege of purchaſing negroes has, however, been aboliſhed in Denmark, as in other ſtates: all the ſubjects of this commercial nation are permitted to buy men in Africa. They pay only between fifteen and ſixteen ſhillings a head for every one they carry to the Weſt Indies. Thirty thouſand ſlaves, including all ages and ſexes, on which a poll-tax of four ſhillings is laid, are already employed in their plantations there. The produce of the labour of theſe ſlaves loads forty veſſels, from one hundred and twenty to three hundred tons burden. The plantations, which pay to the treaſury an annual rent of about eight ſhillings for every thouſand feet ſquare, furniſh to the mother-country, as

the

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the component articles of thoſe forty ſhip-loads, a little coffee and ginger; ſome wood for inlaying; eight hundred bales of cotton, which are chiefly carried to foreign markets; and fourteen millions weight of raw ſugar, four-fifths of which are conſumed in Denmark and Norway, and the reſt is ſold in the Baltic, or introduced into Germany by the way of Altena.

Santa Cruz, though the lateſt of all the Daniſh ſettlements, furniſhes five-ſevenths of this produce. That iſland is divided into three hundred and fifty plantations, by lines which interſect each other at right angles. Each plantation contains one hundred and fifty acres, of forty thouſand ſquare feet each; ſo that it may occupy a ſpace of twelve hundred common feet in length, by eight hundred in breadth. Two thirds of this tract are fit for the cultivation of ſugar, and the proprietor may occupy fourſcore acres at a time; each of which will yield, one year with another, ſixteen hundred weight, without reckoning the molaſſes. The remainder may be employed in other cultures leſs lucrative. When the iſland comes to be entirely cleared, ſome towns may be built upon it: at preſent it has only the village of Chriſtianſtadt, ſituated under the fort which defends the principal harbour.

Denmark cannot be ignorant, that the riches which begin to flow from her colonies in the American archipelago do not belong entirely to herſelf: a conſiderable ſhare goes to the Engliſh and Dutch, who, without reſiding upon the Daniſh iſlands, have formed the beſt plantations in them. New England ſupplies them with wood, cattle, and meal, and receives in exchange molaſſes and other commodities. They are obliged likewiſe to import their wines, linens, and ſilks. The condition of Denmark does not admit of her looking with indifference on ſuch diſadvantages; and nothing will contribute ſo much to her intereſt as having the ſole poſſeſſion and traffic of all the productions of her Weſt India iſlands. The more her ſettlements in the New World are limited, the more attentive ought ſhe to be not to let any of the benefits, ſhe might draw from them eſcape her. In a ſtate of mediocrity, the leaſt negligence is attended with ſerious conſequences.

CHAP. VI.

The French *Settlements in the* Weſt Indies.

WE have already ſeen the French and Engliſh, under Warner and Deſnambuc, ſettle in St. Chriſtopher's in 1625; and after various diſaſters and difficulties, gradually ſpread themſelves over the neighbouring iſlands. As early as the year 1635, the French were in poſſeſſion of Martinico and Guadaloupe. Cardinal Richlieu, who at that time ruled France, under Lewis XIII. very early perceived the advantages which might accrue from thoſe ſettlements, if prudently managed; and the firſt ſtep neceſſary to ſuch proſperity he thought conſiſted in

putting the government of them into proper hands. With this view, he made choice of Longvilliers de Poincy, a knight of Malta, who was ſent to the Weſt Indies in 1639, with the title of Governor and Lieutenant General of the Iſles of America. His commiſſion was very ample; and no perſon could be better qualified to rectify the diſorders incident to new ſettlements, or to eſtabliſh ſuch regulations as might contribute to their future greatneſs. He was a man of unblemiſhed reputation for probity, of various and extenſive knowledge, and had a genius peculiarly turned towards natural and mechanical objects. He it was who firſt taught the French the method of cultivating the ſugar-cane, and of preparing the ſugar. He improved the methods which were uſed in Brazil for that purpoſe, both with reſpect to the mills and the furnaces; and having given a proper direction to the induſtry of the new ſettlers, he afforded it all the encouragement in his power, by ſupporting thoſe who connected their own intereſt with that of the colony, while he kept a watchful eye and a ſevere hand upon all who ſtrove to acquire wealth by means inconſiſtent with the general welfare. He framed admirable regulations for the impartial and ſpeedy adminiſtration of juſtice: he eſtabliſhed in St. Chriſtopher's, where he reſided, an excellent police; and ſenſible that a form of public worſhip, independent of all theological motives, is equally eſſential to the good order of ſociety by the force which it communicates to the moral obligations, and the dread which it inſpires of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, he built and endowed churches in all the iſlands under his government.

Theſe wiſe meaſures, however, were not attended with that ſucceſs which might have been expected from them. This matter requires ſome explanation. When the French firſt began to ſettle in the American archipelago, government required a twentieth part of the produce of every colony that ſhould be there eſtabliſhed, without lending any aſſiſtance to the project, or encouraging it with any protection. Under theſe conditions Deſnambuc and his followers embarked; and in 1626, a company was formed, in order to reap the benefit of this conceſſion. That company obtained the moſt extenſive privileges. The government gave them the property of all the iſlands which they ſhould cultivate, and impowered them to exact an hundred weight of tobacco, or fifty pounds of cotton, from every inhabitant between ſixteen and ſixty years of age. They were likewiſe veſted with an excluſive right of buying and ſelling.

Excluſive companies, as a judicious writer obſerves, may ſometimes be uſeful to nouriſh an infant trade, where the market is under the dominion of foreign and barbarous princes; but where the trade is between different parts of the dominions of the ſame prince, under the protection of his laws, and carried on by his own ſubjects with goods wrought in his own kingdom, ſuch companies muſt be equally abſurd in their nature, and ruinous in their conſequences to commerce *. Never was the juſtice of this reaſoning more fully exemplified, than in the proceedings of the French Weſt India company. An inordinate thirſt of

* The author of the European Settlements in America, ſuppoſed to be Mr. Edmund Burke.

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gain, the common effect of a ſpirit of monopoly, rendered them unjuſt, cruel, and oppreſſive. The Dutch, appriſed of this tyranny, came and offered proviſions and merchandiſe on more moderate terms. Their propoſals were readily accepted, and a connexion was formed between theſe republicans and the French colonies, which could never afterwards be broken off. The competition that enſued, not only proved fatal to the company in the New World, where it prevented the ſale of their exports, but even ruined them in all the markets of Europe, where the contraband traders underſold the produce of the French iſlands. Diſcouraged by theſe merited diſappointments, the company ſunk into a ſtate of total languor, which deprived them of moſt of their emoluments without leſſening any of their expences. In vain did the government remit the ſtipulated reſerve of the twentieth part of the profit. This indulgence was not ſufficient to reſtore their activity. Some of the proprietors were of opinion, that by renouncing the deſtructive principles which had been hitherto adopted, they might ſtill re-eſtabliſh their affairs; but the greater number thought it impracticable, notwithſtanding all their advantages, to contend for ſuperiority with ſuch frugal traders as their rivals. This opinion occaſioned a revolution. In order to prevent their total ruin, and that they might not ſink under the weight of their engagements, the company put up their poſſeſſions to public ſale. They were generally purchaſed by their reſpective governors.

The new maſters of the French iſlands enjoyed an unlimited authority, and free diſpoſal of the lands. All offices both civil and military were in their gift. They had the right of pardoning thoſe whom their deputies condemned to death: in a word, they were ſo many petty ſovereigns. It was natural to expect that, as their dominions were under their own inſpection, agriculture would make a rapid progreſs; and that conjecture was in ſome meaſure realized, notwithſtanding the conteſts, which were neceſſarily ſharp and frequent under ſuch maſters. This ſecond ſtate of the French colonies in the Weſt Indies, did not however prove more beneficial to the nation than the firſt. The Dutch continued to furniſh them with proviſions, and to carry away the produce, which they ſold indiſcriminately to all nations, and even to that which ought to have reaped the ſole advantage of vending it.

France ſuffered conſiderably from this evil, and Colbert, who had ſucceeded Richelieu and Mazarine in the adminiſtration, miſtook the means of redreſs. That great man, who had for ſome time preſided over the finances and the trade of the kingdom, had imbibed falſe ideas of policy. The habit of living with the farmers of the revenue during the adminiſtration of his predeceſſor Mazarine, had accuſtomed him to conſider money, which is but the means of exchange, as the productive cauſe of every thing. He imagined that the encouragement of manufactures was the readieſt method to draw it from abroad; that in the work-ſhops were to be found the beſt reſources of the ſtate, and in tradeſmen the moſt uſeful ſubjects of the monarchy. In order to increaſe the number of manufacturers, he ſtrove to keep the neceſſaries of life at a low price; and for that

that purpoſe he prohibited the exportation of corn, without conſidering that this would diminiſh the culture. The production of materials was the leaſt object of his care: he bent his whole attention to the manufacturing of them.

This preference of manufactures to agriculture became the reigning taſte, and proved deſtructive to the real proſperity of France, at the ſame time that it gave to the kingdom a deluſive appearance of opulence. While the ſhops of Paris were filled with gold and ſilver ſtuffs, and the inhabitants glittered in every ſtreet with lace and embroidery, the lands were left untilled, the peaſants were in wretchedneſs, and the nation was in danger of periſhing for want of bread. Colbert, who had given riſe to that ſyſtem of ſplendid beggary, ſaw the neceſſity of reſcuing the French iſlands in the Weſt Indies from the hands of private proprietors; and he effected it by purchaſe, in 1664. So far his conduct deſerves praiſe. It was requiſite that ſo many branches of ſovereignty ſhould be reſtored to the body of the ſtate. But if Colbert had entertained juſt notions of the improvement of lands, of the encouragement it requires, and the liberty which the huſbandmen ſhould enjoy, he would have purſued a very different ſyſtem from that which he adopted in regard to the colonies: he would not again have ſubjected poſſeſſions of ſuch importance to the tyranny of an excluſive company; a meaſure, prohibited alike by experience and reaſon.

A new company was however formed, whoſe charter extended not only to the Weſt Indies, but comprehended an excluſive trade with the French ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, as well as with thoſe in North and South America *. As a further encouragement to this great company, government agreed to lend them a ſum to the amount of the tenth part of their capital, free from intereſt for four years, and permitted the importation of all proviſions duty-free, into their ſettlements. But notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, the company was never in a flouriſhing ſtate. The errors into which they fell, ſeemed to increaſe in proportion to the number of conceſſions that were injudiciouſly beſtowed upon them. The villany of their agents, the dejection of the coloniſts, the devaſtations of war, with other concurring cauſes, threw their affairs into the utmoſt confuſion. Their ruin was approaching, and appeared inevitable in 1674, when the government judged it proper to pay off their debts, refund them their capital, and reſume thoſe valuable poſſeſſions which had been hitherto as it were alienated from the ſtate.

The colonies now became entirely French, and all the ſubjects of the monarchy were at liberty to go and ſettle there, or to open a commercial intercourſe with them: they were at length freed from the reſtraints by which they had been ſo long fettered, and which had proved ſo fatal to improvement and induſtry. The tranſports of joy which this event occaſioned in the iſlands can hardly be expreſſed: every one gave a full ſcope to his ambition, and thought himſelf ſure of acquiring a fortune. If the coloniſts were deceived in theſe expectations, their diſappointment cannot be imputed either to preſumption or indolence.

* Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. liv. xvii. c. 2.

Their

BOOK II. Their hopes were natural, and their whole conduct corresponded with them: but unfortunately the prejudices of the mother-country threw insurmountable difficulties in their way. It was required that every free man, and every slave of either sex should pay annually a poll-tax of an hundred weight of raw sugar. In vain it was urged, that the condition imposed upon the colonies to trade only with the mother-country, was of itself a sufficient tribute, and a reason why they should be exempted from all other taxes. Their representations were not attended to as they ought; and whether from neceſſity or ignorance on the part of government, thoſe planters who ought to have been aſſiſted with loans without intereſt, or with bounties, saw part of their produce collected by greedy tax gatherers.

While the French colonies in the Weſt Indies were ſtruggling under this new oppreſſion, the ſpirit of monopoly in the mother country was taking effectual meaſures to reduce the price of that part of the fruits of their induſtry which was left them. The privilege of importing their produce was confined to a few ſea-ports. This was a manifeſt infringement of the eſſential rights veſted in the other harbours of the kingdom; and to the colonies it proved a very unfortunate reſtriction, as it leſſened the number of purchaſers in the iſlands. To this diſadvantage another ſoon ſucceeded. The miniſtry had endeavoured to exclude all foreign veſſels from thoſe tropical colonies; and they had ſucceeded, becauſe they were in earneſt. Mutual intereſt now conſpired to elude the rigour of the laws, and the vigilance of the government. The Dutch navigators purchaſed of the French merchants paſſports to go to the colonies, where they took in their ladings, and carried them directly to their own country, or to ſome neutral port for ſale.

The method taken to remedy this abuſe proved a new reſtraint upon the colonies, by impeding the free progreſs of navigation, and conſequently obſtructed the vending of Weſt India commodities. The ſale of ſugar, the moſt important of theſe, met with a farther check. In 1684, the refiners petitioned, that the exportation of raw ſugar might be prohibited; a requeſt in which they ſeemed to be influenced merely by the public good. They alleged, that it was repugnant to all ſound policy, for the ſtate to ſend away the original produce to ſupport foreign manufactures, and voluntarily deprive itſelf of the profits of ſo valuable a branch of induſtry. This plauſible reaſoning made too deep an impreſſion upon Colbert; the conſequences of which were, that the refining of ſugar was kept up at the ſame exorbitant price, that the art itſelf never received any improvement, and that the French ſugar trade declined, while that of all other nations increaſed.

Obſerving that this ſyſtem was not dropped, notwithſtanding the experience of its fatal tendency, ſome of the colonies ſolicited leave to refine their own ſugars. That liberty was granted them; and they were furniſhed with ſo many conveniences to go through the proceſs at a ſmall expence, that they flattered themſelves they might ſoon recover the preference which French ſugars had loſt in foreign markets. Nor was this hope by any means viſionary: the deſired change

might have been accomplished, if the refined fugar of the colonies had not been clogged with an enormous duty on entering the mother-country. Yet after paying this heavy impofition, of feven fhillings the hundred weight, the refiners in the colonies were able to fupport a competition with thofe in France. The demand, however, did not increafe: the manufactures of both were confined merely in the kingdom. In conſequence of the neceſſary diminution in the firſt, the culture of canes declined in the iſlands. Thus was an important branch of foreign trade loſt, rather than it ſhould be acknowledged, that a miſtake had been committed in prohibiting the exportation of raw fugar.

The planters in the French iſlands muſt have ſunk under ſo many diſadvantages, if the culture of tobacco, cacao, indigo, and cotton, had not rather been encouraged. Government ſupported it indirectly, by laying heavy duties on the foreign importation of theſe articles. This ſlight indulgence inſpired them with the hope of an happier revolution, which was brought about in 1716. At that period, a plain and ſimple regulation was ſubſtituted in place of a multitude of equivocal orders, which the rapacious officers of the revenue had from time to time extorted from the wants and weakneſs of government. The merchandiſe deſtined for the colonies was exempted from all taxes; the duties upon Weſt India commodities deſigned for home-conſumption, were greatly lowered; the articles bought up for exportation were to be entered and cleared out freely, upon paying three per cent. the duties upon foreign ſugars were to be levied every where alike, without any regard to particular immunities, except in caſes of re-exportation in the ports of Bayonne and Marſeilles.

In granting ſo many favours to her ſettlements in the Weſt Indies, the mother-country was not unmindful of her own intereſts. All merchandiſe prohibited at home, was alſo forbidden in the colonies; and in order to ſecure the preference to her own manufactures, it was enacted, that even ſuch commodities as were not prohibited, ſhould pay a duty on their entry into France, although deſtined for the uſe of the colonies. Salt beef alone, which the mother-country could not furniſh in ſufficient quantity, was exempted from this duty *.

Theſe regulations would have been as beneficial as the circumſtances of the times would admit, if the edict had provided, that the trade with the colonies, which had hitherto been confined to a few ſea-ports, ſhould be general; and if it had releaſed ſhips from the neceſſity of returning to the port whence they ſailed. Theſe reſtraints limited the number of ſeamen, raiſed the expences of navigation, and prevented the ready exportation of the productions of the iſlands. Notwithſtanding this remaining diſcouragement, the planters renewed their induſtry with freſh ardour; and as their ſoil was excellent, their ſucceſs aſtoniſhed all nations. But that ſucceſs, and its cauſes, will beſt appear from an account of the different iſlands now in the poſſeſſion of France, beginning with Martinico.

This iſland is ſixteen leagues in length, and forty-five in circumference, leaving out the capes, which ſometimes extend two or three leagues into the ſea.

* Raynal, liv. xv.

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It is very uneven, and interſected in all parts by ridges of hills. Above theſe ſmaller eminences riſe three mountains, the higheſt of which bears the indelible marks of a volcano. The woods with which this mountain is covered continually attract the clouds; a circumſtance which occaſions noxious damps, and contributes to render it inacceſſible and waſte, while the two others are in moſt parts cultivated. From thoſe mountains, but chiefly from the firſt, iſſue many rivulets that water the iſland; and which, though naturally gentle ſtreams, are changed into torrents on the ſlighteſt ſtorm. Their water partakes of the nature of the ſoil they paſs through: in ſome places it is excellent; in others ſo bad, that the inhabitants prefer the rain-water which they collect in ciſterns.

Deſnambuc, who had ſent to reconnoitre Martinico, ſailed thither in 1635, in order to eſtabliſh a colony. The ſole founders of this new colony were an hundred men, who had lived ſeveral years under his government at St. Chriſtopher's. They were brave, active; inured to the climate, to labour and fatigue; ſkilful in erecting habitations and in cultivating the ground, and abundantly provided with the neceſſary ſeeds and plants. They completed their firſt ſettlement without any obſtruction. Intimidated by the fire-arms of the invaders, or ſeduced by their promiſes, the natives gave up to the French the weſtern and ſouthern parts of the iſland, and retired to the other. But this tranquillity was of ſhort duration. The Caribs, when they ſaw theſe enterpriſing ſtrangers continually increaſing, became convinced that their ruin was inevitable, unleſs they could extirpate them. They accordingly called into their aſſiſtance the natives of the neighbouring iſlands, and fell jointly upon a ſmall fort that had been built; but being unacquainted with the proper mode of attack, or the precautions neceſſary to ſcreen them from the ſhot of the garriſon, they were obliged to retire, after having loſt between ſeven and eight hundred of their braveſt warriors.

This check humbled the Caribs ſo much, that they entirely diſappeared for a time; and when they returned, they brought with them preſents, and expreſſed their concern for what had happened. They were received in a friendly manner, and a reconciliation took place. The labours of the planters had hitherto been carried on with anxiety. They went continually armed, and kept watch every night. Theſe precautions became unneceſſary, as ſoon as the two nations were on friendly terms with each other. But the French took ſuch undue advantage of their ſuperiority, in order to extend their uſurpations, that the flames of reſentment were ſoon rekindled in the breaſts of the Caribs. Their manner of life, like that of all ſavages, required a vaſt extent of ground; and finding themſelves daily more and more ſtraitened, they had recourſe to ſtratagem, in order to weaken an enemy whom they durſt not attack openly. They ſeparated into ſmall bands: way-laid the Frenchmen, who frequented the woods; waited till the ſportſman had fired his piece, and before he had time to load again, ruſhed in and deſtroyed him. Twenty men had been thus murdered, before any one was able to account for their diſappearance. As ſoon as a diſcovery was made, the Caribs were purſued and ſlain; their wives and children were maſſacred; and

thoſe who eſcaped the general carnage, fled from Martinico, and never appeared there more.

In conſequence of this retreat, the French, become ſole maſters of the iſland, lived quietly upon thoſe ſpots which beſt ſuited their plantations. They were now divided into claſſes. The firſt conſiſted of ſuch as had paid their paſſage to the Weſt Indies, and theſe were called ſettlers. The government diſtributed land to them, which became their abſolute property upon paying a yearly tribute. They were obliged to keep watch by turns; and to contribute, in proportion to their abilities, towards the expences neceſſary for the public welfare and ſafety. Theſe ſettlers had under their command a multitude of diſorderly perſons, brought over from Europe at their expence, and engaged in a kind of ſlavery for three years. When that term was expired, the engagés or bondſmen, by recovering their liberty, became the equals of thoſe whom they had ſerved.

All the planters confined themſelves at firſt to the cultivation of tobacco and cotton, to which was ſoon added that of arnotto and indigo. The culture of ſugar they learned from M. de Poincy, and Benjamin Da Coſta, a Jew, introduced the planting of cacao. His example was not followed till 1684, almoſt thirty years after he had made the experiment, when the taſte for chocolate was grown more common in France. Cacao then became the principal dependence of ſuch of the planters as had not a ſufficient fund to undertake the culture of ſugar; but in 1718, one of thoſe terrible calamities which ariſe from the intemperature of the air, and ſometimes affect animals, and ſometimes vegetables, deſtroyed all the cacao-trees. This ſpread a general conſternation among the inhabitants of Martinico. The coffee-tree was then propoſed to them, as a plank is held out to the ſhip-wrecked mariner, ſtruggling amid the waves, after the loſs of his veſſel. The French miniſtry had received as a preſent from the Dutch, two of thoſe trees, which were preſerved in the king's botanical garden. Two ſhoots were taken from them, and ſent to Martinico, where the culture of coffee was attended with the greateſt and moſt rapid ſucceſs.

Independent of this happy reſource, Martinico poſſeſſed ſuch natural advantages as ſeemed to promiſe a ſpeedy and great proſperity. Of all the French iſlands it is the moſt happily ſituated in regard to the winds which prevail in thoſe latitudes. Its harbours afford a certain ſhelter from the hurricanes ſo dangerous in the Weſt Indies. Theſe fortunate circumſtances having made it the ſeat of government, it has obtained the greateſt marks of favour. It has ſeldom ſuffered by foreign enemies, and its domeſtic peace has never been diſturbed ſince the abolition of the excluſive companies. Notwithſtanding ſo many cauſes of proſperity, Martinico, though in greater forwardneſs than the reſt of the French colonies, had made but little progreſs at the end of the laſt century. In the year 1700, it contained only ſix thouſand five hundred and ninety-ſeven white perſons, and fourteen thouſand five hundred and ſixty-ſix ſlaves *.

* Raynal, liv. xii.

On

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On the ceſſation of the long and obſtinate wars, which towards the end of the laſt, and the beginning of the preſent century, had ravaged all the continents, and been carried on upon all the ſeas in the world, and when France had relinquiſhed her viſionary ſcheme of univerſal monarchy, and thoſe principles of adminiſtration by which ſhe had been ſo long miſled, Martinico emerged from that feeble ſtate in which all theſe adverſe circumſtances had held it, and ſoon roſe to a great height of proſperity. It became the mart for all the French ſettlements in the Windward Iſlands: in its ports the planters of thoſe iſlands ſold their produce; and the French navigators loaded and unloaded their ſhips no where elſe. Martinico grew famous all over Europe, where its inhabitants were conſidered under the different views of planters, agents for the other iſlands, and traders with North and South America. As planters, in 1736, they poſſeſſed ſeventy-two thouſand negroes, whoſe labour had improved their produce as far as was conſiſtent with the then conſumption of Weſt India commodities in Europe. It exported annually productions to the value of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

The connexions of Martinico with the other iſlands entitled it to the profits of commiſſion, and the charges of tranſport, as it alone was in poſſeſſion of veſſels for that purpoſe. This profit may be rated at the tenth of the produce of the iſland. Thus a ſtanding debt, ſeldom called in, was left for future improvements; and this debt was increaſed by advances in money, ſlaves, and other neceſſary articles. By theſe means Martinico became more and more a creditor to the other iſlands, and kept them in conſtant dependence, but without injuring them. They mutually enriched each other.

The intercourſe of Martinico with Cape Breton, Canada, and Louiſiana, procured it a market for its ordinary ſugars, its inferior coffee, its molaſſes and rum, that would not ſell in France; and it received in exchange ſalt-fiſh, dried vegetables, deals, and ſome flour. By its clandeſtine trade on the coaſts of Spaniſh America, carried on wholly in goods manufactured by the mother-country, it was well paid for the riſques which the French merchants did not chuſe to run. This traffic, though leſs important than the two former as to its object, was more lucrative in its effects. It commonly brought in a profit of ninety per cent. upon commodities to the value of near two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, ſent yearly to Caraccas and the neighbouring colonies.

Enriched by ſo many beneficial connexions, Martinico had circulating ſpecie to the amount of between ſeven and eight hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. Its extenſive trade brought annually into its harbours two hundred ſhips, directly from France, and fourteen or fifteen fitted out by the mother-country for the coaſt of Guinea; ſixty from Canada; ten or twelve from the Spaniſh iſlands of Margaretta and Trinidad, beſides ſeveral Engliſh and Dutch veſſels, which came to carry on a ſmuggling traffic. The private navigation from the iſland to the northern colonies, to the Spaniſh continent, and to the Windward Iſlands, employed an hundred and thirty veſſels, from twenty to ſeventy tons burden, manned with ſix hundred European ſailors, and fifteen hundred ſlaves.

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The ſhips that frequented Martinico, uſed at firſt to land in thoſe parts where the plantations lay. This practice, ſeemingly the moſt natural, was liable to great inconveniences. The north and north-eaſterly winds, which blow upon part of the coaſt, keep the ſea in a conſtant and violent agitation; and though there are many good roads, they are either at too great a diſtance from each other, or from the plantations; ſo that the ſloops deſtined to coaſt along this interval were frequently forced by the weather to anchor, or to take in but half their lading. Theſe difficulties retarded the loading and unloading of the ſhip. The conſequence of ſuch delays was, a great loſs of men, and an increaſe of expence to the buyer and ſeller. Commerce, which requires a quick return, could not but be impeded by another inconvenience, namely, the neceſſity the trader lay under even on the beſt coaſts, of diſpoſing of his cargo in ſmall quantities. If ſome opulent men undertook to ſave him that trouble, this enhanſed the price of the goods to the coloniſts. A greater inconvenience than either of theſe was, that ſome places were over-ſtocked with certain kinds of European goods, while others were in want of them. The owners of the ſhips were no leſs at a loſs for a proper lading. Moſt places did not afford all ſorts of productions, nor every ſpecies of the ſame production. This deficiency obliged them to touch at ſeveral places, or to carry away too great or too ſmall a quantity of the articles fit for the port where they were to unload. The ſhips themſelves were expoſed to ſeveral inconveniencies. Many of them wanted careening, and moſt required at leaſt ſome repairs. The neceſſary aſſiſtance for that purpoſe was not always to be found in roads but little frequented: they were therefore obliged to go to ſome harbour to refit, and then return to take in their lading, at the place where they had ſold their cargo.

Theſe and other diſadvantages, made many of the inhabitants of Martinico, and all the navigators, deſirous to eſtabliſh a magazine, where the colonies and the mother-country might ſend their reſpective articles of exchange. Nature ſeemed to point out Fort Royal as a fit place for this purpoſe. Its harbour is one of the beſt in the Windward Iſlands, and ſo celebrated for its ſafety, that, when it was open to the Dutch veſſels, they had orders from the republic to take ſhelter there during the months of June, July, and Auguſt, from the hurricanes which are ſo frequent and violent in thoſe latitudes. The lands of the Lamentin, the moſt fertile and beſt cultivated of all the colony, are diſtant about a league. The numerous rivers, which water this fruitful territory, convey loaded canoes to a conſiderable diſtance from the ſea. The protection of the fortifications ſeemed to ſecure the peaceful enjoyment of ſo many advantages, which are balanced, however, by a ſwampy and unwholeſome ſoil. On that account Fort Royal, though the capital of the iſland, and ſo highly favoured in many reſpects, was judged an improper place to become the centre of trade. Choice was therefore made of St. Peter's.

This little town, which ſtill contains near eighteen hundred houſes, after having been reduced four times to aſhes by fire, is ſituated on the weſtern coaſt of the iſland, in a bay or inlet which is almoſt circular. One part of it, which is

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called the Anchorage, is built on the ſtrand along the ſea-ſide, and is the place deſtined for the ſhips and warehouſes. The other front of the town ſtands upon a low hill, and is called the Fort, from a ſmall fortification built there in 1605, to check the ſeditions of the inhabitants againſt the tyranny of the monopoly. It now ſerves to protect the road from foreign enemies. Theſe two parts of the town are ſeparated by a rivulet or fordable ſtream. The Anchorage is ſituated at the back of a pretty high and perpendicular hill. Shut up as it were by this hill, which intercepts the eaſterly winds, the moſt conſtant, and moſt ſalubrious in thoſe latitudes; expoſed without any refreſhing breezes to the ſcorching beams of the ſun, reflected from the hill, from the ſea, and from the black ſand on the beach; this place is extremely hot, and always unwholeſome. Beſides there is no harbour here, and the ſhips, which cannot ſafely winter upon the coaſt, are obliged to take ſhelter at Fort Royal. But thoſe diſadvantages are compenſated by the conveniency of the road of St. Peter's, for the loading and unloading of goods; and by its ſituation, which is ſuch, that ſhips can go freely in and out at all times, and with all winds.

This town is the firſt that was built, and its territory the firſt that was cultivated on the iſland. It is not, however, ſo much its antiquity as its conveniency, that has made it the center of communication between the colony and the mother-country. St. Peter's was at firſt the ſtorehouſe only for the commodities of ſome diſtricts, which lay along ſuch dreary and tempeſtuous coaſts that no ſhip could land in the neighbourhood: the inhabitants could therefore carry on no trade, without removing their productions elſewhere. The agents for theſe planters, in thoſe early times, were only maſters of ſmall veſſels, who having made themſelves known by continually ſailing about the iſland, were enticed by the proſpect of gain, to fix upon a ſettled place for their reſidence. Honeſty was the ſole ſupport of this intercourſe: moſt of the agents could not read, and none of them kept any books or journals. They had a trunk in which they kept a ſeparate bag for each perſon, whoſe buſineſs they tranſacted. Into this bag they put the produce of the ſales, and took out what money they wanted for the purchaſes. When the bag was empty, the commiſſion was finiſhed.

Theſe illiterate traders were ſucceſſively replaced by more enlightened perſons from Europe. Some of thoſe had gone over to the iſland, when it was taken out of the hands of the excluſive companies. Their number encreaſed as the commodities multiplied; and they themſelves greatly contributed to extend the cultures by the loans which they advanced to the planters, whoſe labours had hitherto proceeded but ſlowly for want of ſuch help. This conduct made them the neceſſary agents for their debtors in the colony, as they were already for their employers at home: even the planter who owed them nothing, was in ſome meaſure dependent on them, as he might hereafter ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance. If his crop ſhould fail or be retarded, a plantation of ſugar canes be ſet on fire, or a mill blown down---if mortality ſhould carry off his cattle or his ſlaves, where could he find the means of ſupporting himſelf during thoſe calamities, or of repairing the loſs occaſioned by them? Theſe conſiderations induced ſuch as had

not

not yet borrowed money to truſt the agents of St. Peter's with their concerns, in order to ſecure a reſource in times of diſtreſs.

The few rich inhabitants, whoſe fortunes ſeemed to place them above ſuch wants were in ſome degree compelled to apply to thoſe agents. The trading captains, finding a port where they might with advantage complete their buſineſs, without ſtirring out of their ware-houſes, or even out of their ſhips, forſook Fort-Royal, Trinity-Fort, and all other places where an arbitrary price was put upon commodities, and where the payments were ſlow and uncertain. The planters, in conſequence of this revolution, being confined to their cultures, which require a conſtant and daily attendance, could no longer go abroad to diſpoſe of their produce. They were therefore obliged to intruſt it to able men, who being ſettled at the only frequented ſea-port, were ready to ſeize the moſt favourable opportunities for buying and ſelling; an ineſtimable advantage in a country where trade is continually fluctuating. Guadeloupe and Garnada followed that example, induced by the ſame motives.

The war of 1744 put a ſtop to this proſperity; for although the privateers of Martinico ſignalized themſelves in a manner worthy of the ancient freebooters, yet ſuch was the ſuperiority of the Engliſh navy, that an entire ſtop was put to the navigation of the iſland, both to the Spaniſh coaſt and to Canada, and they were conſtantly diſturbed even on their own coaſts. The few ſhips that came from France, in order to compenſate the hazards to which they were expoſed in the loſs of their commodities, ſold them at a very advanced price, and bought them at a very low one. By theſe means the produce of the colony decreaſed in value, the lands were but ill cultivated, the ſugar works neglected, and the ſlaves periſhing for want. Every thing was in a declining ſtate, and tending to decay. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle at laſt reſtored the freedom of trade, and with it the hope of recovering the ancient proſperity of the iſland: but the event did not correſpond with the pains that were taken to attain it.

Before two years had elapſed after the ceſſation of hoſtilities, Martinico loſt the contraband trade which it had carried on with the Spaniſh ſettlements. This revolution was not occaſioned by the vigilance of the guarda coſtas, but by the alteration which took place in the Spaniſh commerce; by the ſubſtitution of regiſter-ſhips for the galleons, which confined the trade of the ſmugglers within very narrow limits. In the new ſyſtem, the number of ſhips is undetermined, and the time of their arrival uncertain, which cauſes a variation in the price of commodities unknown before. Hence from the time that this ſyſtem took place, the ſmuggler who only engaged in the contraband trade from the aſſurance of a fixed and certain profit, would no longer purſue it, as it did not afford him an equivalent for the riſks he ran. But this loſs was not ſo ſenſibly felt by the colony as the hardſhips brought upon it by the mother-country. An unſkilful adminiſtration clogged the reciprocal and neceſſary communication between the iſland and North-America with ſo many formalities, that, in 1755, Martinico ſent but four veſſels to Canada. The direction of the colonies, now committed

to

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to the care of avaricious and ignorant clerks, ſoon loſt its importance, ſunk into contempt, and was proſtituted to venality.

The trade of France, however, was not affected by the decay of Martinico. The French found merchants in the road of St. Peter's, who purchaſed their cargoes at a good price, and ſent their ſhips home with expedition richly laden: and the mother country never enquired from what colony the conſumption and produce aroſe. Even the negroes were carried thither to be ſold at an high price; but few of them remained there. The greateſt part of them were ſent to the Granades and Guadeloupe, and ſome of them even to the neutral iſlands. But theſe profits of the parent ſtate were foreign and hurtful to the colony of Martinico; which had not been able, during the peace, to repair its loſſes, nor even to pay off the debts which a ſeries of calamities had obliged it to contract, when war, the greateſt of all evils, broke out afreſh. After France had ſuffered repeated defeats and loſſes, Martinico, as we have already ſeen, fell into the hands of the Engliſh, in 1762. It was indeed reſtored in conſequence of the treaty of Paris, ſixteen months after it had been conquered; but deſtitute of all the means of proſperity, which had made it of ſo much importance. The contraband trade to the Spaniſh ſettlements being formerly on the decline, was almoſt entirely loſt. The ceſſion of Canada to Great-Britain, had precluded all hopes of opening again a communication which had only been interrupted by temporary miſtakes; the productions of the Granades, St. Vincent, and Dominica, now become parts of the Britiſh empire, could no longer be brought into the harbours of Martinico; and a new regulation of the mother-country, which prohibited any intercourſe with Guadeloupe, left no hopes from that quarter.

Martinico, even in this depreſſed ſtate, contained at the laſt ſurvey, which was taken in January 1770, twelve thouſand four hundred and fifty white people, of all ages and ſexes; eighteen hundred and fourteen free blacks and mulattoes; ſeventy thouſand five hundred and fifty-three ſlaves, and four hundred and fifty-three fugitive negroes *. The proprietors of the lands on the iſland may be divided into four claſſes: the firſt are poſſeſſed of an hundred large ſugar plantations, in which twelve thouſand negroes are employed; the ſecond have one hundred and fifty ſugar plantations, which are cultivated by nine thouſand negroes; the third poſſeſs thirty ſugar plantations, which require the labour of two thouſand negroes; and the fourth, devoted to the culture of coffee, cotton, cacao, and manioc, may employ twelve thouſand negroes †. The remaining ſlaves of both ſexes are employed in domeſtic ſervices.

The produce of theſe different plantations, thus cultivated, amounted in 1760, to five hundred and thirty-ſix thouſand, ſix hundred and thirty-one pounds, nine ſhillings and ten pence ſterling ‡.

The

* Raynal, Hiſt Philoſ. et Politique, liv. xiii. † Id. ibid. ‡ This produce conſiſted of 177,116 hundred weight of clayed ſugar, and 12,579 hundred weight of raw ſugar; 68,518 hundred weight of coffee; 11,731 hundred weight of cacao; 6,048 hundred

The principal defence of Martinico was formerly Fort-Royal, where immenſe ſums had been buried, through want of ſkill, under a ridge of mountains; and the greateſt engineers have never been able to give any degree of ſtrength or ſolidity to works erected without any ſort of plan: they were obliged to content themſelves with adding a covered way, a rampart and flanks, to ſuch parts of the place as would admit of them. But theſe could not poſſibly be made ſufficient to preſerve a place which is commanded on all ſides. It was therefore thought advitable to fix upon ſome more advantageous ſituation. A citadel has accordingly been erected ſince the peace, upon Morne Garnier, an eminence higher, by thirty-five or forty feet, than the moſt elevated points of Patate, Tortenſon, and Cartouche, all which overlook Fort Royal. This citadel, which has coſt France upwards of three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, and which will require a garriſon of fifteen hundred men, muſt be taken before an enemy can attempt the town. But whatever defence it may make, the Engliſh will find little difficulty in reducing Martinico, or any of the French iſlands, as long as they continue maſters of the ſea.

Guadeloupe is no leſs worthy of defence, though worſe defended. This iſland, which is of an irregular form, may be about ſixty leagues in circumference. It is divided into two parts by a ſmall arm of the ſea, not two leagues long, and from fifteen to forty fathom broad. This canal, known by the name of the Salt River, is navigable, but only for veſſels of fifty tons burden. That part of the iſland which gives its name to the whole, is full of rugged rocks, towards the center, and ſo cold there, that nothing will grow but fern, and ſome uſeleſs ſhrubs covered with moſs. Out of the midſt of theſe rocks riſe *la ſouffriere*, or the "brimſtone mountain," to ſuch an immenſe height as to be loſt in the clouds. It exhales through various openings, a thick black ſmoke, intermixed with ſparks, which are viſible by night. From all theſe rocks and mountains flow a variety of ſtreams of pure and wholeſome water, which fertilize the plains below, and moderate the burning heat of the climate. The other part of the iſland, commonly called Grande Terre, is not ſo much favoured by nature; for although leſs rugged, it is deſtitute of either ſprings or rivers. The ſoil is not ſo fertile, nor is the climate ſo healthful or agreeable.

No European nation had taken poſſeſſion of Guadeloupe, when five hundred and fifty Frenchmen, under the conduct of two gentlemen, named L'Olive and Du Pleſſis, arrived there from Dieppe, in 1635. They had been very imprudent in their preparations. Their proviſions were ſo ill choſen, that they were ſpoiled in the paſſage, and they had ſhipped ſo few that they were exhauſted in two months. They were ſupplied with none from the mother-country; St. Chriſtopher's refuſed to ſpare them any, and the firſt attempts in agriculture were in-

dred weight of cotton; 2,518 hundred weight of caſſia; 783 caſks of rum; 307 hogſheads of molaſſes; 150 pounds of indigo; 2,147 pounds of preſerved fruits; forty-ſeven pounds of chocolate; 282 pounds of raſped tobacco; 494 pounds of rope-yarn; 234 cheſts of liqueurs; 451 hundred weight of wood for dying, and 12,108 hides in the hair. Raynal, liv. xiii.

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ſufficient for their ſupport. In this extremity the colony had no reſource but in the natives. They were obliged to beg bread from the people whom they came to diſpoſſeſs; but the ſuperfluities of a people who cultivate little, and who had never laid up any ſtores, could not be very conſiderable. Not content with the voluntary ſupplies of the ſavages, the French came to a reſolution to plunder them; and hoſtilities commenced on the 16th of January 1636.

Not thinking themſelves in a condition openly to reſiſt an enemy who had ſo much the advantage of them, from the ſuperiority of arms, the Caribs deſtroyed their own proviſions and plantations, and retired to Grande Terre, or to the neighbouring iſlands. From theſe retreats, the moſt deſperate of them returned to Guadeloupe, and concealed themſelves in the thickeſt parts of the foreſts. In the day time, they ſhot with their poiſoned arrows, or knocked down with their clubs, all the invaders who were ſcattered about for the purpoſe of hunting or fiſhing; and in the night, they burnt the houſes, and deſtroyed the plantations of thoſe unjuſt ſpoilers. A dreadful famine was the conſequence of this kind of warfare. The French were reduced to the greateſt extremities. Many of them, who had been ſlaves at Algiers, held in abhorrence the hands that had broken their fetters, and all of them curſed their exiſtence. But at length, Du Pleſſis and L'Olive being both dead, the wiſdom of Aubert, who had been appointed governor by the Weſt India company, brought about a peace with the Caribs; and the remembrance of paſt hardſhips proved a powerful incentive to the cultivation of every article of immediate neceſſity, while a deſire of procuring conveniencies awaked an attention to thoſe articles of luxury conſumed in the mother-country *.

The proſperity of Guadeloupe, however, was ſtill impeded by obſtacles ariſing from its ſituation. The facility with which the pirates from the neighbouring iſlands could carry off their cattle, their ſlaves, and their very crops, frequently brought the colony to a deſperate ſituation. Inteſtine broils, ariſing from jealouſy of power or authority, often diſturbed the quiet of the planters. The adventurers who went over to the Weſt-Indies, diſdaining an iſland that was fitter for agriculture than for naval expeditions, were eaſily drawn to Martinico, by the conveniency of its harbours. The protection of thoſe intrepid pirates brought to that iſland all the traders, who flattered themſelves that they might buy up the ſpoils of the enemy at a low price, and all the planters, who thought they might there ſafely give themſelves up to peaceful labours. This quick population could not fail of making Martinico the ſeat of the civil and military government of the French Weſt Indies; and of courſe the miniſtry were more attentive to it, than to any of the other iſlands, whatever might be their natural importance.

In conſequence of this preference, and the neglect which it occaſioned, the inhabitants of Guadeloupe in the year 1700, amounted only to three thouſand eight hundred and twenty-five white people; three hundred and twenty five

* Du Tertre, Hiſt. Gen. des Antilles. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. liv. vii. c. 2.

ſavages,

ſavages, free negroes and mulattoes; and ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-five ſlaves. But its future progreſs was as rapid as its firſt attempts had been ſlow: at the end of the year 1755, its inhabitants were increaſed to nine thouſand ſix hundred and forty three whites, and forty-one thouſand one hundred and forty ſlaves, of all ages and of both ſexes. Its plantations were in a flouriſhing condition, and continued to progreſs in improvement, and its inhabitants in numbers, till 1759, when it was taken by the Engliſh.

France lamented this loſs, but the coloniſts had reaſon to rejoice. During a ſiege of three months, they had ſeen their plantations deſtroyed, the buildings that ſerved for carrying on their labours burnt down, and ſome of their ſlaves carried off. Had the enemy been forced to retreat after theſe devaſtations, the iſland would have been ruined. Deprived of all aſſiſtance from the mother-country, which was not able to ſend it any ſuccours, and expecting nothing from the Dutch, who frequented its roads, becauſe it had nothing to offer them in exchange, Guadeloupe could never have ſubſiſted till the enſuing harveſt. The conquerors delivered it from theſe apprehenſions. Informed of the advantage which the French derived from their trade with this iſland, the Engliſh haſtened to ſend their ſhips thither; and ſo multiplied their expeditions, that they overſtocked the market, and ſunk the value of all European commodities. The planters bought them up at a very low price; and in conſequence of the great plenty, obtained long credit. To this credit, ariſing from neceſſity, was ſoon added another reſulting from ſpeculation, which enabled the colony to fulfil its engagements. A great number of negroes were carried to Guadeloupe, in order to haſten the growth, and enhance the value of the plantations. Theſe, which amounted to near twenty thouſand, were ſufficient to give the conquerors a well grounded hope of reaping great advantages from this iſland: but their expectations were fruſtrated by the peace, which reſtored Guadeloupe and its dependencies to France in 1763.

By the dependencies of Guadeloupe is to be underſtood ſeveral ſmall iſlands; which being included in its juriſdiction, fell with it, as we have ſeen *, into the hands of the Engliſh. Among theſe is Deſeada, which ſeems to have been detached from Guadeloupe by the ſea, and is only ſeparated from it by a narrow channel. This iſland is a kind of rock, where nothing will grow but cotton. It is uncertain when it was firſt viſited by the French, but the preſent ſettlement cannot be of long ſtanding. The Saints, three leagues diſtant from Guadeloupe, are two very ſmall iſlands, which with another, yet ſmaller, form a triangle, and have a tolerable harbour. Thirty Frenchmen were ſent thither in 1648; but they were ſoon obliged to quit their ſtation by reaſon of an exceſſive drought, which dried up their principal ſpring, before they had time to make any reſervoirs. A ſecond attempt was made in 1652, when laſting plantations were made, which now yield annually fifty thouſand weight of coffee, and ninety thouſand of cotton.

* Vol. I. book III. chap. i. p. 556.

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This produce is by no means great, but it is more conſiderable than that of St. Bartholomew, which was peopled with fifty Frenchmen in 1648. They were all maſſacred by a troop of Caribs from St. Vincent and Dominica, and not replaced till a conſiderable time after. In 1753, the number of the coloniſts did not exceed one hundred and ſeventy, whoſe whole fortune conſiſted in fifty-four ſlaves, and ſixty four thouſand cacao trees. Since the peace in 1763, the population of the white people has amounted to four hundred, and that of the blacks to five hundred. The plantations have increaſed in the ſame proportion. This ſmall iſland is very hilly, and the ſoil is extremely barren, but it has the conveniency of a good harbour. The wretched condition of the inhabitants is ſo notorious, that the Engliſh privateers, who frequently touched here during the late war, always paid punctually for the ſmall refreſhments which were afforded them, though they could eaſily have extorted them by force. Compaſſion for the neceſſities of theſe defenceleſs iſlanders diſarmed the rage of enemies, and the rapacity of plunderers, and left the philoſopher reaſon to conclude, that, whatever certain appearances may indicate, man is not naturally either cruel or unjuſt.

Marigalante, another of the dependencies of Guadeloupe, was alſo wreſted from its natural inhabitants in 1648. The French, who had forcibly taken poſſeſſion of it, were long annoyed by the ſavages of the neighbouring iſlands, but are now left in peaceable poſſeſſion of an iſland which they have cultivated, after they had depopulated it. This iſland is fruitful, but not large, and forms a very deſirable acceſſion to Guadeloupe; which, including all thoſe ſmall iſlands, contained in 1767, eleven thouſand eight hundred and ſixty-three white people, of all ages and of both ſexes; ſeven hundred and fifty-two free blacks and mulattoes, and ſeventy-two thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-one ſlaves. The produce of all theſe ſettlements, aſſiſted by ſuch a number of negroes, ought to be very conſiderable; but in 1768, Guadeloupe, and its dependencies, yielded to the mother-country no more than commodities to the value of three hundred and ten thouſand, ſeven hundred and ninety-two pounds, eighteen ſhillings and threepence, ſterling *.

From this account it is eaſy to judge how great a part of the produce has been fradulently exported, as it is well known that the crops of Guadeloupe are more abundant than thoſe of Martinico. The reaſons for ſuch ſuperiority are obvious. Guadeloupe employs a greater number of ſlaves upon its plantations than Martinico; which being at the ſame time an iſland that trades and is concerned in cultivation, the labour of its ſlaves is of courſe divided. Beſides, a great many of the ſlaves in Guadeloupe have been placed upon freſh lands; and ground

* Theſe commodities conſiſted of 140,418 hundred weight of clayed ſugar; 23,603 hundred weight of raw ſugar; 34,205 hundred weight of coffee; 11,955 hundred weight of cotton; 456 hundred weight of cacao; 7,884 hundred weight of ginger; 2,529 hundred weight of wood for dying; 24 chefts of ſweetmeats; 165 chefts of liqueurs; thirty-four caſks of rum; and 1,202 hides. Raynal. liv. xiii.

newly

newly cleared always yields more than that which has been exhausted by long tillage. But if we may trust some observers, this colony may expect that the produce of its plantations will soon decrease. They maintain that the part of the island properly called Guadeloupe, has long since attained to the utmost degree of cultivation; and that Grande Terre, the greater part of which is newly cleared, affords three-fifths of the produce of the whole settlement; that it is impossible this part of the island can preserve that flourishing state to which it has casually arrived; that the land is naturally barren, exhausted by forced culture, and the more exposed to the droughts so common in this climate, as there is hardly a tree left. But others are of opinion that Guadeloupe may augment its produce by one sixth, and that the time of this increase is not distant. The colony has no considerable debts; and the inhabitants having fewer wants than those of the richer islands, where affluence has long since awakened the desire and the taste of enjoyment, can spare more for the cultivation of their lands. Their situation in the midst of the English and Dutch settlements, gives them an opportunity of running a fourth part of their sugars and cottons at an higher price than they would sell for to the French merchants, and to purchase slaves and other articles in exchange, at a cheaper rate than they could be furnished by their countrymen. These concurring circumstances, if the soil does not fail, must soon raise Guadeloupe to a state of the greatest prosperity.

The flourishing condition to which this island had attained while in the possession of the English, excited general surprise when it was restored at the peace. It was beheld by the mother-country with that kind of attention and respect which opulence inspires. Hitherto Guadeloupe, like all the other French Caribbee islands, had been subordinate to Martinico. It was now rescued from this dependence, by the appointment of a governor, and an intendant to preside over it. These new magistrates, desirous of signalizing their arrival by some innovation, instead of suffering the produce of the island to be disposed of through the usual channel, laid a plan for conveying it directly to Europe. This scheme was by no means disagreeable to the inhabitants, and it was contrived that the ministry at home should adopt it. From that time all intercourse was strictly prohibited between Martinico and Guadeloupe, and the two colonies became as great strangers to each other as if they had belonged to rival, or even to hostile powers.

It is the business of the court of Versailles to judge, whether the direct navigation from the ports of France to Guadeloupe will advance its commercial and political interests; a point which seems very doubtful, especially in time of war, while England continues mistress of the sea. Let us inquire into the means that have been taken to secure the island itself. Fort Lewis, which defends Grande Terre, is incapable of much resistance, and nearly in the same condition as when taken by the English in 1759. That part of the island which is properly called Guadeloupe, is protected by Fort Charles, which has been put in a state of defence since the peace. Two bastions have been added towards the sea; a good covered way, which goes all around, together with a glacis; two large armories with

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re-entering angles, having each a good redoubt, and behind theſe good tenailles, with caponieres and poſterns of communication with the body of the place; two redoubts; large and deep ditches; a reſervoir of water, and a powder magazine bomb-proof. All theſe out-works, in addition to the fort, will enable an active and experienced commander to ſuſtain a regular ſiege; but how long, muſt depend upon the numbers, valour, and ſkill of the enemy.

The French colony in Hiſpaniola is ſtill more worthy of the attention of the court. This iſland is about an hundred and twenty leagues in length; its greateſt breadth is about forty; and its circumference is about four hundred, excluſive of its bays and creeks, which would make about two hundred leagues more. It is parted lengthways, from eaſt to weſt, by a ridge of mountains, covered with woods, which riſing gradually, exhibit the fineſt proſpect imaginable. Several of theſe mountains were formerly full of mines, and are perhaps ſo ſtill; others are fit for culture. Almoſt all of them form delicious and temperate vallies: but in the plains, where the ſoil is remarkably fertile, the air is ſo ſcorchingly hot as to be almoſt intolerable; eſpecially in thoſe places by the ſea-ſide, where the coaſt runs narrow, between the water and the back of the mountains, and is expoſed to a double reflexion of the ſun, both from the rocks and the waves.

Spain continued in the entire poſſeſſion of Hiſpaniola, when ſome Engliſh and French adventurers, who had been driven out of St. Chriſtopher's, took refuge there, as we have already ſeen *, in 1630, and ſoon after made themſelves maſters of the neighbouring iſland of Tortuga. This ſettlement alarmed the court of Madrid, and orders were given for the deſtruction of the new colony. The commander of the galleons, who was intruſted with this commiſſion, choſe for executing it the time when the Freebooters were at ſea, and the Buccaneers in purſuit of wild cattle in Hiſpaniola; ſo that he had only to contend with that part of the brave inhabitants which was employed in cultivating the ground. Their reſiſtance was conſequently feeble. All who attempted it were put to the ſword, and thoſe who ſurrendered were hanged. The reſt took refuge in the woods and mountains, whither the Spaniards did not deign to purſue them.

This expedition, however, did not prove ſufficient to ſecure Tortuga to the crown of Caſtile. For that purpoſe, it would have been neceſſary to have left a garriſon, ſufficient to diſperſe the abſent adventurers on their return. But the Spaniſh general judged ſuch a precaution needleſs, after the ſevere vengeance which he had taken. His only care was to purge the great iſland of the Buccaneers. With this view he formed a body of five hundred light troops, who diſperſed themſelves in ſmall parties along the coaſts, and in the foreſts which thoſe hunters frequented. Mean time the Buccaneers informed of what had happened, and being joined by their aſſociates the Freebooters, repoſſeſſed themſelves of Tortuga, toward the end of the year 1638. The neceſſity of defending themſelves againſt an enemy, from whom they could expect no quarter,

* Vol. I. book III. chap. i. p. 531.

and

and with whom they desired no reconciliation, induced them to give up personal independence for social safety. They chose as their chief one Willis, an Englishman, who had distinguished himself on many occasions by his prudence and valour.

Willis fortified the island, and by his vigilance protected it effectually against the Spaniards; but the French, under his government, soon began to feel the effects of national partiality. Having collected a sufficient number of his countrymen to keep the foreigners in awe, he began to treat them as subjects; and if assisted by the English government, he would have secured that valuable settlement to Britain. Of this the French were fully sensible, and secretly informed De Poincy, governor general of their West India islands, of the superiority which the English had assumed at Tortuga. De Poincy at once perceived the danger, and the importance as well as the difficulty of a remedy. He had among his officers an engineer, with whose courage and ability he was well acquainted, and who had accompanied Desnambuc in his first expedition to St. Christopher's. This brave man, named Le Vasseur, was a protestant; and the confidence with which De Poincy had always distinguished him, was considered as an injurious partiality by the catholics, and had drawn on him the reproaches of the court. On this account it is supposed that the governor-general was glad of an honourable pretext to get rid of him, and therefore placed him in opposition to Willis. Be that however as it may, he bestowed on Le Vasseur the government of Tortuga; and in order to animate him in the attempt to recover it, he promised him, in a secret article, liberty of conscience for himself and all the French protestants who should accompany him.

Having collected thirty-nine followers, Le Vasseur set sail; but he was too prudent to appear at Tortuga, before he had sounded the sentiments of the Buccaneers. With this view he took shelter in one of the neglected ports of Hispaniola, where he was joined by fifty persons of his own persuasion, Buccaneers or Freebooters; and though his strength was still inferior to that of the English, hoping to be joined on his arrival by all the Frenchmen in Tortuga, he determined to carry his enterprise into execution. He accordingly disembarked without resistance towards the end of August 1641; and marching in order of battle, summoned Willis and his countrymen to surrender the place within four and twenty hours. A demand so unexpected, accompanied with the revolt of all the French in Tortuga, disconcerted the English commander so much, that, without inquiring whether Le Vasseur was attended by a sufficient force to support his pretensions, he immediately evacuated the island, and never attempted to recover it *.

The Spaniards were less compliant. They suffered so much from the pyratical expeditions sent out from Tortuga, that they thought their peace, their honour, and their interest equally concerned in getting once more possession of that island. Three times they recovered it, and were as often expelled. At last it remained in the hands of the French, who kept it till they were so firmly

* Charlevoix. Du Tertre. Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. liv. xvii. c. 1.

established

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eſtabliſhed in Hiſpaniola as to diſregard ſuch an inconſiderable ſettlement. Their progreſs, however, was but ſlow; for although hunters and pirates were continually ſeen ranging from one iſland to the other in large companies, the number of planters, who were properly the only coloniſts, did not exceed four hundred in 1665, when they firſt attracted the attention of the mother-country. The court of France was ſenſible how neceſſary it was to multiply them, and for that purpoſe appointed them a governor, every way qualified for ſuch an undertaking.

The name of this governor was Bertrand D'Ogeron, who, as already obſerved, may be properly denominated the father of the French colony in Hiſpaniola. He was formed by nature to be great in himſelf, independent of the ſmiles or the frowns of fortune. After having ſerved fifteen years as an officer in the marines, he had gone over to America, in order to attempt an eſtabliſhment; but with the beſt concerted plans, through unavoidable accidents, he failed in every project. The fortitude, however, which he ſhewed in his misfortunes, made his virtues the more conſpicuous, and the expedients he contrived to extricate himſelf, heightened the opinion already entertained of his genius. The eſteem in which he was held by his countrymen in Hiſpaniola and Tortuga, pointed him out to the court, as a proper perſon to give ſtability to that colony.

The execution of this undertaking was full of difficulties. It was neceſſary to ſubject to the reſtraints of law a licentious crew, who had hitherto lived in a ſtate of the moſt abſolute independence; to reconcile to labour a ſet of plunderers, who delighted only in rapine and idleneſs; to prevail upon men accuſtomed to trade freely with all nations, to ſubmit to the privileges of an excluſive company, formed in 1664, for all the French ſettlements. Should this be effected, it was ſtill neceſſary to allure new inhabitants into an iſland which had been repreſented as unwholeſome, and whoſe fertility was not yet ſufficiently known. D'Ogeron, however, was not diſcouraged. A long intercourſe with the men he was to govern had made him perfectly acquainted with their character: he knew every movement of their ſouls; but whatever his ſagacity might ſuggeſt, his generous heart would permit him to adopt no meaſure, except what was noble and juſt. The Freebooters were determined to go in ſearch of ſome ſhore, where they might enjoy more liberty: he detained them, by relinquiſhing that ſhare of their booty, to which his ſtation entitled him; and he attached them to his perſon by obtaining for them commiſſions from the crown of Portugal to act againſt the Spaniards, after peace had been concluded between France and Spain.

This was the only method to make thoſe men friends to their country, who would otherwiſe have become its enemies rather than have renounced the hopes of plunder. The Buccaneers or huntſmen, who only wiſhed to obtain a ſufficiency, in order to enable them to erect habitations, found D'Ogeron ready to advance them money without intereſt, or to procure it for them by his credit; and the planters, whom he wiſely preferred above all the other coloniſts, received from him every

encouragement within the power of his unwearied activity. The alterations which theſe encouragements occaſioned required only to be made permanent. There was not one female in the new ſettlement before the arrival of the governor; and as he very juſtly conſidered that women could alone perpetuate the happineſs of the men and the welfare of the colony, by promoting population, he wrote for a ſupply. The company ſent over fifty, who were inſtantly ſold to the higheſt bidder: a like number ſoon after arrived, and were diſpoſed of with equal rapidity. This was the only way to gratify the moſt impetuous of all paſſions without quarrels, and to propagate the human race without bloodſhed. All the ſettlers expected to have female companions from their own country, to alleviate their misfortunes, or to ſhare their felicity. But they were diſappointed: none were afterwards ſent over except abandoned women, who uſed to engage themſelves for three years in the ſervice of the men *.

That method of loading the colony with the refuſe of the mother-country, introduced ſuch profligacy of manners, that it became neceſſary to put a ſtop to ſo dangerous an expedient. No means, however, were contrived to forward population by the introduction of the more ſober part of the female ſex. Notwithſtanding this neglect, D'Ogeron was able, in the courſe of four years, to increaſe the number of planters from four to fifteen hundred; and the proſperity of the colony was daily increaſing, when it was ſuddenly checked by an inſurrection, which threw all things into confuſion. This inſurrection was occaſioned by the extortions of the Weſt India company.

When D'Ogeron was appointed by the court of Verſailles to the government of Tortuga, and of the French colony in Hiſpaniola, he could not prevail upon the inhabitants to acknowledge his authority, without giving them hopes that the ports under his juriſdiction ſhould be open to foreigners; yet ſo great was the aſcendant which he acquired over their minds, that he eſtabliſhed in the colony by degrees, and without diſturbance, the excluſive privilege of the company. But this company, which in time engroſſed the whole trade, became ſo rapacious as to demand two thirds more for their goods than the colony had formerly paid to the Dutch for the ſame commodities. A monopoly ſo oppreſſive filled the inhabitants with indignation: they flew to arms in 1670; and could only be prevailed upon to lay them down, after the elapſe of almoſt two years, on condition that all French ſhips ſhould be at liberty to trade with them, on paying five per cent. to the company.

D'Ogeron, who brought about this accommodation, availed himſelf of the conditions to ingratiate himſelf with the colony. He procured two veſſels, ſeemingly deſtined to convey the produce of his own plantations into France, but meant in fact for the benefit of thoſe under his government. Every one ſhipped his particular commodities, at a moderate freight: and on the return of the veſſel, the generous governor cauſed the cargo to be expoſed to public view; and every one took what he wanted, not only at prime coſt, but upon truſt, without

* Charlevoix, Hiſt. de St. Domingue. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, ubi ſup.

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intereſt, and without notes of hand *. This conduct gained him univerſal regard, and eſtabliſhed his authority in the hearts of the coloniſts. People flocked from all quarters to the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, where the number of inhabitants became ſo conſiderable as to inſpire D'Ogeron with the hope of making himſelf maſter of the whole iſland. With this view he founded two new ſettlements, one near Cape Tiburon, and the other in the peninſula of Samana; but he was cut off by death in the midſt of theſe paternal offices and patriotic projects, leaving behind him no other inheritance but the memory of his virtues and the example of his wiſdom.

M. De Pouancy, nephew to D'Ogeron, ſucceeded him in the government of the colony, which continued to proſper under the prudent regulations that had been eſtabliſhed. Theſe were inviolably obſerved by Pouancy, who though inferior to his predeceſſor in talents, had at leaſt the good ſenſe to follow his footſteps. The people placed an equal confidence in both; and both had the honour and happineſs to eſtabliſh the colony on a firm footing, without laws and without military force. Their ſound underſtanding and known integrity, enabled them to determine all differences to the ſatisfaction of the people under their government; and public order was maintained by that authority which is the natural conſequence of perſonal merit. But ſo ſimple a conſtitution could not be laſting: it required too much virtue to admit of ſuch a hope. In 1684 there was ſo viſible an alteration, that, in order to eſtabliſh a due ſubordination in the colony, two adminiſtrators were called in from Martinico, where regular tribunals were already erected. Theſe legiſlators appointed courts of judicature in the ſeveral diſtricts, accountable to a ſuperior council at Petit Goave; but this juriſdiction afterwards growing too extenſive, it was confined to the ſouthern diſtricts, and a ſimilar tribunal was erected in 1702, at Cape François, for the northern diſtricts †.

So many innovations could hardly be introduced without ſome oppoſition. It was to be feared that the Buccaneers and Freebooters, who compoſed the greater part of the colony, and were naturally averſe from the reſtraints of law, would go and ſettle in Jamaica, allured by the proſpect of greater freedom. The planters themſelves were under ſome temptation of this kind, as their trade was confined by ſuch ſevere reſtrictions, as obliged them to ſell their commodities at a very low rate. The former, however, were gained by perſuaſions, and the latter by the proſpect of a change in their ſituation, which was indeed altogether deſperate. Hides had been originally the chief article of exportation from Tortuga, and from the French colony in Hiſpaniola, as the Buccaneers brought home nothing elſe from the chace except tallow, and ſome pieces of beef for drying. Tobacco was afterwards added, when part of the inhabitants began to devote themſelves to the cultivation of the ground, and was ſold at a very advanced price to all nations. But unfortunately this trade was ſoon confined by an excluſive company; and though that company was in a ſhort time aboliſhed, the ſale of to-

* Charlevoix, Hiſt. de St. Domingue. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, ubi ſup. † Id. ibid.

bacco

bacco derived no advantage from a circumſtance ſo favourable to other articles, as it was farmed out. Hoping to meet with ſome indulgence from government, as a reward for their ſubmiſſion, the inhabitants offered to give the king a fourth part of all the tobacco which they ſhould ſend into France, provided they were allowed the entire diſpoſal of their own property. But private intereſt made ſo reaſonable a propoſal be rejected, though it was evident this method would have advanced the revenue more than the tax paid by the farmer.

Exaſperated at ſuch an inſtance of ſeverity, the coloniſts gave up the planting of tobacco, and applied themſelves wholly to the culture of cacao and indigo. Hitherto the labours of the field had been performed wholly by Europeans. Some ſucceſsful expeditions againſt the Spaniards now procured the inhabitants a few negroes. The number was increaſed by the arrival of two or three French ſhips from Africa, and by ſome prizes taken from the Engliſh during the war in 1688. Without ſlaves the culture of ſugar could not be undertaken: nor were they alone ſufficient. Money was neceſſary to erect buildings and purchaſe utenſils. The profit which ſome perſons drew from their connexions with the Freebooters, who were generally ſucceſsful in their expeditions, enabled them to employ ſlaves, and to undertake the planting of thoſe canes, which convey the gold of Mexico and the ſilver of Peru to nations whoſe only treaſure is their induſtry, and whoſe mines are fertile lands.

But notwithſtanding theſe improvements, and although the Spaniards, by an article in the treaty of Rytwick, made a legal ceſſion of the northermoſt part of Hiſpaniola to the French, in 1697, the colony made no extraordinary progreſs till 1722, when all the monopolies were ſuppreſſed. From that period it has advanced with the utmoſt rapidity towards a proſperous ſtate. The two unfortunate wars that annoyed its ſeas, have only, it ſhould ſeem, ſerved to compreſs its ſtrength, which has increaſed amazingly ſince the ceſſation of hoſtilities. A wound is ſoon healed where the conſtitution is ſound. Diſeaſes themſelves are a kind of remedies, which by expelling vitiated humours, add new vigour to a robuſt habit of body. They reſtore the equilibrium of the whole frame, and impart to it a more regular and uniform motion. In like manner war ſeems to ſtrengthen and ſupport national ſpirit in many ſtates of Europe, which might be enervated and corrupted by the proſperity of commerce, and the enjoyments of luxury. The immenſe loſſes which almoſt equally attend victory and defeat, excite induſtry and quicken labour. Nations impoveriſhed merely by the waſte of war, will ſoon recover their former ſplendour, if not oppreſſed by an arbitrary adminiſtration.

Theſe reaſonings are equally applicable to France and England, where nothing more is wanting to proſperity, than a free courſe to the induſtry of the inhabitants. The French colony in Hiſpaniola affords a ſtriking inſtance of what may be expected from an enterpriſing people, favoured with a good ſoil and an advantageous ſituation, when exempted from the tyrannical reſtraints of a monopoly. This colony is comprehended within an hundred and eighty leagues of ſea-coaſt, lying towards the north, the weſt, and the ſouth. The ſouthern diviſion extends from Cape Tiburon to the point of Cape Beata, which occupies about,

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about ſixty leagues of coaſt, more or leſs confined by the mountains. The Spaniards had built two large towns in that part of the iſland during their proſperity, but foreſook them in their decline. The vacant towns, however, were not immediately occupied by the French, who did not think themſelves in ſafety ſo near the city of St. Domingo, the capital of that colony on whoſe ruins they were riſing. But the ſucceſs of their privateers, which commonly aſſembled at the little ſpot called Vache iſland, to cruize upon the Spaniards, emboldened them in 1673 to begin a ſettlement on the neighbouring coaſt. This ſettlement, which gave birth to ſeveral others, owed its progreſs to its contraband trade with the Engliſh and Dutch. It was not before 1740, that the French began to frequent that diſtant part of the colony.

The ſettlement in the ſouthern diſtrict which lies moſt to the windward, is called Jaquemel. Though of pretty long ſtanding, it contains but forty-two houſes. The plantations of this and the neighbouring ſettlements are indeed ſo hemmed in by the mountains, that no great degree of opulence can be expected from them. But in another view Jaquemel merits the attention of government. It lies very conveniently for the reception of any troops or warlike ſtores, which the mother-country may chuſe to ſend to the colony in time of war, and which would run great riſks if landed on the other ſide of the iſland, where an Engliſh ſquadron is continually ſtationed. Jaquemel is alſo of great ſervice in times of hoſtility on account of the vaſt quantity of proviſions which it receives from the Dutch iſland of Curaçao, and which may be conveyed acroſs the country, by a road of eighty leagues, that leads to Leogane and Port-au-Prince.

While Jaquemel furniſhes the ſupplies, St. Lewis conſtitutes the defence of the colony on this ſide. It ſtands at the bottom of a bay, which forms a tolerable harbour; but though founded in the beginning of the preſent century, it contains no more than forty houſes, and ſeems to be naturally deſtined to perpetual poverty. St. Lewis is, however, the ſeat of government for the ſouthern diviſion of the colony, and receives the few ſhips of war which appear in thoſe latitudes. Theſe are the only advantages which it poſſeſſes, and it is by theſe that it is able to protect the trade and wealth of Cayes, which lies ten leagues lower on the ſame coaſt. This opulent town, which ſeems to have been placed as it were fortuitouſly, at the bottom of a ſhallow and dangerous bay, contains two hundred and eighty houſes, all ſunk into ſwampy ground, and moſt of them ſurrounded with ſtagnant water. The air is conſequently foul and unwholeſome; and on that account, as well as the badneſs of the harbour, which is almoſt entirely choaked up with mud, it has been often wiſhed that the trade with the mother country could be transferred to St. Lewis. But all attempts to this purpoſe have hitherto been unſucceſsful, and will likely ever prove ſo, for very evident reaſons. In the neighbourhood of Cayes lies a fertile plain, near ſix leagues long, and four and an half broad, every part of which is fit for the culture of ſugar. It is well watered in many places, and may be ſo every where. Nothing is wanting to make it one of the richeſt ſpots in the iſland, except a greater number of ſlaves, and theſe are daily increaſing. So many advantages,

vantages, notwithſtanding the inconveniencies with which they are accompanied, are a ſtrong inducement to perſons who croſs the Atlantic merely in hopes of making a fortune, to reſort directly to Cayes.

The ſouthern diviſion of the colony terminates at Cape Tiburon. The little ſettlement that has been formed there has no harbour; and the road which ſupplies that defect is conſtantly rough: but its fortifications in time of war, are a protection to ſuch merchant ſhips as can double the Cape. It affords a retreat alſo to neutral ſhips, which being purſued by privateers, cannot reach Jaquemel or St. Lewis; as well as to ſuch men of war as may be in danger, in thoſe latitudes, from the violence of the winds, or the ſuperior force of an enemy's ſquadron. Though this diſtrict is the leaſt of the three, into which the French colony in Hiſpaniola is divided, it contained thirty-three thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-three ſlaves in December, 1766.

The weſtern diviſion of the colony, which reaches from Cape Tiburon to the Mole of St. Nicholas, and occupies ninety leagues of coaſt, contained at the time of the former computation, eighty-three thouſand ſlaves. The firſt ſettlement of any conſequence in this diviſion, in paſſing from the ſouth, is l'Anſe de Jeremie, which affords a conſiderable quantity of cotton and cacao. The town is ſituated on a riſing ground, in a fine air, and has ſome good houſes. It is the port to which the privateers that cruize on the coaſt of Jamaica bring in their prizes, in time of war. Culture and population, in a word, have made ſome progreſs here, and promiſe more. The ſame ſucceſs is not to be expected at Petit Goave. This place, ſo famous in the times of the Buccaneers, is now only a heap of ruins. Leogane, ſituated within five leagues of Petit Goave, contains three hundred and ſeventeen houſes, which form a long ſquare and fifteen ſtreets, ſpacious and well laid out. It ſtands half a league from the ſea, in a narrow but fertile plain, properly cultivated, and watered by a great many rivulets.

The north-weſt part of Hiſpaniola was firſt peopled by the French, on account of its diſtance from the ſtrength of the Spaniards, which they had reaſon to fear; and this diviſion of the colony lying in the centre of the coaſts in their poſſeſſion, the ſeat of government was there fixed. It was originally ſettled at Petit Goave; but the barrenneſs and unwholeſomeneſs of that place, ſoon made a change neceſſary. It was then transferred to Leogane, and afterwards to Port-au-Prince, which in 1750 became the reſidence of a ſuperior council, a commander in chief, and an intendant. This capital ſtands at the bottom of a large bay, divided in two by La Gonave, a deſert iſland. It contains five hundred and fifty-eight houſes, diſperſed in twenty-nine ſtreets, and almoſt loſt in the vaſt extent which it occupies. The drainings of the torrents that fall from the hills render the town always damp, without ſupplying it with good water. The inhabitants muſt ſend to a conſiderable diſtance to procure any that is wholeſome. The harbour is by no means good; and the place, commanded on the land-ſide, is every where acceſſible towards the ſea.

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About fifteen leagues to the north of Port-au-Prince ſtands the town of St. Mark, at the bottom of a ſmall bay, crowned with a creſcent of hills, which are parted from the ſea only by a narrow plain. Nature in kindneſs to mankind, has left this ſlip of fertile land for the purpoſes of life and cultivation, between the aridity of the mountains and the abyſs of the water. But theſe hills, tho' barren, are not altogether uſeleſs: they furniſh free ſtone, which is alſo found upon the coaſt, as good as any in Europe. With this ſtone the town is built. It contains an hundred and fifty-four houſes, and is a place of conſiderable trade. Its proſperity would rapidly increaſe, if the French ſhould ſucceed in a project which they have much at heart; that of watering the dry plain of the Artibonite, by ſluices from the river to which it owes its name, and which divides it lengthways, almoſt from one end to the other.

The northern diviſion of the French colony in Hiſpaniola extends from the Mole of St. Nicholas to the environs of Monte Chriſto, famous for the ſmuggling trade there carried on by foreign veſſels with the Spaniards. At the extremity of Cape St. Nicholas is a large, ſafe, and commodious harbour. It ſtands directly oppoſite to Point Mazi, in the iſland of Cuba, and ſeems naturally deſtined, by this poſition, to become the moſt important ſtation in the Weſt Indies, with reſpect to navigation. The opening of the bay is two thouſand nine hundred yards broad at the entrance. The road leads to the harbour, and the harbour to the baſon. All this extenſive opening is perfectly healthful, though the waters of the ſea are almoſt in a ſtate of ſtagnation there. The baſon, which appears to be made for the purpoſe of careening, has not the inconvenience of cloſe harbours: it is open to the weſt and north winds; and yet, let them blow ever ſo hard, they can never interrupt any work that is done in the harbour. The peninſula where the harbour is ſituated, riſes gradually from the plains: it looks like a ſingle mountain, with a broad and flat top, deſcending by a gentle ſlope to unite with the reſt of the iſland.

The Mole of St. Nicholas was long neglected by France, as its barren hills afforded no proſpect of advantage from cultivation: but the uſe which the Engliſh made of it during the late war, as a ſafe and convenient road, has raiſed it to conſequence ſince the peace; and as it commands the Windward Paſſage, it may be conſidered as the Gibraltar of America. The French miniſtry began with ſending thither about five thouſand Acadians and Germans; the greater part of whom periſhed, with aſtoniſhing rapidity, of the diſeaſes peculiar to the climate. Some years after, they declared the Mole a free port. In conſequence of this ſtep the remaining inhabitants are enabled to procure by commerce, a ſubſiſtence with which the adjacent country could but poorly ſupply them. Their habitations, which were formerly mean, have all been rebuilt with materials brought from North America. The new city ſtands on the margin of a plain, which is ſufficiently elevated to render it cool and temperate. Its territory is covered with a natural ſavannah, and adorned with groves of palm trees of various kinds. The town itſelf is divided into ſeveral ſpacious ſtreets, all traverſed

traverſed by artificial rills of running water. It contains four hundred houſes, beſides a large ſtore-houſe for the navy, an hoſpital, and ſeveral public buildings. Four hundred and fifty negroes, belonging to the king, have been employed on the fortifications for ſeveral years. The citadel is ſaid to mount an hundred pieces of cannon, and the town and adjoining batteries twice that number.

For the conveniency of the trade eſtabliſhed in this port, a very good carriage-road has been made between the Mole of St. Nicholas and Cape François. The importation of North American lumber, as well as the export of molaſſes, are here permitted at all times; and at particular ſeaſons, the port is open to all the commodities of the Britiſh ſettlements on the continent, which affords occaſion for a contraband trade very advantageous to both nations. In 1772, the number of veſſels cleared outwards amounted to between two and three hundred, all from different parts of North America: add to theſe the other foreign ſhips, the French coaſting veſſels, and the merchantmen from Europe, and the whole can hardly be computed at fewer than four hundred. With ſo many advantages the Mole of St. Nicholas cannot fail of becoming a place of very great importance.

The next ſettlement on the north coaſt is called Port Paix. It owed its origin to the neighbourhood of Tortuga, whoſe inhabitants took refuge here when they forſook that iſland. The grounds were cleared ſo early, that this is now one of the healthieſt ſpots in Hiſpaniola. It has long ſince attained the utmoſt degree of culture and population of which it is capable. Theſe however are not conſiderable; though the ſpirit of induſtry has been carried ſo far, that even mountains have been pierced through for the conveyance of water to moiſten the lands. The inhabitants plant very little ſugar, for which their ſoil is not ſuited; but they cultivate indigo, cotton, and coffee with great ſucceſs. Port Paix is on all ſides ſo difficult of acceſs that it is in a manner cut off from the reſt of the iſland.

To the eaſt of that retired ſettlement ſtands the town of Cape François. This town is built on the ſide of an extenſive plain, twenty leagues long, and four broad. Few territories are better watered, but it is not favoured with one river, up which a ſloop can paſs above three miles. All that vaſt level is interſected by ſtraight roads, forty feet wide, and planted on both ſides with hedges of lemon-trees, thick enough to ſerve as a fence. Had theſe been intermixed with tall trees, ſuch as form the avenues to the ſeveral plantations, they would not only have been more ornamental, but would have afforded a delightful ſhade for travellers, at the ſame time that they prevented that ſcarcity of wood already complained of in the colony. The French had long been ſenſible of the value of this ſoil, which is rich and fruitful beyond deſcription; but they did not ſet about cultivating it before the year 1670, when they had nothing to apprehend from the inroads of the Spaniards, who till that time had continued in the neighbourhood with a conſiderable force. The method that was taken of bringing thither the inhabitants of Santa Cruz and St. Chriſtopher's, haſtened the progreſs

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greſs of the ſettlement. It now produces more ſugar than any place in the world.

This wonderful plain, which is bounded towards the north only by the ſea, is terminated towards the ſouth by a ridge of mountains. Few of them are very high; ſeveral of them may be cultivated to the very ſummit; and they are all interſected at intervals with exceeding fine plantations of coffee and indigo. In theſe luxuriant vallies all the ſweets of ſpring are continually enjoyed without either ſummer or winter. They know but two ſeaſons, which are equally fine. The ground always laden with crops, and covered with flowers, realizes the delights and riches of poetical deſcription. Wherever the eye is turned it is enchanted by a variety of gay objects, reflected by the cleareſt light. The air is temperate in the day-time, and the nights are conſtantly cool. The inhabitants of the plain, upon which the ſun darts his fierceſt rays, repair to theſe mountains to recruit their exhauſted ſpirits, and allay their thirſt with pure and wholeſome water.

This relief is ſo much the more neceſſary for the people of the town, as it ſtands on the moſt parched and unhealthful ſpot in the whole plain; yet ſuch is the fertility of the neighbouring country, that the city of the Cape has always proſpered, and daily increaſes in buildings more and more ſplendid and beautiful. It is cut by twenty-nine ſtraight ſtreets, into two hundred and twenty-ſix cluſters of houſes, which altogether amount to eight hundred and twenty. But theſe ſtreets are too narrow; and having no ſlope, are always dirty, as they are paved only in the middle. The governor's houſe, the barracks, and a royal magazine, are the only public ſtructures which attract the notice of the curious in architecture; but the humane obſerver will behold with no leſs pleaſure, thoſe charitable foundations called the *Houſes of Providence*, erected and endowed by the colony for the reception of ſuch Frenchmen as come to the Cape without money, and who are deſtitute of employment. Into theſe habitations both men and women are admitted ſeparately, and provided with every thing neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, till they can find a way of procuring it for themſelves.

It would be for the intereſt of trade to erect in all colonies ſuch hoſpitable manſions as thoſe at Cape François, which may be truly denominated pious inſtitutions as they are calculated for the preſervation of mankind; and though the air of this town is by no means favourable to European conſtitutions, it is obſerved that fewer adventurers die in proportion here, than in the other towns along the coaſt. The harbour of the Cape is worthy to receive the rich produce of the adjacent country. It is admirably well ſituated for the ſhips that come from Europe: the air is the beſt in the iſland; and the baſon is expoſed only to the north-eaſt wind, from which it can receive no harm, as its entrance is beſprinkled with reefs that break the force of the waves. A ſhip gets very eaſily out, and ſoon launches into the open ſea.

Fourteen leagues to the eaſtward of Cape François is ſituated Port Dauphin, formerly called Bayaha. With its name it has changed its ſtation. It now lies in the boſom of a ſpacious bay, which has only one outlet, formed by a channel

fifteen

fifteen hundred fathom long, and about one hundred broad. It is ſurrounded by a river to the weſt, and bounded by the ſea on the eaſt. On a ſmall peninſula to the north, ſtands a fort, and on the ſouthern ſide is a plain. The town contains as yet only ſeventy houſes. It is built at ſuch a diſtance from the mountains, as to be out of the reach of any eminence that might reflect the heat, but ſome fens in the neighbourhood render the air unwholeſome. The fortifications are ſufficient to protect the place againſt a ſmall ſquadron. Yet though this harbour is ſo well defended, and otherwiſe ſafe and convenient, the greater part of the produce of the neighbouring plain is ſtill ſent to the Cape. The maſs of trade will always attract the ſmaller branches, and great ſea-ports will ever occaſion thoſe which are leſs conſiderable to be neglected, except where neceſſity has drawn the line of partition.

In 1764, the French colony in Hiſpaniola contained eight thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-ſix white men able to bear arms * ; of which number four thouſand three hundred and ſix lived in the northern diviſion, three thouſand four hundred and ſeventy in the weſtern, and only one thouſand and ten in the ſouthern. Theſe forces were increaſed by four thouſand one hundred and ſeventeen mulattoes or free negroes, who were alſo enrolled. The number of ſlaves was two hundred and ſix thouſand, men, women, and children, diſtributed in the following manner :—twelve thouſand in nine cities or great towns, ſome artificers, and ſome employed in domeſtic ſervices ; four thouſand employed in the ſmaller towns, in the tile and brick-kilns, pot-houſes, lime-kilns, and other neceſſary works ; one thouſand devoted to the cultivation of proviſions and kitchen-grounds ; and one hundred and eighty thouſand occupied in the cultures that produce the commodities for exportation. Since this eſtimate was made, about fifteen thouſand negroes have been brought annually into the colony. Nor have theſe been deſtined to ſupply the place of the dead, that vacancy being more than filled up by the ſlaves ſmuggled into the iſland ; neither have they been employed to ſwell the train of luxury in the towns, where fewer domeſtics are kept than formerly : thoſe freſh negroes are all occupied in the plantations, which muſt be greatly improved and extended by their means.

Other cauſes have conſpired to augment this improvement. Inſtead of indigo which began to produce but little on ſome grounds, that were too much exhauſted for ſuch a culture, forty new ſugar plantations have been formed ; ſo that there are now two hundred and ſixty in the northern diviſion, one hundred and ninety-ſeven in the weſtern, and eighty-four in the ſouthern. The refining works have been encreaſed in ſtill greater proportion than the plantations : the quantity of white ſugar is almoſt doubled. Cotton has been cultivated with great ſucceſs in the vallies to the weſt, and coffee in thoſe to the north. Some plantations of cacao have been attempted with equal advantage in the woods of the Grande Anſe. The produce of all theſe plantations entered at the cuſtom-

* Hence, according to the uſual method of calculation, the whole of the whites, including perſons of all ages, and of both ſexes, will exceed thirty-five thouſand.

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houſes in Hiſpaniola, in 1767, and exported on board three hundred and forty-ſeven ſhips ſent from France, amounted to the incredible quantity of ſeventy-two million, ſeven hundred and eighteen thouſand, ſeven hundred and eighty-one pounds weight of raw ſugar; fifty-one million, five hundred and ſixty-two thouſand, thirteen pounds of refined ſugar; one million, ſeven hundred and ſixty-nine thouſand, five hundred and ſixty two pounds of indigo; one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds of cacao; twelve million, one hundred and ninety-ſeven thouſand, nine hundred and ſeventy-ſeven pounds of coffee; two million, nine hundred and ſixty-five thouſand, nine hundred and twenty pounds of cotton; eight thouſand, four hundred and ſeventy parcels of raw hides; ten thouſand, three hundred and fifty ſides of tanned leather; four thouſand, one hundred and eight caſks of rum; and twenty-one thouſand, one hundred and four caſks of molaſſes *. Beſides theſe entered commodities, great allowance muſt be made for thoſe ſhipped when the veſſels were under ſail, the overplus of the declared weight, and the payments made for negroes clandeſtinely introduced. Since that period all the plantations have been extended; and though authors are divided in regard to the degree of increaſe to which the colony is capable of attaining, it is generally agreed that the produce may be augmented one third.

When a branch of the houſe of Bourbon aſcended the throne of Spain, France gave up all hopes of achieving the entire conqueſt of Hiſpaniola; and the trade which the French carry on with their indolent neighbours is ſo conſiderable, as to make it doubtful how far they would be gainers by ſuch an acquiſition. They ſupply them with ſtockings, hats, linen, muſkets, hardware, and ſome wearing apparel; and receive in return horſes, horned cattle both for ſlaughter and for labour, ſmoked beef and bacon, ſkins, and all the money which the court of Madrid remits annually for the maintenance of the governor, the clergy, and the troops †. Revolutions only which it is impoſſible to foreſee, can ever put a ſtop to this intercourſe between the two nations that divide Hiſpaniola. The preſent ſyſtem of politics will not permit France and Spain to be at war with each other, and the Caſtilian pride will never ſubmit tamely to relinquiſh the firſt ſettlement made by the Spaniards in the New World.

Beſides the important iſlands of Martinico and Guadeloupe, and the rich colony in Hiſpaniola, France is now the ſole proprietor of St. Lucia. The Engliſh took poſſeſſion of this iſland without oppoſition, in the beginning of the year 1639, and there lived peaceably for eighteen months; but the rage of the Caribs being roufed by ſome violences committed by an Engliſh veſſel on the coaſt of Dominica, they aſſembled from the iſlands of St. Vincent and Martinico, and joining their injured brethren, attacked the new colony in Auguſt 1640. They ſacrificed to their vengeance all who ventured to oppoſe them, and the few who eſcaped their fury quitted for ever a ſettlement that had never been in a proſperous condition.

* Raynal, liv. xiii. † Id. ibid.

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St. Lucia was neglected by the Europeans till 1650, when the French attempted to make a property of it. For this purpoſe they ſent over forty inhabitants, under the conduct of Rouſſelan, a brave, active, and prudent man, who was ſingularly beloved by the natives on account of his having married one of their country-women. But the death of Rouſſelan, which happened in 1654, put a ſtop to that proſperity which he had ſo happily begun. Three of his ſucceſſors were murdered by the diſcontented Caribs, whom their behaviour had offended; and the colony was faſt declining, when the Engliſh, in 1664, repoſſeſſed themſelves of St. Lucia, and evacuated it in 1666. No ſooner were they departed, than the French appeared again in the iſland, and were a ſecond time expelled by the Engliſh in 1686. Some of them, however, inſtead of evacuting the iſland, had taken refuge in the woods; and as ſoon as the conquerors, who made only a temporary invaſion, were gone, they returned to their habitations, and reſumed their cultures. But theſe continued only for a ſhort time; for the war which raged in Europe towards the end of the ſeventeenth century, made them apprehenſive that they might fall a prey to the firſt privateer that ſhould be deſirous of plundering them. With a view therefore of obtaining greater ſecurity, they removed to the other French ſettlements, and St. Lucia was once more abandoned. It was only frequented occaſionally by the inhabitants of Barbadoes and Martinico, who went thither to cut wood and build barques.

But St. Lucia ſoon found a new kind of inhabitants, properly belonging to no nation. Its rocks and faſtneſſes made it be conſidered as a proper receptacle for runaway ſoldiers and ſailors, who made it their common aſylum: and no notice being taken of St. Lucia in the treaty of Utrecht, Marechal d'Eſtrées obtained a grant of it from the court of Verſailles in 1718; but this giving umbrage to the court of England, which had a right to the iſland from preoccupancy, as France claimed one from poſſeſſion, tho' ſurely not uninterrupted, the French miniſtry gave orders that things ſhould be put into the ſame condition as before the grant, which was withdrawn. The iſland was no ſooner evacuated, than George I. granted it to the duke of Montague; who in 1722, ſent a conſiderable force thither, under Nathaniel Wring, his deputy, to take poſſeſſion of it. The chevalier de Feuquieres, governor-general of the French iſlands, remonſtrated againſt this ſettlement; and as the Engliſh officers in the Weſt Indies refuſed to ſupport Mr. Wring, he was obliged to abandon St Lucia. Theſe mutual invaſions occaſioned ſome diſturbance between the two courts; which was ſettled, however, in 1731, by an agreement that the iſland ſhould be evacuated by both nations, till their reſpective claims could be finally adjuſted, and that in the mean time the ſhips of both ſhould wood and water there.

Notwithſtanding this agreement, the French ſent a garriſon to St. Lucia: the Engliſh remonſtrated; and the claims of the two crowns continued undecided till 1763, when the ninth article in the treaty of Paris ſecured to France the long diſputed property of that iſland. The firſt uſe which the court of Verſailles propoſed to make of her only acquiſition, as a conſolation for all the loſſes

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loſſes of laſt war, was to eſtabliſh a magazine in St. Lucia; where the wood and cattle of North America, ſo neceſſary to the proſperity of ſettlements in the Weſt Indies, might be exchanged for the molaſſes of Martinico and Guadeloupe. But experience ſoon ſhewed the impracticability of this ſcheme, as it tended to enhance the price of commodities that could not bear an augmentation.

The French miniſtry, undeceived in regard to their firſt idea, without entirely giving it up, have turned their thoughts to the cultivation of St. Lucia. With this view, they ſent over in 1763, at a great expence, and with unneceſſary parade, ſeven or eight hundred men, whoſe unhappy fate is more a matter of pity than ſurpriſe. Under the tropics, the beſt eſtabliſhed colonies always prove fatal to one-third of the ſoldiers ſent thither, though healthy ſtout men, and provided with good accommodation: it cannot therefore be thought extraordinary, that a ſet of deſpicable wretches, the refuſe of Europe, expoſed to all the miſeries of indigence, and all the horrors of deſpair, ſhould moſtly periſh in an uncultivated iſland. The honour of peopling St. Lucia, as well as the profit of ſo patriotic a meaſure, was reſerved for the neighbouring iſlands. Some Frenchmen, who had ſold their plantations in the Granades to the Engliſh, upon terms very advantageous to themſelves, brought part of their capital to this iſland. Several planters from St. Vincent's, incenſed at being obliged to purchaſe lands which they themſelves had been at incredible pains to clear and fertilize, took the ſame ſtep. Martinico alſo furniſhed ſome planters, whoſe poſſeſſions either were not ſufficiently fertile, or too much confined, and a few traders, who devoted their ſtock to agriculture. Each of theſe obtained a free grant of a piece of land proportioned to his ability to cultivate. Perſons whoſe means were ſmall, have confined themſelves to ſuch cultures as require no great advances; while thoſe who were richer, have ventured on greater undertakings.

There are already nine pariſhes in St. Lucia; eight to the leeward, and only one to the windward. This preference given to one part of the iſland above the other, is not merely for the ſake of a better ſoil, but for the conveniency of navigation. In time the part that was at firſt neglected will likewiſe be inhabited, as ſeveral bays have been diſcovered where barques may put in, and receive all kinds of commodities on board. A road, which goes all around the iſland, and two others, which croſs it from eaſt to weſt, are very convenient for carrying the produce of the plantations to the landing places. The labours of vaſſalage * required for making theſe roads, have unavoidably retarded the culture of the lands, and during the time excited grievous complaints; but the coloniſts now begin to bleſs the wiſe head and ſteady hand that ordered and conducted thoſe works for their benefit †.

* All the inhabitants of the French iſlands are obliged to furniſh labourers for the public works. But the nature of this vaſſalage will be better underſtood when we come to ſpeak of the government of the French Weſt Indies.

† The perſon here alluded to is the earl of Ennery, the founder of the colony, a nobleman of great abilities and integrity.

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The ſoil of St. Lucia is by no means bad near the ſhore, and it is better in the interior parts. The whole iſland, which is about twelve leagues long and five broad, may be cultivated with ſucceſs, except ſome high and craggy mountains which bear evident marks of extinguiſhed volcanoes. There are not indeed many extenſive plains in St. Lucia, but it contains ſeveral ſmall ones, where the growth of ſugar might be carried to a great height. The air of this, like that of all the other iſlands in the Weſt Indies, when firſt ſettled, is foul and unwholeſome; but becomes leſs ſo as the woods are cleared, and the ground laid open. On the leeward ſide, it is more peculiarly noxious. There the plains receive ſome ſluggiſh rivers, which flowing only from the foot of the mountains, have not ſufficient force to diſcharge the mud with which the influx of the ocean choaks up their mouths. Stopped by this inſurmountable barrier, they ſpread themſelves into peſtilent moraſſes upon the neighbouring grounds. The mortality occaſioned by this circumſtance made ſuch places avoided even by the natives; but the French, actuated by a more powerful motive than even ſelf-preſervation, have been leſs careful than the Caribs: in thoſe very ſpots they have chiefly fixed their plantations. But they will ſooner or later fall a ſacrifice to their blind rapaciouſneſs, unleſs they erect dykes to repel the tide, and dig canals to drain off the waters.

The planters in St. Lucia have every encouragement to carry the cultivation of the iſland to the higheſt degree of which it is capable. They pay no taxes either directly or indirectly. Ships of all nations are admitted into their roads, and pay nothing either at coming in or going out. Every one is free to bring thither, at the cheapeſt rate, what merchandiſe he can ſell, and to carry away ſuch commodities as will bring the beſt price. Since Europe firſt acquired poſſeſſions in America, no ſettlement has ever met with more indulgence. Such ſingular favour muſt no doubt come to a period; and St. Lucia, like all the other iſlands, will be brought under the yoke of reſtrictive laws. But a few years more lenity will enable it to bear that burden; and before it is impoſed, the mother-country will take care to ſecure to herſelf the produce of an iſland which ſhe has put into a flouriſhing condition.

By an account taken in 1772, the number of whites in St. Lucia amounted to two thouſand and twenty-eight perſons, of all ages and of both ſexes; that of the free blacks to ſix hundred and ſixty-three, and the negro ſlaves to twelve thouſand, ſeven hundred, and ninety-five. Theſe inhabitants were divided into ſeven hundred and ſix dwelling places, and poſſeſſed thirty-eight ſugar plantations; five million, three hundred and ninety-five thouſand, eight hundred and eighty-nine coffee-trees; one million, three hundred and twenty-one thouſand, ſix hundred cacao plants; and three hundred and ſixty-ſeven plots of cotton*. The preſent produce of the iſland is computed at two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. This is conſiderable; and according to able calculators, it may be doubled †.

* Raynal, liv. xiii. † Id. ibid.

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But France had ſtronger motives for deſiring St. Lucia, than any produce that ſuch a ſpot can yield. It poſſeſſes the fineſt harbour in all the Caribbee Iſlands. This celebrated port called the *Careenage*, which has been ſtrongly fortified ſince the peace, unites many advantages. It has every where depth enough, and the quality of the bottom is excellent. Nature hath furniſhed it with three careening-places, as complete as if formed by the moſt perfect art. Thirty ſhips of the line might lie there, ſheltered from hurricanes, and perfectly ſafe without the trouble of being moored. The winds are always favourable for ſailing; and the largeſt ſquadron might be cleared out in leſs than an hour. In a word, the Careenage unfolds the myſtery of that zeal with which France in negociating the treaty of Paris, contended for St. Lucia; the value of which was not ſufficiently underſtood by the Britiſh miniſtry, otherwiſe a place ſo favourable to navigation, and ſo dangerous in the hands of an enemy, would never have been given up at a time England had an opportunity, which may never perhaps return, of dictating to her rival.

Before we conclude this chapter, we muſt ſay a few words on the government and laws eſtabliſhed in the French iſlands. The Britiſh government, which is generally guided by the ſpirit of the nation, has carried into the New World that right of private property which forms the baſis of her legiſlation. From a conviction, that man never thinks he has the entire poſſeſſion of any thing but what he has lawfully acquired, the lands in the iſlands were ſold at a moderate price to ſuch as were willing to clear them. This appeared the ſureſt way to haſten the cultivation of them, and to prevent partialities and jealouſies, the neceſſary conſequence of a diſtribution guided by caprice or favour. France has purſued a method ſeemingly more generous, but leſs prudent; that of granting lands to all who applied for them, through the proper channel. No regard was paid to the abilities or circumſtances of the petitioners: the intereſt of their patrons determined the extent of the land they obtained. It was indeed ſtipulated, that they ſhould begin their plantations within a year after obtaining the grant, and not diſcontinue clearing the ground on pain of forfeiture; but beſides the hardſhip of requiring men to be at the expence of clearing land which they could not purchaſe, the penalty fell upon thoſe only who had not ſufficient intereſt with the great; or upon minors, who being left deſtitute by the death of their parents, ought rather to have been aſſiſted by the public.

The progreſs of the colonies, evidently retarded by this partiality, was farther obſtructed by a number of ill-judged regulations relative to domeſtic life. It was required of every perſon, who obtained a grant of land, to plant five hundred roots of manioc for every ſlave upon his plantation. That order, intended to provide againſt ſcarcity, was equally detrimental to public and private intereſt: it compelled the planter to encumber his ground with this ordinary proviſion, when it was able to yield richer crops; and rendered the poor grounds, in other hands, which were only fit for this kind of culture, uſeleſs. This double inconvenience could not fail to leſſen the growth of all ſorts of commodities. The law indeed has never been ſtrictly put in execution; but as it has alſo never been

been repealed, it ſtill remains a ſcourge in the hands of an ignorant, capricious, or paſſionate governor, who may chuſe to make uſe of it againſt the inhabitants.

Great however as this evil ſeems, it is one of the leaſt of thoſe of which the coloniſts have reaſon to complain againſt adminiſtration. The reſtraint of Agrarian laws is further increaſed by the burden of the labours impoſed upon the vaſſals. This matter requires ſome explanation.

There was a time in Europe, that of the feudal government, when the nobles ſerved the ſtate with their perſons, not with their purſes; and when their vaſſals, who were conſidered as their ſervants, paid them a kind of homage or quit-rent, either in the fruits of the earth or in ſo much labour. Theſe cuſtoms, ſo deſtructive to men and lands, tended to perpetuate that barbarity to which they owed their riſe. But at length they were gradually laid aſide, as the authority of kings prevailed in overthrowing the independence and tyranny of the nobles, by reſtoring freedom to the people, who were originally ſlaves to the great vaſſals. The prince now become the ſole maſter, aboliſhed, as chief magiſtrate, ſome abuſes ariſing from the right of war, which deſtroys all other rights; but ſeveral uſurpations, which time had rendered ſacred, were ſtill tolerated. That of the average, or a certain proportion of labour required from the vaſſals, has been retained in ſome ſtates, where the nobles have loſt almoſt every privilege, though the people have not acquired any. This is peculiarly the caſe in France, where the prince is become almoſt the ſole tyrant in his dominions, and where the liberty of the people is infringed by the preſſure of vaſſalage; which has been reduced into a ſyſtem, as if to give it the appearance of juſtice. The pernicious conſequences of that ſlaviſh ſyſtem, humiliating and oppreſſive in the mother-country, have been more ſeverely felt in the colonies; where the culture of lands, from the nature of the climate and productions, cannot ſo eaſily ſpare a number of hands to be employed in the public works; and where the ſole direction of thoſe works is committed to two overſeers*, who can neither be directed, cenſured, nor controuled in the arbitrary exerciſe of abſolute power.

But the burden of theſe ſervices is light when compared with that of the taxes. A tax may be defined "a contribution towards public expence, neceſſary for the preſervation of private property." The peaceable enjoyment of lands and revenues requires a proper force to protect them from invaſion, and a police ſufficient to ſecure the liberty of improving them. Whatever is paid towards the maintenance of public order and ſecurity is right and juſt: whatever is levied beyond it, is extortion. Every direct tax upon the colonies muſt come under this laſt deſcription, as the mother-country is repaid all the expences which are incurred on their account by the reſtraint laid upon them to cultivate for her alone, and in ſuch a manner as is beſt adapted to her wants. This ſubjection is the moſt burdenſome of all tributes, and ought to exempt them from all other taxes.

* The governor and the intendant.

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The court of Verſailles, however, not ſatisfied with the obligation laid upon their Weſt India iſlands to draw all their neceſſaries from France, and to ſend thither all their commodities, have laid a tax upon every negro. In ſome ſettlements this poll tax has been confined to the working blacks; in others it has extended to all ſlaves without diſtinction, old and infirm men, women, and children, many of whom are only a burden to the planter, and which humanity alone can induce him to ſupport. Another tax, no leſs injudicious, has been laid upon all commodities carried out of the colonies, from a miſtaken preſumption that it would fall upon the merchant and the conſumer. If ſo, it ought ſtill to have been levied at home; for nothing is ſo pleaſing to an American as to remove from his ſight every thing that denotes his dependence. Wearied with the importunities of collectors, he abhors ſtanding taxes, and dreads the increaſe of them: he in vain ſeeks for that freedom which he expected to have found at the diſtance of two thouſand leagues from Europe; he ſpurns a yoke which purſues him through the ſtorms of the ocean: diſcontented, and inwardly repining at the reſtraint he feels, he thinks with indignation on his native country; which under the name of mother, calls for his blood inſtead of feeding him. Remove the image of his chains from his ſight; let the produce of his induſtry pay a tribute to the mother-country only at landing, and he will fancy himſelf free and privileged; though this tax, by lowering the value of his own commodities, and enhancing the price of thoſe which he receives from Europe, obliges him ultimately to bear the load of an impoſition of which he is not ignorant.

The productions of the French iſlands alſo pay a duty of three and a half per cent. on entering the kingdom, known by the name of *Domaine d'Occident*, or Weſtern Domain. The value of theſe productions, which is the rule for the payment of the duty, is determined in the months of January and July: it is fixed at twenty or twenty-five per cent. below the real price. The Weſtern Office allows beſides a more conſiderable tare than the ſeller in trade. Add to this duty that which the commodities pay at the cuſtom-houſes in the colonies, which is nearly the ſame, and thoſe which are paid in the inland parts of the iſlands, and we ſhall have the whole revenue which France draws from her ſettlements in the Weſt Indies *.

The French iſlands, like thoſe of other nations, had no troops at firſt. The adventurers who had conquered them, looked upon the right of defending themſelves as a privilege, and the deſcendants of thoſe intrepid men thought themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong to guard their own poſſeſſions. The ſituation of

* The author is not furniſhed with ſufficient information to aſcertain the amount of this revenue. But what is here offered will ſerve to undeceive thoſe who, miſled by the celebrated writer of *European Settlements in America*, may ſuppoſe that the duty paid by the French "at the export of their produce from the iſlands, or its import into France, is next to nothing; that in both places it hardly makes two per cent." Part V. chap. vi. It is ſurprizing what pleaſure ſome men take in magnifying the burdens of their own country, and in diminiſhing thoſe of others. Ignorance could hardly lead Mr. Burke into ſuch an aſſertion.

affairs, however, has of late undergone many alterations. The militia, though ſupported by ſeveral battalions of European troops, beſides numerous garriſons, being found inſufficient, during laſt war, to oppoſe the arms of England, was aboliſhed in 1764. But the militia it was urged, though an inadequate defence againſt a foreign enemy, is neceſſary to preſerve the interior police of the iſlands; to prevent the revolt of the ſlaves; to check the incurſions of the fugitive negroes; to hinder the banditti from aſſembling in troops; to protect the navigation along the coaſts, and to keep off privateers. If the inhabitants were not imbodied, if they had neither commanders nor ſtandards, who, it was aſked, in ſuch emergency, would march to the aſſiſtance of his neighbour. Theſe reflections, which though ſtriking and natural, had eſcaped the court of Verſailles, have induced them to reſtore the militia, but without aboliſhing the taxes impoſed for a military eſtabliſhment.

The French colonies in the Weſt Indies, ſettled by profligate men, who had fled from the reſtraints or the puniſhments of law, ſeemed at firſt to ſtand in need of nothing but a ſtrict police: they were therefore committed to governors veſted with unlimited authority. That ſpirit of intrigue, natural to all courts, but more eſpecially familiar to a nation where gallantry gives the women an univerſal aſcendant, has at all times filled the higher offices in the iſlands with worthleſs men, loaded with debts and vices. Aſhamed to promote ſuch men, where their diſgrace was known, the miniſtry ſent them beyond ſea, to improve or retrieve their fortune, among people who were ignorant of their character. An ill-judged compaſſion, and that miſtaken maxim of courtiers, that villany is neceſſary, and that villains may be uſeful, made them deliberately ſacrifice the peace of the planters, the ſafety of the colonies, and the very intereſts of the ſtate, to a ſet of infamous perſons only fit to pay the debt of juſtice. Theſe rapacious and diſſolute men ſtifled the ſeeds of all that was good and laudable, and checked the progreſs of that proſperity which was riſing ſpontaneouſly.

Arbitrary power carries along with it ſo ſubtle a poiſon, that even thoſe men who went over to the Weſt Indies with honeſt intentions were ſoon corrupted. If ambition, avarice, and pride had not proved ſufficient to infect them, they could not have withſtood the contagion of flattery, which never fails to raiſe itſelf upon general ſlavery, and to triumph amid public calamity. The few governors who eſcaped corruption, meeting with no aſſiſtance in an arbitrary adminiſtration, were continually falling from one miſtake into another. Mankind are to be governed by laws, not by men. If the governors are deprived of this common rule, this ſtandard of their judgments, all right, all ſafety, and all civil liberty will become extinct. Nothing will then be ſeen but contradictory deciſions, tranſient and oppoſite regulations and orders, which, for want of fundamental maxims, can have no connexion with each other. If the code of laws was cancelled, even in the beſt regulated ſtate, it would ſoon appear that equity alone is not ſufficient to govern it properly. The wiſeſt men would be found inadequate to ſuch a taſk. As they would not all be of the ſame mind, and as

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each of them would not always be in the ſame diſpoſition, the ſtate would ſoon be ſubverted.

This kind of confuſion was perpetual in the French colonies; and the more ſo as the governors made but a ſhort ſtay in one place, and were recalled before they had time to correct any abuſes. After they had proceeded without a guide for three years in a ſtrange country, and upon unformed plans of policy and laws, theſe rulers were replaced by others; who in as ſhort a ſpace were recalled, before they had formed any acquaintance with the people they were to govern, or ripened their projects into that juſtice, which, when tempered with mildneſs, can alone inſure the execution of them. Theſe diſorders, however, might eaſily have been prevented, by ſubſtituting an equitable legiſlation, firm, and independent of private will, in place of a military government, violent in itſelf, and adopted only to critical and perilous times. But this ſcheme, which has often been propoſed, was diſapproved by the governors, jealous of abſolute power. Thoſe ſlaves, eſcaped from the ſecret tyranny of the court, were remarkably attached to that form of juſtice which prevails in Aſiatic governments, and by which they kept their very abettors in awe. The projected reformation was oppoſed even by ſome virtuous governors, who did not conſider, that by reſerving to themſelves, like Titus, the right of doing good, they left it in the power of their ſucceſſors to do evil with impunity. All exclaimed againſt a plan of legiſlation, that tended to leſſen the dependence of the people; and the court was weak enough to give ear to their inſinuations and advice, from a conſequence of that propenſity to deſpotiſm natural to arbitrary princes and their miniſters. They thought they provided ſufficiently for the colonies by giving them an intendant, in order to balance the power of the governor.

Theſe diſtant ſettlements, which had hitherto groaned under the yoke of one maſter, now became ſubject to two, equally dangerous from their diviſion and their union. When they were at variance, they divided the minds of the people; ſowed diſcord among their adherents, and kindled a kind of civil war: when they chanced to agree, either becauſe their good or bad intentions happened to be the ſame, or becauſe the one had got the abſolute aſcendant over the other, the coloniſts were often in a worſe condition than ever, and ſeldom found any relief.

The political ſtate of the French iſlands is not much improved. Their governors, beſides having the diſpoſal of the regular troops, have a right to enliſt the inhabitants; to order them to what works they think proper; to employ them as they pleaſe in time of war, and even to make uſe of them for conqueſt. Veſted with abſolute authority, and deſirous of exerting every power that can eſtabliſh or extend it, they take upon themſelves the cognizance of civil debts. The debtor is ſummoned, thrown into priſon, or into a dungeon, and compelled to pay without any more formality. This is what they call the *ſervice*, or the military department. The intendants have the ſole management and diſpoſal of the finances, and generally order the collecting of them. They inquire into all cauſes, both civil and criminal; whether juſtice has not yet taken cognizance of them, or whether they have already been brought before the ſuperior tribunals:

tribunals: and this is what they call *adminiſtration.* The governors and intendants jointly grant the lands which have not yet been given away, and judge of all differences that ariſe reſpecting old poſſeſſions. This arrangement puts the fortunes of all the coloniſts in their hands, or into thoſe of their clerks and dependents; and conſequently makes all property precarious, and occaſions the utmoſt confuſion.

Nothing appears to be more conſonant to the ends of ſound policy, than to allow the colonies the right of governing themſelves, provided it be in ſubordination to the mother-country. In this caſe, the adminiſtration ſhould be wholly committed to the proprietors of lands, and chiefly to natives; for juſtice is the natural conſequence of property, and none are more intereſted in the good government of a country, than thoſe who are intitled by their birth to the largeſt poſſeſſions in it. The Creoles, who have naturally a great ſhare of penetration, a frankneſs of character, an elevation of ſoul, and a certain love of equity, which ariſes from theſe valuable diſpoſitions, would be ſo ſenſible of the marks of eſteem and confidence ſhewn them by the mother-country, in truſting them with the interior management of their own, that they would grow fond of that fertile ſoil, take a pride in improving it, and be happy in introducing into the iſlands all the comforts of a civilized ſociety. Inſtead of that antipathy to France, which is a reflection upon her miniſters, and upbraids them with their ſeverity, ſhe would find in her colonies that attachment with which paternal kindneſs naturally inſpires children. Fear will reſtrain men while under the eye of a powerful and imperious maſter, but affection alone can command them at a diſtance. Attachment to the ſovereign is a principle which cannot be too much encouraged or extended; but if it is neither merited nor returned, he will not long enjoy it. A ſullen diſcontent will ariſe, and ſpread from one province to another, and from the mother-country to the colonies. When the fortunes of all men are injured or threatened, the alarm and the commotion becomes general.

CHAP. VII.

The Engliſh *Settlements in the* Weſt-Indies.

THE Engliſh colonies, both in the iſlands and on the continent of America, owe their eſtabliſhment chiefly to the civil and religious diſſentions which prevailed in the mother-country, during the greater part of the laſt century. The ſettlements in the iſlands, however, are indebted for their firſt inhabitants, more eſpecially to the civil, and thoſe on the continent, to the religious emigrants. The remote cauſes that led to both emigrations, are intereſting and curious. We ſhall here conſider thoſe which introduced the former, as more immediately connected with the ſubject of this chapter.

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Every one acquainted with the progreſs of the Engliſh conſtitution knows, that the regal authority, for a long time after the Norman conqueſt, was balanced only by a ſmall number of proprietors of land, called Barons. Theſe barons or nobles perpetually oppreſſed the people, one part of whom they held in a ſtate of vaſſalage, and the other in actual ſlavery. At the ſame time they were conſtantly ſtruggling againſt the power of the crown; with more or leſs ſucceſs according to the character of the leading men, of the prince upon the throne, and the concurrence of circumſtances. Theſe civil diſſentions occaſioned much bloodſhed; and the kingdom was exhauſted by inteſtine wars, which had laſted, with ſhort intervals, for two hundred years, when Henry VII. aſſumed the reins of government, in conſequence of a victory gained over the adverſe part. That able prince, who in his own right and by marriage united the claims of the two rival houſes of York and Lancaſter, availed himſelf of the ſtate of depreſſion into which a ſeries of calamities had ſunk his ſubjects, to extend the regal authority; the limits of which the anarchy of the feudal government, though continually incroaching upon the prerogatives of the crown, had never been able to fix. Henry was aſſiſted in that undertaking by the Lancaſtrian party, which had placed him upon the throne, and to which he ſhewed a ſtrong partiality during his whole reign. The aſcendency acquired by this intereſt, was augmented by a maſter-ſtroke in policy; by a law permitting the nobility to alienate their lands.

That indulgence, joined to a taſte for luxury, which then began to prevail in Europe, brought on a great revolution in the fortunes of individuals in England. The immenſe fiefs of the barons were gradually diminiſhed, and the eſtates of the commoners increaſed. The rights belonging to the ſeveral domains being divided with the property of them, it became ſo much the more difficult to unite the will and the power of many againſt the authority of one. The monarchs took advantage of this period, ſo favourable to their ambition, to govern without controul. The waning nobility were afraid of a power which was become formidable in proportion to their decline; the commons, though elated with their riſing conſequence, ſeemed ſatisfied with the privilege of impoſing all the national taxes; and the people, in ſome degree eaſed of their yoke, by this ſlight alteration in the conſtitution, became leſs diſpoſed to inſurrections, from a recollection of the deſolation and miſery which they had experienced to be the conſequence of them. Thus while the nation was employed in looking for that mixed monarchy, which, never diſtinctly formed, had been deſtroyed during the civil wars, the ſovereign alone was preſented to their view; and the majeſty of the throne, the whole luſtre of which centred in him, ſeemed to be the ſource of that authority of which it ſhould only be the ſign and viſible inſtrument.

Such was nearly the ſituation of things, when the family of Stuart ſucceeded to the crown of England. James I. had from his earlieſt years been averſe from limited authority; and as abſolute monarchy then prevailed all over Europe, it was natural that he ſhould be ambitious of the ſame power as other ſovereigns. His

His predeceſſors had in a great meaſure enjoyed it even in England, for a century back; the parliament, during the reigns of the princes of the houſe of Tudor, being little more than the organ of royal will and pleaſure. But James was not aware that thoſe princes owed their extenſive authority to their own political abilities, or to favourable circumſtances, not to the conſtitution or the ſaviſh temper of the people. He ſucceeded indeed to the crown of England by hereditary deſcent; but the Engliſh nation had not been accuſtomed to look up to him through a line of royal anceſtors, born to rule them: he was foreign to their ſway; and as he poſſeſſed too little dignity to command reſpect, and too much good-nature to impreſs fear, a new ſpirit ſoon diſcovered itſelf in the parliament.

Other cauſes conſpired to rouſe this ſpirit. The diſcovery of America had haſtened the advancement of Europe. Navigation brought together the oppoſite extremities of the globe. The intercourſe of nations had begun to remove prejudices, and open the door to induſtry and knowledge. The mechanical and liberal arts were extended, and faſt advancing towards perfection. Literature was beginning to acquire the ornaments of taſte, and the ſciences to attain that degree of ſolidity which ſprings from a ſpirit of calculation and commerce. The circle of politics was enlarged. This univerſal revolution exalted the ideas of men. The ſeveral bodies that compoſed the monſtrous coloſſus of Gothic government, rouſed from that ſtate of lethargic ignorance, in which they had been ſunk for many ages, began to exert themſelves on all ſides, and to act with a degree of vigour and harmony formerly unknown.

On the continent, where mercenary troops were introduced, under pretence of maintaining diſcipline, and ſecuring the tranquillity of the ſtate, moſt princes had acquired an unlimited authority. They had humbled their ſubjects either by force or intrigue: but in England, the love of freedom, ſo natural to every reflecting mind! excited in the people by the authors of religious innovations, and awakened in the breaſts of the more enlightened part of the community by an acquaintance with the celebrated writers of antiquity, (who derived from their own free government that ſublimity of reaſon and ſentiment by which they are diſtinguiſhed) kindled in every generous heart the ſacred flame of liberty, and inſpired the whole nation with the utmoſt abhorrence of arbitrary ſway. The aſcendant which Elizabeth had found means to acquire and to preſerve, by an uninterrupted proſperity of forty years, withheld this impatience, or turned it towards enterpriſes that were beneficial to the ſtate; but no ſooner did another family ſucceed to the throne, and the ſceptre devolve to a monarch, whoſe pedantic character rendered him contemptible, at the ſame time that the exorbitance of his pretenſions awakened jealouſy, than the nation aſſerted its rights, and entertained the ambitious thought of governing itſelf.

It was at this period that warm diſputes aroſe between the king and the parliament. Both powers ſeemed to be making a trial of their ſtrength, by mutual oppoſition, in order to decide that great conteſt which afterwards enſued. The

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prince pretended that an entire paſſive obedience was due to him; and that national aſſemblies were only acceſſories, not the baſis of the conſtitution. The parliament loudly exclaimed againſt this doctrine, always weak when it came to be diſcuſſed: they maintained that the people were an eſſential part of the government, and perhaps in an higher degree than the monarch. The one, ſaid they, is the matter, the other the form: now the form may, and muſt change, for the preſervation of the matter. The ſupreme law is the welfare of the people, not of the prince. The king may die, the monarchy come to an end, and the ſtate ſubſiſt without either monarch or throne. In this manner did our anceſtors reaſon at the dawn of liberty: they quarrelled, they oppoſed, they threatened each other. James died in the midſt of thoſe debates, leaving his ſon to diſcuſs his claims.

The experience of all ages has ſhewn, that the dead calm which ſucceeds the eſtabliſhment of abſolute power, occaſions a coolneſs in the minds of the people; damps their courage, reſtrains their genius, and throws a whole nation into a ſtate of lethargy. On the contrary, the commotion of a conſtitution tending towards liberty is irregular and rapid: it is a continued fever, more or leſs violent, but always attended with convulſions. England experienced ſuch a paroxiſm in the beginning of the reign of Charles I. who though a man of more ſenſe than his father, was equally fond of power. He had not only imbibed the ſame exalted notions of kingſhip and high prerogative, but not ſatisfied, like James, with enjoying them in theory, he wanted to carry them into practice. The parliament oppoſed his meaſures: he diſſolved it; and following his own arbitrary will for eleven years, without once aſſembling the great council of the nation, rendered himſelf generally odious to all ranks of men. His neceſſities at laſt obliged him to have recourſe to that aſſembly which he pretended to deſpiſe: a parliament was convoked; and the court-party not being able to ſupport him, the king was obliged to grant every thing required of him.

The commons, before whom Charles had thus humbled himſelf, inſtead of being ſatisfied, or of raiſing fallen majeſty, exulted in his abaſement. Senſible of their power, they now ſet no bounds to their requiſitions, till the royal authority was reduced to a ſhadow. The nobility afraid of ſinking with the throne, and the ancient gentry of being confounded with the people, in this extremity eſpouſed the cauſe of the king. The parliament, ſupported by the great body of the people, prepared to maintain their claims. Both parties had recourſe to arms; and their public and private animoſities brought on the keeneſt, the moſt bloody, and the moſt obſtinate civil war, recorded in the annals of hiſtory. Never did the Engliſh ſpirit ſhew itſelf in ſo dreadful a manner. Every day exhibited freſh ſcenes of violence, which appeared to have been already carried to the greateſt exceſs; and theſe again were exceeded, by others ſtill more horrid, and by deeds more daring and atrocious. It ſeemed as if the nation had been on the brink of deſtruction, and as if every Briton had ſworn to bury himſelf under the ruins of his country.

During

During this general ferment, the more moderate-minded men ſought for a peaceable retreat in thoſe iſlands of the American archipelago, where the Engliſh had begun already to ſettle. The tranquillity which they enjoyed there, induced others to follow them. While the flames of ſedition were ſpreading in the mother-country, the colonies grew up, and were peopled. The refugees who had fled from faction, were ſoon joined by the royaliſts, who were oppreſſed by the republican party, which had at length prevailed. Both theſe were followed by thoſe reſtleſs ſpirits, whoſe ſtrong paſſions urge them to great and daring projects; who deſpiſe difficulties, dangers, and fatigues, and wiſh to ſee no other end of either, but in death or fortune; who know of no medium between affluence and want, and who are equally ready to ruin or to ſave their country; to lay it waſte, or to enrich it.

The iſlands were alſo the aſylum of merchants who had been unfortunate in buſineſs, or of tradeſmen reduced by their creditors to a ſtate of indigence and idleneſs. Unable as they were to fulfil their engagements, this very misfortune paved the way to their proſperity. After a few years, they returned in affluence to their own country, and met with the higheſt reſpect from thoſe very perſons by whom they had been perſecuted, and in thoſe very places from which they had been baniſhed with ignominy or contempt. This reſource was ſtill more neceſſary for miſguided youths, who in entering upon the world had been drawn into exceſſes of debauchery and licentiouſneſs. If they had not quitted their native country, ſhame and diſgrace, which never fail to depreſs the mind, would have prevented them from recovering either regularity of manners or public eſteem. But in another country, where the experience they had of vice might prove a leſſon of wiſdom, and where they did not labour under the diſadvantage of any unfavourable impreſſions, they found, after their misfortunes, a harbour in which they could reſt with ſafety. Their induſtry made amends for their paſt follies; and men who had left Europe like vagabonds, and who had diſgraced it by their irregularities, returned honeſt men, and uſeful members of ſociety.

All theſe ſeveral coloniſts had at their diſpoſal, for the clearing and tilling of their lands, the moſt profligate ſet of men in the three kingdoms, who had deſerved death for capital crimes; but who, from motives of humanity and ſound policy, were ſuffered to live and to work for the benefit of the ſtate. Thoſe malefactors, who were tranſported for a term of years, which they were to ſpend in ſlavery, became induſtrious, and acquired manners, which placed them once more in the way of fortune, and in the road to character. The mother-country, however, was too much occupied with its own domeſtic diſſentions, to think of giving laws to the iſlands under its dominion; and the colonists were not ſufficiently enlightened to draw up a ſyſtem of legiſlation fit for a rising community. While the civil war was rectifying the government of England, the colonies, juſt emerging from a ſtate of infancy, formed their own conſtitution on the model of the mother-country. In each of theſe ſeparate ſettlements, a governor repreſents the king; a council, the peers; and the deputies of the

ſeveral

BOOK III. ſeveral diſtricts, the commons *. The general aſſembly enacts laws, regulates taxes, and judges of the adminiſtration. The executive part belongs to the governor; who occaſionally decides upon cauſes that have not been tried before, but always in conjunction with the council, and by the majority of votes.

In order to reconcile her own intereſts with the freedom of the colonies, Great Britain however took care that no laws ſhould there be enacted inconſiſtent with her own. The governors whom ſhe ſends thither not only take an oath, that they will not ſuffer the leaſt infringement of that fundamental maxim, but all acts of the general aſſembly muſt be tranſmitted to England, and receive the approbation of the king and council before they can become a ſtanding law †. This precaution is neceſſary to prevent the governors from betraying the mother-country to favour the colonies; who, as they in general pay the governor's ſalary, might otherwiſe make his compliance the meaſure of their liberality. At the ſame time, ſuch a dependence checks the governor's pride, and prevents him from becoming tyrannical. As a further reſtraint upon that ſpirit of rapaciouſneſs, which induces men to croſs the ſeas in queſt of riches, the government has ſubjected all placemen, who ſhall violate the laws of the colonies, to the ſame penalties which are inflicted in England upon thoſe who treſpaſs againſt national liberty.

Nor were theſe precautions thought ſufficient for the ſafety of the coloniſts. Every colony has one or more deputies in the mother-country. Their functions are important. They are deſigned to prevent the abuſe of power in the governors; to ſolicit the legiſlative body for the improvement and defence of the ſettlements, whoſe rights and wants they repreſent; and to combine the particular intereſt of the trade of the colonies with the general welfare of the nation.—How happy had it been for Britain, if more attention had been paid by parliament to the repreſentations of thoſe deputies!

In conſequence of theſe beneficent regulations, dictated equally by humanity and ſound policy, the Engliſh iſlands ſoon grew happy, though not rich. Their culture was at firſt confined to tobacco, cotton, ginger, and indigo. Some enterpriſing planters afterwards procured ſlips of the ſugar-cane from Brazil; and they throve prodigiouſly, but to very little purpoſe. The Engliſh were ignorant of the art of managing this valuable plant, and drew from it ſuch indifferent ſugar that it would not ſell in Europe, or ſold only at the loweſt price. A ſeries of voyages to Fernambucca, however, taught them the method of cultivating and manufacturing their canes; and the Portugueſe, who had hitherto engroſſed all the ſugar trade, in 1650 found in an ally, whoſe competition they had viewed without jealouſy, a rival who was one day to ſupplant them.

* This is the form of government in all the Britiſh ſettlements in the Weſt Indies, and in the greater part of thoſe on the continent. It is called *royal* government. The other forms in uſe are more called *charter* and *proprietory* governments, of which we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſpeak.

† Every act acquires the force of a ſtatute, on receiving the governor's aſſent, but the negative of the privy council takes away its effect.

The mother-country, however, had but a very ſmall ſhare in the proſperity of her colonies. They themſelves ſent their commodities to all parts of the world, where they thought they could be diſpoſed of to moſt advantage, and indiſcriminately admitted ſhips of all nations into their harbours. This unlimited freedom muſt of courſe throw the greater part of their trade into the hands of that people, who, in conſequence of the low intereſt which their money bears, the number of their ſhips, and the reaſonableneſs of their duties of export and import, could afford to make the beſt terms; to buy at the deareſt, and ſell at the cheapeſt rate. This people was the Dutch. Ten of their ſhips were ſeen in the Engliſh colonies for one from the mother-country: they ſeized upon the profits of a variety of productions, which they had neither planted nor gathered.

The nation had paid little attention to this evil during the convulſions of the civil war; but as ſoon as theſe troubles were compoſed, and the ſtate reſtored to tranquillity by the very violence of its diſorder, it began to turn its views towards its diſtant poſſeſſions. It perceived that thoſe ſubjects, who had taken refuge in America, would be loſt to the ſtate, if foreign powers were not excluded from their trade. The diſcuſſion of this point brought on the famous Navigation Act in 1651, which prohibits all foreign ſhips from entering the harbours of the Engliſh iſlands, and conſequently obliges their produce to be exported directly to the countries under the dominion of England. Though aware of the inconveniencies of ſuch an excluſion, the government was not alarmed at it: it conſidered the empire only as a tree, whoſe ſap muſt be turned back to the trunk, when it flows too freely to ſome of the branches.

A fortunate circumſtance, however, for England was, that this reſtraining law could not then be enforced in its utmoſt rigour. The negligence in the execution of it, allowed the colonies time to increaſe their ſugar plantations, by the ready ſale that they found for their produce, which enabled them to raiſe themſelves on the ruin of the Portugueſe. Theſe plantations made ſuch rapid progreſs in the ſpace of nine years, that, in 1660, when it was judged that the law might ſafely be put in execution in its full extent, the Engliſh were already maſters of the ſugar trade all over Europe; except in the Mediterranean, the countries bordering on which had continued faithful to the Portugueſe, on account of the act of re-exportation, which had been occaſioned by the navigation act. In order to attain ſuch ſuperiority, the new coloniſts had indeed been obliged greatly to lower the price of the commodity, but their plentiful crops made them ample amends for that neceſſary ſacrifice; and if other nations were encouraged, by this example of ſucceſs, to raiſe plantations of ſugar, at leaſt ſufficient to ſupply their own conſumption, the Engliſh opened freſh markets, no leſs beneficial than the former. The only misfortune which they experienced during a ſeries of years, was that of ſeeing many of their cargoes taken by the French, and ſold at a low price. The planter ſuſtained by this a double inconvenience; the loſs of part of his produce, and of being obliged to ſell the remainder much cheaper than uſual.

Notwithſtanding theſe tranſient piracies, which always ceaſed in time of peace, the produce of ſugar continued to increaſe in the Engliſh iſlands. It appears

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from entries, the exactneſs of which cannot be doubted, that, about the year 1680, theſe iſlands ſent annually to Europe forty thouſand hogſheads of ſugar; each containing twelve hundred weight. Their exports, from 1708 to 1718, amounted, at a medium, to fifty-three thouſand, four hundred, and thirty-nine hogſheads annually; from 1718 to 1727, they roſe to ſixty-eight thouſand, nine hundred, and thirty-one hogſheads annually; and the ſix following years to ninety-three thouſand, eight hundred, and eighty-nine. But from 1733 to 1737, they fell to ſeventy-five thouſand, ſix hundred, and ninety five; and the two following years, they amounted regularly to ſeventy-thouſand hogſheads *.

If we inquire into the cauſe of this diminution, we ſhall find it was owing to the rivalſhip of France. That kingdom, which from its ſituation, and from the active genius of its inhabitants, ſhould be foremoſt in every undertaking, is ſo reſtrained by the nature of its government, that it is the laſt in becoming acquainted with its own advantages and intereſts. The French originally procured their ſugars from the Engliſh, and from the view of their proſperity, became deſirous of dividing their advantages. They made ſome ſugar at firſt for their own conſumption, and began to export it in 1716. The ſuperiority of their ſoil; the advantage of freſh lands; the frugality of their planters, yet poor, all conſpired to enable them to ſell their ſugars at a lower price than that of their competitors. This advantage, the moſt important that can be acquired in trade, where the commodity is equal, obtained them the preference in every market. Accordingly as their produce increaſed, the trade of their rivals declined; and this decay was ſo rapid, that a nation which, in 1719, ſold nineteen thouſand, two hundred and two hogſheads to foreigners, ſold no more than ſeven thouſand, ſeven hundred, and fifteen in 1733; five thouſand, two hundred, and eleven in 1737, and none in 1740 †.

The planters in the Engliſh iſlands had begun to complain long before this revolution was completed. They had applied to parliament as early as the year 1731, in order to engage that aſſembly to prevent the ruin of a trade, that was already far in the decline. Their petitions were at firſt diſregarded. Moſt people were of opinion, that the lands in the iſlands were exhauſted: the parliament itſelf had adopted this opinion; not conſidering, that though the ſoil was not altogether ſo luxuriant as that of freſh lands, yet it ſtill retained that degree fertility which it ſeldom loſes, when duly cultivated, unleſs materially injured by ſome accidental calamity. But when it was made evident, by eſtimates laid before the houſe, that the latter crops had been more plentiful than the former, the parliament began to attend to the method of reſtoring this ſource of public wealth.

* Anderſon, Hiſt. Com. vol. II.

† Id. ibid. The increaſe in the conſumption of ſugar in the mother-country will not, as ſome pretend, account for this decreaſe in exportation; for the produce, as appears from the foregoing account, alſo decreaſed; a certain proof of the want of a market, ſo long as the lands are not exhauſted, unleſs a more profitable culture could be attempted. But there is no culture ſo profitable as that of ſugar.

The

CHAP. VII.

The political œconomy of commerce conſiſts in ſelling cheaper than one's rivals. This the Engliſh iſlands were able to do before the year 1663, when the mother-country appropriated to herſelf a duty of four and an half per cent. upon all ſugars brought from Barbadoes. That duty was ſoon extended to the ſugars of the other iſlands. The great plenty of the commodity, however, prevented them from immediately feeling this oppreſſion; but their own neceſſities having obliged them to burden themſelves with freſh taxes, they were no longer able to withſtand a competition, which grew every day more formidable: and they ſaw themſelves, to their inexpreſſible grief and mortification, ſupplanted in all quarters. Poſſibly theſe iſlands migh thave been reſtored to their former proſperity, by ſuppreſſing the duty of four and an half per cent. and by ſacrificing to their local adminiſtration, the enormous duties their commodities pay on entering Great Britain. But the ſituation of the mother-country would not admit of ſuch generoſity towards the colonies; and the government thought it was ſufficiently liberal, when it granted them a permiſſion, in 1739, to ſend their ſugars directly to all the ports of Europe. This conceſſion, which was contrary to the ſpirit of the Act of navigation, proved ineffectual. The French maintained their ſuperiority in all foreign markets; and the Engliſh iſlands were obliged to content themſelves with furniſhing ſugars, which in 1754 amounted to ſeventy thouſand hogſheads, merely for the conſumption of the Britiſh dominions.

For this ſupply England was indebted to her ancient poſſeſſions, and very conſiderably to St. Chriſtopher's, the nurſery of all the Engliſh and French colonies in the Weſt Indies. Both nations landed there, as we have already ſeen *, in 1625, and ſhared the iſland between them. They ſigned a perpetual neutrality, and entered into a mutual agreement to aſſiſt each other againſt their common enemy the Spaniard, who for a century before had deſolated the two hemiſpheres. But jealouſy ſoon divided thoſe whom intereſt had united. The French grew envious of the proſperous labours of the Engliſh; who, on their ſide, could not patiently bear that an idle neighbour, whoſe chief employment was hunting and gallantry, ſhould attempt to rob them of their wives. This reciprocal diſguſt ſoon created quarrels, war, and bloodſhed; though neither of the parties aimed at conqueſt. In theſe domeſtic hoſtilities government took no ſhare; but concerns of greater importance having kindled a war between the mother-countries, in 1666, St. Chriſtopher's became a ſcene of carnage for half a century.

During that deſtructive period, the Engliſh ſettlement not only ſuffered from the devaſtations of the enemy: it was alſo expoſed to the ſword of its own citizens. St. Chriſtopher's, like moſt of the Engliſh iſlands in the Weſt Indies, had been chiefly peopled by royaliſts, who long refuſed to acknowledge the authority of the parliament. Ill protected by Charles II. they had become a prey to the French and Dutch; but as the treaty of Breda reſtored them to their poſſeſſions in 1667, they continued to adhere to the houſe of Stuart; and during the war reſpecting the ſucceſſion of the prince of Orange, many of them joined the French,

* Vol. I. book III. chap. i. p. 524.

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as the allies of king James. By the aid of this internal enemy, the French made themſelves maſters of the whole iſland in 1689. The Engliſh, however, returned in 1690, with a force ſufficient not only to revenge their defeat, but to repair their loſſes. This expedition was conducted by colonel Codrington and Sir Timothy Thornhill. The peace of Ryſwick put things on their old footing. But when war broke out afreſh between the mother-countries, the long and obſtinate conteſt, in which both nations had alternately obtained the advantage, was terminated by the total expulſion of the French in 1702; and the twelfth article in the treaty of Utrecht, which ceded the entire poſſeſſion of St. Chriſtopher's to the Engliſh, precluded their competitors from all hope of return.

Though the number both of coloniſts and ſlaves in the iſland, was at that time conſiderable, the Engliſh did not immediately reap all the advantages that might have been expected from ſuch an acceſſion of territory. The governors ſold the conquered lands for their own profit, or gave them away to their creatures; though they could not warrant the duration of the ſale or grant beyond the term of their own adminiſtration. New governors, on the ſlighteſt diſguſt, diſpoſſeſſed the planters, after they had laid out vaſt ſums in improving their eſtates. The progreſs of cultivation was ſtopt by this tyranny; till the parliament of Great Britain took the matter into conſideration, and remedied the evil, by ordering that all ſuch lands ſhould be put up to public ſale, and the purchaſe money paid into the treaſury. After this prudent regulation, the new plantations were as well cultivated as the old ones.

St. Chriſtopher's is about fifteen miles long, and five broad, except towards the ſouth, where it is narrowed into an iſthmus which joins it to a head land, about three miles long, and one and an half broad. The center of the iſland is full of high and barren mountains, interſected by rocky precipices. The plains and declivities of the mountains, which are cultivated as high as poſſible, are adorned with neat and commodious habitations, furniſhed with delightful avenues and fountains. The ſoil is in general light and ſandy, but very fruitful; and the plantations are well watered by ſeveral rivulets, which run down both ſides of the mountains. The colony is divided into nine pariſhes, and has two conſiderable towns, the principal of which is Baſſe Terre, formerly the capital of the French part; the other, which always belonged to the Engliſh, is called Sandy Point. But an iſland in many reſpects ſo highly favoured by nature, and ſo much improved by art, has no harbours, nor any thing that has the appearance of one: on the contrary, the ſurf continually beats on the ſandy ſhore, at the few places fit for landing, with ſuch violence as has not only prevented the building of any quay or wharf, but renders the ſhipping and unſhipping of goods always inconvenient, and often dangerous. This domeſtic inconvenience contributes, however, to the ſecurity of the ſettlement, which is further defended by a fort upon Brimſtone Hill, that mounts forty nine pieces of cannon, and has a good magazine of arms and military ſtores; by Fort Charles, which mounts forty pieces of cannon, and has likewiſe a well provided magazine; by Londonderry Fort, which protects the town of Baſſe Terre towards the eaſt; and by ſix batteries,

teries, raiſed at different landing places, and mounting forty-three pieces of cannon. CHAP. VII.

That taſte for rural life, which the Engliſh have retained longer than any civilized nation in Europe, prevails remarkably at St. Chriſtopher's. The coloniſts there never found the leaſt occaſion to form themſelves into regular aſſemblies, in order to paſs away the time; and if the French had not left them a town, where the manners of that volatile nation are ſtill preſerved, they might ſtill have been acquainted with that kind of ſocial life, which is productive of more altercation than pleaſure; which is kept up by gallantry, and leads to debauchery; which commences with dancing, and ends in the quarrels of gaming. Inſtead of cheriſhing this image of union, which is in fact only the beginning of diſcord, the Engliſh planters live chiefly by themſelves, and in a friendly intercourſe with their neighbours: they live retired, but live happily; their ſoul and countenance as ſerene as the clear ſky, under which they breathe a pure and wholeſome air in the midſt of their plantations, and ſurrounded by their ſlaves. Among theſe ſlaves, who are ſaid to be treated with paternal tenderneſs, we meet with a ſingular, and heroic inſtance of love and friendſhip.

Two negroes, both young, handſome, robuſt, courageous, and born with ſouls of a ſuperior caſt, had been attached to each other from their infancy. Partners in the ſame labours, they were united to each other by their mutual ſufferings; which in feeling minds cement a ſtronger friendſhip than the participation of pleaſures. If they were not happy, they at leaſt conſoled one another in their miſery. Each was leſs wretched than either would have been alone; and a new paſſion ſeemed only neceſſary to render their lot eligible. But love, which ſo often pours a drop of comfort into the cup of human life, ſerved only to render their woes complete. A negro girl, who was likewiſe a ſlave, and whoſe eyes ſparkled, no doubt, with greater vivacity and fire by the contraſt of her dark complexion, excited an equal flame in the hearts of theſe two friends. The girl, who was more capable of inſpiring than of feeling a particular paſſion, would readily have accepted either; but neither of them would deprive his friend of his miſtreſs, or could yield her up to him. Time only contributed to increaſe their torments, yet, without affecting their friendſhip or their love. Oftentimes did tears of anguiſh ſtream from their eyes, in the midſt of the demonſtrations of mutual regard, which they gave each other at the ſight of the dear diſtracter of their ſouls, whoſe preſence threw them into agonies of deſpair; and in their cooler moments they ſometimes vowed, that they would love her no more, and would rather die than forfeit each other's friendſhip.

The whole plantation was moved at the ſight of theſe conflicts. The love of the two friends for the beautiful negro girl was the topic of every converſation. One day they followed her into a wood. There each embraced her; claſped her a thouſand times to his heart; ſwore all the oaths of fond attachment, and called her every tender name that love can inſpire; then ſuddenly, without ſpeaking, or looking at each other, both at the ſame moment plunged a dagger into her breaſt. She expired, while they mingled their tears and groans with

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her dying sighs. They roared aloud, and made the wood resound with their sorrow. A slave hearing the voice of distress, came running to their assistance, and at a distance saw them stifling the victim of their frantic passion with their kisses. He called to some others, who soon came up, and found those two all kind friends embracing each other upon the body of that unhappy girl, and bathed in her blood, while they themselves were expiring in the streams that flowed from their own wounds.

The man who is not moved at the fate of these unfortunate youths, must have a heart at once dead to the sentiments of generosity and tenderness. Such a man, exclaims Raynal, from whom we have this anecdote, must have lived without commiserating others, and will die without comfort; he must never have shed a tear, and none will ever be shed for him *.

The negroes in St. Christopher's amount to about twenty-five thousand, and the white people to between seven and eight thousand. The annual produce of the island has of late been, one year with another, thirteen or fourteen thousand hogsheads of sugar, and some cotton; in all, to the value of near four hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling.

The produce of Barbadoes is still more considerable, though far short of its former exports. This island, which is situated to the windward of all the Caribbees, appeared never to have been inhabited, not even by savages, when the English settled there in 1627. They found it covered with such large and hard trees, that it required uncommon patience to fell them, and root them up: and when they had tolerably cleared some ground, the first produce which it yielded for their subsistence was so small and ordinary, at the same time that their supplies from England were slow and precarious, that nothing but the greatest firmness and perseverance could have carried them through so many discouragements, in prosecuting the noblest of human undertakings, the cultivating and peopling a desert part of the globe. By degrees things began to wear a more prosperous appearance. Some of the trees were found to be serviceable to the dyers; cotton and indigo agreed well with the soil; tobacco, the use of which was then become fashionable all over Europe, answered tolerably; and the soil began gradually to lay aside its savage disposition, and to submit to culture.

Amid all its difficulties, the colony in Barbadoes received no kind of support from government. On the contrary, that island was granted by patent to the earl of Carlisle, whose right was disputed by the earl of Pembroke, on account of a prior settlement made by Sir William Courteen, and a grant obtained in trust for that gentleman. But notwithstanding the disorders occasioned by these interfering claims, the colony continued to prosper. The calamities of England served to people Barbadoes. During the arbitrary exertion of power under Charles I. and before it was checked by the parliament, many gentlemen and tradesmen in Devonshire, Cornwall, and other western counties, being under melancholy apprehensions in regard to the fate of their country, retired thither; and their ex-

* Hist. Philos. et Politique, &c. viii.

ample

ample was followed by people of inferior conditions, who accompanied them in great numbers. By theſe means an iſland, which is no more than twenty-five miles in length, and fourteen in breadth, attained to the aſtoniſhing population of fifty thouſand white inhabitants, and eighty thouſand ſlaves; and to a trade that employed four hundred ſhips, one with another of an hundred and fifty tons burden.

Such was the ſtate of Barbadoes in 1676, the period of its utmoſt proſperity. Never did the earth behold ſuch a number of opulent planters collected in ſo narrow a compaſs, or ſo many rich productions raiſed in ſo ſmall a ſpot. Not long after the reſtoration, Charles II. created thirteen baronets from the gentlemen of this iſland; ſome of whom were worth ten thouſand pounds a-year, and none ſo little as one thouſand. But Barbadoes has long been on the decline. The competition of the French iſlands hurt its trade; many of its people emigrated to the other Engliſh ſettlements in North America or the Weſt Indies, particularly to Jamaica; and in 1692, a terrible contagion attacked it, and ſwept off great part of its remaining inhabitants. War raged at the ſame time with this diſtemper; and the Barbadians, who had raiſed a conſiderable body of men, loſt many of them in fruitleſs expeditions againſt the French ſettlements. The ſoil likewiſe began to fail, and at preſent yields nothing without manuring; ſo that the population and opulence of this celebrated iſland are now much reduced.

It is only, however, in compariſon with itſelf that Barbadoes can be conſidered in any other than a proſperous ſtate. It ſtill contains about fifteen thouſand white inhabitants, and near fifty thouſand ſlaves, and ſhips annually above twenty thouſand hogſheads of ſugar; a proportional quantity of rum and molaſſes, and ſome cotton, ginger, and aloes. Beſides Barbadoes, which is the only trading colony belonging to England in the Windward Iſlands, derives conſiderable advantages from its commercial tranſactions. Almoſt all the ſhips laden with ſlaves from the coaſt of Africa land there, and it ſeldom happens but they diſpoſe of their compliment. In this traffic no diſtinction is ever made of age or ſex: the whole cargo is ſold for ſo much a head. Theſe negroes, which the merchants have purchaſed by the ſhip load, they retail to the Engliſh planters, on their own and the neighbouring iſlands; and the refuſe is ſmuggled into the French and Spaniſh iſlands, in exchange for ſpecie or Weſt India commodities. By theſe different means, Barbadoes is enabled to maintain its eſtabliſhment, which is very conſiderable, with great reputation. The governor's place is not worth leſs than five thouſand pounds a year, and the reſt of the officers have valuable ſalaries or perquiſites. Its militia conſiſts of ſix regiments of infantry, three of cavalry, and one troop of guards, all ſtout men, and well diſciplined. Nor does this valuable iſland depend for its defence merely upon theſe forces. Nature and art have conſpired to ſecure to England the poſſeſſion of Barbadoes. Dangerous rocks and ſhoals render two thirds of its circumference inacceſſible; and on the part where it may be approached, lines have been drawn, and forts erected at proper diſtances, provided with a formidable artillery.

Bridge-

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Bridge-town, the capital of Barbadoes, contained about fifteen hundred handſome houſes before the deſtructive fire, which laid the greater part of it in aſhes, about twenty years ago. It is not yet perfectly rebuilt. The other towns are inconſiderable, but the face of the country is remarkably rich and beautiful; ſwelling here and there into gentle hills, and every where ſmiling under the benign influence of cultivation; with the verdure of the ſugar-canes, the bloom and fragrance of the groves of orange, lemon, lime, and citron-trees; with the guavas, papas, aloes, and a vaſt multitude of other elegant and uſeful plants, that riſe intermixed with the gentlemens ſeats, which are thickly ſown in every part of the iſland. In a word, there is no place in the Weſt Indies equal to Barbadoes in point of numbers of people, cultivation of the ſoil, and thoſe elegancies and conveniencies which reſult from both *.

Antigua is leſs agreeable, but at preſent not leſs fertile. This iſland, which is about twenty miles long, and twelve broad, was found totally uninhabited in 1629, by ſome Frenchmen who fled thither on being driven from St. Chriſtopher's by the Spaniards. The want of rivers or ſprings, which probably was the reaſon why no ſavages had fixed their abode there, induced the French fugitives to leave it, as ſoon as they could recover their former habitations. But the Engliſh, more enterpriſing than the French or the Caribs, flattered themſelves that they ſhould overcome this grand obſtacle by collecting the rain-water in ciſterns; an expedient which has ſucceeded wonderfully, that water being found very pure, and extremely light and wholeſome. They accordingly eſtabliſhed a ſettlement, though in what year is not exactly known. It only appears, that in 1640 there were about thirty Engliſh families on the iſland.

This number was not much increaſed, when Charles II. inconſiderately granted the property of Antigua to lord Willoughby. His lordſhip ſent over at his own expence, in 1666, a conſiderable number of inhabitants. It is probable, however, they would never have enriched themſelves by the culture of tobacco, indigo, and ginger, the only commodities which they raiſed, had not colonel Codrington, the great benefactor of the Britiſh Weſt Indies, in 1680, introduced into that iſland, which was then reſtored to the dominion of the ſtate, a ſource of opulence by the culture of ſugar, to which the ſoil is particularly adapted. Antigua now began to flouriſh, and continued to advance in proſperity till the beginning of the preſent century, when it laboured under the oppreſſive government of colonel Park; who in defiance of the laws, and regardleſs of morals and decorum, indulged himſelf in the moſt unbounded acts of licentiouſneſs. On a complaint made to the court of England, he was ſummoned home to anſwer for his conduct. But he delayed his departure under various pretences; and the principal members of the council, who had formerly been unable to put a ſtop to exceſſes which they abhorred, and the renewal of which they feared, ſummoned the coloniſts on the 7th of September, 1710, to protect their repreſentatives, to defend the fortunes of the public, and to put an end to ſo many

* Douglaſs's Summary, vol. I. ſec. ii. Europ. Set. in Amer. part vi. c. 6

calamities. They immediately took arms, in order to ſeize the governor, and ſend him off the iſland; but as this could only be effected by diſperſing the military, who ſurrounded his houſe, in which attempt they loſt ſeveral of their number, their ardour and their thirſt of vengeance were inflamed: they forced their way, maſſacred the tyrant, and threw his body naked into the ſtreet, where it was mutilated by thoſe whoſe bed he had diſhonoured. The mother-country, more moved by the ſacred rights of humanity than jealous of her own authority, overlooked an act of violence which her vigilance ought to have prevented. Antigua will long be diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory by this terrible example of juſtice.

The colony, from the æra of its deliverance, continued to advance in wealth and population, without any remarkable occurrence, till October 1736, when all the commerce and induſtry of the iſland was ſuddenly ſuſpended by the diſcovery of an alarming conſpiracy. The negroes had concerted a ſcheme for the deſtruction of all the white inhabitants of the iſland, and to make themſelves maſters of it. The eleventh of the month, the anniverſary of the coronation of George II. was pitched upon for the execution of this barbarous project; but the death of the governor's ſon happening at that time, the ball and other rejoicings uſual on the occaſion were poſtponed till the thirtieth. This circumſtance obliged the conſpirators alſo to delay the execution of their deſign till the ſame day, when all the principal people in the iſland were to aſſemble. Their contrivance was of the ſame nature with the gunpowder-plot in England, during the reign of James I. namely, to convey powder under the ball-room, and by one exploſion to blow up the whole company. The hatchers of this infernal plot were Court, Tomboy, and Hercules, three negroes belonging to different plantations. Court was to be king of the iſland, and the other two his chief officers; and during the confuſion which was expected to attend the exploſion, the future king and his two generals were to have headed three parties of four hundred negroes each, armed with cutlaſſes, and to maſſacre, without diſtinction, all the whites they met with. Having proceeded thus far ſucceſsfully, they were to light up beacons all over the iſland, as ſo many ſignals for the negroes to aſſemble, and to finiſh the deſtruction of the white inhabitants. But this conſpiracy was too general, and too far extended to be kept long ſecret; and as the behaviour of the three chiefs gave great room for ſuſpicion, they were ſecured and convicted on the nineteenth of the ſame month. After condemnation, they confeſſed the whole of the conſpiracy as here related, and expired with ſeveral of their accomplices by the moſt excruciating tortures. Others were doomed to periſh by ſuch cruel and lingering deaths as are a diſgrace to civil ſociety.

Antigua is divided into ſix pariſhes, and is ſuppoſed to contain near ten thouſand white inhabitants, and about thirty thouſand ſlaves. Its annual produce is computed at ſixteen thouſand hogſheads of ſugar, beſides rum, molaſſes, and ſome cotton; amounting on the whole, to above four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. St. John, the capital of the iſland, is a regular built town, with a good harbour of the ſame name, defended by Fort James. It is the reſidence of the

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governor-general of the Leeward Iſlands, the place where the general aſſemblies are held, and where the greateſt trade is carried on. The beſt port in the iſland is that called Engliſh Harbour, lately made fit to receive the largeſt ſhips of war; which there find a dock-yard, with ſtores, and all the materials neceſſary for repairing and careening. Antigua has ſeveral other harbours, beſides commodious bays and creeks; all which are defended by forts and batteries, and there is commonly a regiment of regular troops in the iſland for its further ſecurity.

Monſerrat, which lies between Antigua and Guadeloupe, was diſcovered by the Spaniards in 1493. They did not ſettle there, but gave it the name which it bears, from its reſembling in ſhape a mountain in Catalonia. It is almoſt round, and about eighteen miles in circumference. The land is very uneven; but the high grounds produce cedars and other valuable trees, and the vallies, almoſt all well watered, are very fertile. It was ſettled in 1632, by Sir Thomas Warner, then governor of St. Chriſtopher's; and ſixteen years after its militia amounted to three hundred and ſixty white men. In 1668 it was plundered by the French, who deſtroyed forty ſugar-houſes, and all the principal buildings in the iſland, except thoſe belonging to the Iriſh Roman catholics. Theſe were ſoon joined by numbers of their brethren and countrymen; who, in conſequence of the encouragement which they received under the reigns of Charles and James II. raiſed the colony to an extraordinary pitch of proſperity before the end of the laſt century. The leſs important cultures were all changed for ſugar plantations, and it was ſuppoſed to contain ten thouſand white inhabitants. Its population is ſtill conſiderable for its extent, and its produce not contemptible. Notwithſtanding the ravages of war and of the elements, it exports annually between five and ſix thouſand hogſheads of ſugar; the culture and preparing of which furniſhes employment for ten thouſand ſlaves, and about three thouſand white inhabitants. The greateſt diſadvantage of Montſerrat is the want of a harbour, which makes the loading and unloading of ſhips both difficult and dangerous.

Nevis is expoſed to the ſame inconvenience. This iſland, which is about ſix miles long and two broad, was ſettled by the Engliſh from St Chriſtopher's in 1628. It is properly but one vaſt mountain, of an eaſy aſcent, and covered with tall trees. The plantations lie all around; and beginning at the ſea-ſhore, are continued almoſt to the top of the mountain, the ſkirts of which are very fertile. This iſland is watered by many ſtreams, which would become ſo many ſources of plenty, if they did not in rainy weather ſwell into torrents, waſh away the lands, and deſtroy the crops they have nouriſhed.

The colony of Nevis was long a model of virtue, order, and piety; and the inhabitants are ſtill diſtinguiſhed in the Weſt Indies, for regularity of conduct. This purity of manners was owing to the paternal care of Mr. Lake, the firſt governor. That good man inſpired all the ſettlers, by his own example, with a reaſonable œconomy, and a love of labour, relieved by innocent recreations. Under ſuch uniform and well directed induſtry, all kinds of cultures flouriſhed, but eſpecially that of ſugar. The perſon who commanded, and thoſe who obeyed, were all actuated by the ſame principle of probity. Never was there an inſtance of

of greater harmony, peace, and prosperity. So rapid was the progress of this singular settlement, that within thirty years after its establishment, it is said to have been able to bring two thousand fighting men into the field, and to have contained thirty-five thousand inhabitants, of all colours, ages, and sexes. Admitting, however, that such a population, within the compass of sixteen miles, should be somewhat exaggerated, still it will shew the amazing but infallible effect of virtue, in promoting the prosperity of a well regulated community.

But not virtue itself is at all times able to secure either individuals or societies from the calamities of nature or the injuries of fortune. In 1689 a dreadful mortality swept away half this happy colony. It was plundered in 1706 by a French squadron, which carried off three or four thousand slaves. The year following the ruin of Nevis was completed by the most violent hurricane ever known. Since this series of disasters it has recovered a little; and at present it contains near three thousand white inhabitants, about eight thousand blacks, and exports between four and five thousand hogsheads of sugar, besides rum and molasses.

England draws few productions from Barbuda, which is the property of the Codrington family. Anguilla, or the Virgin-Islands; the inhabitants of which, computed to be about ten thousand, of all colours and conditions, acquire a comfortable subsistence by breeding of cattle, and raising provisions for the larger islands. The Virgin-Islands have been lately put under a regular form of government. Their coasts, every where sprinkled with rocks, are famous for shipwrecks, and particularly for the loss of several of the Spanish galleons. But happily for the trade and navigation of these islands, nature has placed in the middle of them a large bason of three or four leagues broad, and six or seven long, in which ships may anchor landlocked, and sheltered from all winds. The Buccaneers call this *the Virgins Gangway*. Its proper name is *the Bay of Sir Francis Drake*, who first entered it in 1580, when he made his attack upon St. Domingo.

But it is time to quit these inconsiderable settlements, and proceed to Jamaica, the most valuable possession of the British crown in the West Indies. This island, which is nearly of an oval figure, is about an hundred and seventy miles in length, and near sixty at its greatest breadth. It is in a manner intersected by a ridge of hills, steep and rocky, called *the Blue Mountains*. On each side of these mountains, are chains of smaller eminences, which grow gradually lower. The higher mountains are entirely unfit for culture; but their barrenness does not prevent them from being covered with a prodigious quantity of trees of different kinds, in perpetual spring, which strike their roots through the clefts of the rocks, and attract the moisture deposited there by the frequent rains, and by mists which almost continually brood upon their lofty summits. Those mountains are also the parents of a great number of copious rivulets, which tumbling down their rugged sides in cataracts, form amid the rocks and precipices, in combination with the shining verdure of the trees, the most pleasingly romantic prospect in nature. But the waters of these rivulets, which descend from the regions of sterility, and fertilize the plains below, are in general brackish and unwholesome. Fortunately other springs of a better quality have been discovered; and the defect in the water is

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happily compenſated by the ſalubrity of the air, which is the pureſt of any between the tropics in either hemiſphere.

Jamaica was diſcovered by Columbus in 1494, but he made no ſettlements there. Ten years after he was thrown upon it, as we have already ſeen *, by a ſtorm; and being unable to get away, by reaſon of the loſs of his ſhips, he implored the humanity of the ſavage inhabitants, who gave him all the aſſiſtance that natural pity ſuggeſts. But thoſe people, who cultivated no more land than was merely ſufficient to ſupply their own wants, ſoon grew tired of maintaining ſtrangers to the manifeſt riſque of ſtarving themſelves: they began to bring in proviſions with reluctance; they furniſhed them with a ſparing hand, and threatened to withdraw them altogether. Such a reſolution muſt quickly have proved fatal to Columbus and his companions, whoſe exiſtence depended on the goodwill of the natives. In this extremity that great navigator took advantage of one of thoſe natural phenomena, in which a man of genius and learning may ſometimes find a reſource among the ignorant. By his ſkill in aſtronomy he knew, that there was ſoon to be a total eclipſe of the moon. He aſſembled all the caziques in the neighbourhood, on the day before it happened; and after reproaching them for their fickleneſs, in withdrawing their affection and aſſiſtance from men whom they had lately revered, he told them, that the Spaniards were the ſervants of the Great Spirit, who made and governed the world; that this ſpirit, who reſides in heaven, offended at their refuſing to ſupport men, who were the objects of his particular favour, was preparing to puniſh their crime with exemplary ſeverity; and that the moon, that very night, ſhould withold her light, and appear of a bloody hue, as a ſign of the divine wrath, and an emblem of the vengeance ready to fall upon them.

To this marvellous prediction ſome of the Indians liſtened with the careleſs indifference peculiar to the people of America; others, with the credulous aſtoniſhment natural to barbarians: but when the moon began gradually to be darkened, and at length appeared of a red colour, all were ſtruck with terror. They ran with conſternation to their houſes, and returning to Columbus loaded with proviſions, threw them at his feet, conjuring him to intercede with the Great Spirit in their behalf. Seeming to be moved by their entreaties, he promiſed to comply with their deſire; and a few minutes after told them, that Heaven was appeaſed by their repentance, and nature would ſuddenly reſume its wonted courſe. The eclipſe went off; the moon recovered her ſplendour; and from that day forward, Columbus and his aſſociates were not only furniſhed profuſely with proviſions, during their ſtay in the iſland, but the natives, with ſuperſtitious attention, avoided every thing that could give them offence †.

The Spaniards however did not eſtabliſh themſelves in Jamaica till the year 1509, when Don Diego Columbus, the ſon of this extraordinary man, was governor of

* Vol. I. book I. chap. ii. p. 39.

† Life of Columbus, chap. 103. Herrera, dec. I. lib. vi. chap. 5, 6.

Hiſpaniola.

Hiſpaniola. He ſent thither, for that purpoſe ſeventy adventurers, under the command of John de Eſquibel; and others ſoon followed. It ſeemed as if all theſe cruel and rapacious men, had undertaken this expedition with no other view than to ſpill human blood. Always having their minds occupied with the ideas of gold and conqueſt, they never ſheathed their ſwords till there was ſcarce one inhabitant left in this delightful iſland, to preſerve the memory of a numerous, good-natured, plain, and hoſpitable people. It was happy for the earth that theſe murderers were not deſtined to ſupply their place. They had no inclination to multiply in an iſland where no gold was to be found. Their cruelty did not anſwer the end of their avarice; and the earth, which they had drenched with gore, ſeemed to refuſe her aſſiſtance to ſecond the barbarous efforts which they made to eſtabliſh a colony. Every ſettlement raiſed upon the aſhes of the natives proved unſucceſsful, after labour and deſpair had completed the deſtruction of the few Indians, who eſcaped the fury of the firſt invaders. St. Jago de la Vega was the only one which ſupported itſelf; and the inhabitants of that town, plunged in idleneſs, the uſual conſequence of tyranny after devaſtation, were content to live upon the produce of their plantations, the trifling overplus of which they ſold to the ſhips that paſſed by their coaſts. The whole population of the colony, confined to the ſmall territory that fed this race of ſluggards, conſiſted of fifteen hundred Spaniards, and an equal number of negroes, when the Engliſh made themſelves maſters of the iſland in 1655.

The conquerors brought along with them the fatal ſeeds of diſcord. The Engliſh colony at firſt conſiſted only of three thouſand of that fanatical militia, which had fought and triumphed under the ſtandards of the republican party. Theſe were ſoon joined by a multitude of royaliſts, who were in hopes of finding reſt and peace in America, if not comfort after their defeat. But the animoſities which had ſo long, and with ſo much violence, agitated the two parties in Europe, followed them acroſs the Atlantic. One party inſolently exulted in the protection of Cromwell, whom they had raiſed upon the ruins of the throne: the other truſted to the friendſhip of colonel Doyley, governor of the iſland, who was himſelf a royaliſt at his heart, though he had entered into the ſervice of the Protector, and accompanied Pen and Venables in that expedition which terminated in the conqueſt of Jamaica *. The prudence of Doyley, who was intruſted with the government of the iſland by theſe two commanders, only could have prevented the renewal of thoſe ſcenes of horror and bloodſhed, which had been familiar to both parties in England. Thrice did Cromwell ſuperſede him, and he was as often reinſtated in his authority by the death of his intended ſucceſſors, ſoon after their arrival in the Weſt Indies. All conſpiracies againſt him were diſcovered and fruſtrated: nor did the precarious foundation on which he held his government prevent him from executing juſtice on the mutineers. He never ſuffered the ſmalleſt breach of diſcipline to go unpuniſhed; and he always kept the balance even between the two factions by a rigid impartiality of con-

* See vol. I. book III. chap. i. p. 530, 531.

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duct. He excited induſtry, and encouraged it by his attention, his advice, and his example. His authority was enforced by his diſintereſted behaviour, as well as by the vigour of his character. He could never be prevailed upon to accept of a ſalary, being content to live upon the produce of his own plantations. In private life, he was plain and familiar; in office, a dignified commander; a deſcerning and inflexible judge, and a wiſe magiſtrate.

Doyley's manner of governing was altogether military; and ſuch only could have ſuited his circumſtances. He was obliged to reſtrain and to regulate an infant colony, compoſed wholly of ſoldiers; and at the ſame time to prevent and repulſe any invaſion from the Spaniards, who might attempt to recover poſſeſſion of the iſland. But when Charles II. was reſtored to the throne of his anceſtors, by the ſame people who had deprived his father of his crown and his life, a form of civil government was eſtabliſhed in Jamaica, modelled like that of the other iſlands, according to the conſtitution of the mother-country. It was not, however, till the year 1682 that the code of laws, which to this day preſerve the colony in all its vigour, was drawn up.

Three of thoſe ſtatutes merit the attention of politicians. The one that provides for the defence of the iſland, warmly excites that very ſelf-intereſt which might divert individuals from attending to it. It ordains, that whatever damage is done by the enemy, ſhall be immediately made good by the colony; and if the money found in the treaſury ſhould prove inſufficient for that purpoſe, that the ſame ſhall be raiſed by a particular tax. The law that reſpects the increaſe of population, is no leſs worthy of notice. It requires, that every ſhip maſter who brings into the iſland a man unable to pay for his paſſage, ſhall receive a general gratuity of about one pound ſterling. The particular gratuity is about ſeven guineas for every perſon, in ſuch circumſtances, brought from England or Scotland; five pounds eighteen ſhillings for every perſon brought from Ireland; about three pounds nine ſhillings for every perſon brought from the continent of America; and one pound nineteen ſhillings and four-pence for every perſon brought from the iſlands.

The third memorable law is calculated for the encouragement of agriculture. When a proprietor of land is unable to pay either the intereſt or the capital of the ſum he has borrowed, his plantation is appraiſed by twelve planters who are his equals: and the creditor is obliged to take the eſtate in full payment, though the appraiſement ſhould fall ſhort of the debt; but if the value of the plantation exceeds the debt, he muſt, in that caſe, refund the overplus. Though this regulation leaves room for partialities, it furniſhes a compenſation for any evil that can thereby be occaſioned by its general operation, in abating the rigour of lawſuits againſt the planters. Its tendency is indeed equally friendly to men and lands. The creditor is ſeldom a ſufferer, becauſe he is on his guard; and the debtor is obliged to be more vigilant and honeſt, if he expects to find credit. Confidence then becomes the baſis of all agreements; and confidence is only to be gained by the reputation of honeſty, which is cloſely connected with the practice of virtue.

The colony had acquired both wealth and fame before theſe ſalutary laws were enacted. Some of the original adventurers, both royaliſts and republicans, who had never been habituated to civil life, actuated by a reſtleſs diſpoſition, and a love of plunder, to which they had been accuſtomed during the civil wars, enliſted themſelves among the Buccaneers, and committed depredations upon the Spaniſh ſhips and ſettlements. Jamaica was the place to which the ſpoils of Mexico and Peru were always brought by the Engliſh Buccaneers, and frequently, as we have already had occaſion to obſerve, by the French. They found in this iſland more freedom, and better reception, accommodation, and protection than any where elſe; whether for landing, or ſpending as they pleaſed the wealth ariſing from their booty. Here extravagance and debauchery ſoon reduced them again to indigence. This grand incitement to their ſanguinary induſtry, made them haſten to commit freſh depredations. Thus the colony reaped the benefit of their perpetual viciſſitudes of fortune, and was enriched by their rapacity as well as their profuſion; by the vices which led both to their want and their abundance.

The wealth which flowed into Jamaica through this channel, gave activity to every branch of induſtry; and when the Buccaneers were ſuppreſſed, proved a freſh ſource of opulence, by facilitating the means of opening a clandeſtine trade with the Spaniſh ſettlements. This trade was carried on in a very ſimple manner. An Engliſh veſſel pretended to be in want of water, wood, or proviſions; that her maſt was broken, or that ſhe had ſprung a leak, which could not be diſcovered or ſtopped without unloading. The Spaniſh governor, on this repreſentation, permitted the veſſel to come into the harbour to refit; but in order to exempt himſelf from all ſuſpicion of betraying the confidence of his court, he ordered a ſeal to be affixed to the door of the warehouſe where the goods were depoſited, while another door was left unſealed, through which the merchandiſe exchanged in this trade, was carried in and out by ſtealth. When the whole tranſaction was ended, the Engliſh captain, who was always in want of money, requeſted that he might be permitted to ſell as much as would pay his charges; and that liberty was always granted, though ſeemingly with great reluctance. This requeſt was neceſſary that the governor or his agents might ſafely diſpoſe of the goods they had clandeſtinely purchaſed, and which could not otherwiſe have been expoſed to public ſale. They were all ſuppoſed to be bought under the permiſſion of humanity.

The court of Madrid thought to put a ſtop to this illicit commerce, by prohibiting the admiſſion of all foreign ſhips into their American harbours under any pretence whatſoever, and appointing Guarda Coſtas to keep them at a diſtance. But the people of Jamaica calling in force to the aſſiſtance of artifice, ſupported themſelves in the poſſeſſion of this trade by the protection of the Engliſh men of war, allowing the captain a certain perquiſite out of their profits; or they bribed the captains of the Spaniſh Guarda Coſtas, who avoided the latitudes where they were to paſs. So true it is, That kings in vain make regulations that are inconſiſtent with the reciprocal intereſts of their people.

But

BOOK IV. But this violent and hazardous mode of traffic has been ſucceeded by one more moderate and ſecure. The ſhips diſpatched from Jamaica, repair to ſuch ports on the Spaniſh coaſts as are leaſt frequented; eſpecially thoſe of Brew, five miles from Carthagena, and Grout, near an equal diſtance from Porto Bello. A perſon who ſpeaks the Spaniſh language is immediately put on ſhore, to give notice in the adjacent country of the arrival of the ſhip. The news is propagated with amazing ſpeed to the moſt diſtant parts: the merchants haſten to the place; and the trade begins, but with ſuch precautions as experience guided by neceſſity has dictated. The ſhip's company is divided into three parties. While the firſt is entertaining the purchaſers with the moſt engaging civilities, and keeping at the ſame time a watchful eye, in order to prevent them from exerciſing their habitual dexterity in ſtealing, the ſecond is employed in receiving the vanilla, indigo, cochineal, gold, and ſilver of the Spaniards, in exchange for ſlaves, ſilks, linens, and other commodities. The third diviſion, in the mean-time, is under arms upon deck, in order to provide for the ſafety of the veſſel; and to take care not to admit at once a greater number of people than might be commanded, in caſe of any diſturbance. When the tranſactions are finiſhed, the ſhip puts to ſea, and crowds all the ſail poſſible till ſhe gets beyond the forbidden latitudes; and the Spaniſh merchant, in order to prevent a diſcovery, avoids the high roads, and goes through bye-ways with the negroes he has purchaſed, who are loaded with the merchandiſe, which is divided into parcels of a convenient form and weight for carriage.

This manner of trading had been long carried on ſucceſsfully, to the great emolument of the colonies of both nations, when Spain ſubſtituted regiſter-ſhips in place of the galleons. That arrangement ſuddenly diminiſhed it. By furniſhing the Spaniſh ſettlements with a more frequent and plentiful ſupply of European goods from the mother-country, and theſe at a more moderate rate than formerly, it left them under little temptation to run the riſks of a contraband traffic, and the Engliſh under ſtill leſs to ſupply them, as their hazards were greater. The Britiſh miniſtry ſaw with concern the loſs of ſo valuable a branch of trade, and in order to recover it, made Jamaica a free port in 1766. Immediately the Spaniſh ſhips flocked thither from all parts of America, to exchange their gold and ſilver, and other valuable productions, for the manufactures of England; and had it not been for the reſtriction which excludes all commodities of the ſame nature with thoſe of Jamaica, it is probable that the productions of Hiſpaniola might alſo have found their way into its harbours. Perhaps the parliament thought this advantage might have been overbalanced by other inconveniencies attending ſuch a licence. But however that may have been, it is certain that Jamaica has been benefited by the opening of its ports, even under the preſent reſtrictions, though not ſo much as was at firſt expected; and that its merchants have lately carried on a lucrative trade with the interior parts of Mexico, by means of the Engliſh ſettlements on the Moſquito ſhore, at Black River, and in the Bay of Honduras *.

* For an account of theſe ſettlements, ſee vol. I. book II. chap. ii. p. 388, 393, 394.

But

But this illicit, and precarious commerce, is inconſiderable, when compared with the riches that Jamaica derives from its plantations. The firſt culture the Engliſh attended to was that of cacao, which they found eſtabliſhed by the Spaniards. It proſpered as long as thoſe plantations laſted, which had been raiſed by a people who made cacao their principal food, and their only traffic. The new planters perceived that they began to decay, and attempted to renew them; but either from want of care or ſkill, they did not ſucceed. The Engliſh, as eaſily diſcouraged by adverſe circumſtances, as active when ſucceſs accompanies their endeavours, gave up this culture, and applied themſelves to that of indigo; which was increaſing faſt, when the parliament ruined it by an injudicious and oppreſſive duty. The miniſtry have ſince endeavoured to retrieve their error, by not only taking off the duty, but encouraging the culture of indigo by a bounty, of about ſix-pence on every pound weight raiſed in the Britiſh ſettlements. But this generoſity ſhewed itſelf too late, in regard to Jamaica, and has hitherto only been productive of abuſes. In order to obtain the bounty, the people of that iſland procure indigo from the French colony in Hiſpaniola, and ſend it over to England as their own produce. The expence incurred to government on this account, cannot however be conſidered as waſte, as it is ultimately beneficial to the nation; and as there is great plenty of uncultivated lands in Jamaica, the inhabitants may in time be tempted to put into their own pockets the money that they give to foreigners for a commodity which they might raiſe themſelves without diminiſhing their other cultures.

Before the culture of indigo was given up at Jamaica, that of cotton was in a proſperous ſtate. The iſlands in the American archipelago produce cotton ſhrubs of various ſizes, which thrive without any culture, eſpecially in low and marſhy grounds. Their produce is of a pale red; ſome paler than others, but ſo ſhort that it cannot be ſpun. None of this is brought to Europe, though it might be uſefully employed in the manufacture of coarſe hats. The cotton-ſhrub that ſupplies our manufactures, requires a dry and ſandy ſoil, and ſucceeds beſt in grounds that have been frequently tilled; not but that the plant appears more flouriſhing in freſh lands, than in thoſe which are already exhauſted, but while it produces more wood, it bears leſs fruit. A weſtern expoſition is fitteſt for it. The culture of cotton begins in March and April, and continues during the firſt ſpring-rains, commonly in May. Holes are made at ſeven or eight feet diſtance from each other, and a few ſeeds thrown in. When they have ſprung to the height of five or ſix inches, all the plants in each hole are pulled up, except two or three of the ſtrongeſt. Theſe are cropt twice before the end of Auguſt. This precaution is the more neceſſary as the ſhrub bears no fruit till after the ſecond pruning; and if it were ſuffered to grow higher than four feet, the produce would both be leſs and more difficult to gather. The ſame method is purſued for three years; for ſo long the ſhrub will continue to yield, if it cannot be conveniently renewed oftener. It will not thrive, if great care is not taken to pluck up the weeds that grow about it. Frequent rains promote its growth, but if inceſſant, prove hurtful; and dry weather is peculiarly neceſſary at the

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ſeaſon of gathering, in order to prevent the cotton from being diſcoloured and ſpotted.

The cotton ſhrub bears fruit within nine or ten months after it is planted. A flower blows at the extremity of its branches; and the piſtil of this flower changes into a pod of the ſize of a pigeons egg, which opens, and divides itſelf into three parts, when the cotton is ripe. When it is all gathered, the ſeeds muſt be ſeparated from the wool, with which they are naturally mixed. This is performed by means of a cotton-mill; which is an engine compoſed of two rods of hard wood, about eighteen feet long, two inches in circumference, and fluted two lines deep. They are confined at both ends, ſo as to leave no more diſtance between them than is neceſſary for the ſeed to ſlip through. At one end is a kind of little mill-ſtone; which being put in motion by the foot, turns the rods in contrary directions. Thus they ſeparate the cotton, and throw out the ſeeds contained in it.

While the culture of cotton declined in the other Engliſh iſlands, it continued to flouriſh more and more in Jamaica till 1766, when it received a ſevere check. The government finding that the cotton of its own colonies was not ſufficient to employ the national manufactures, then took off the duties which had formerly been impoſed upon foreign cottons. The granting of ſuch a freedom as muſt neceſſarily increaſe the importation, and reduce the price of an unwrought commodity, deſerves the higheſt praiſe: a provident adminiſtration, however, would have proceeded farther; it would have granted a temporary bounty upon all cottons imported from the Britiſh ſettlements, in order to prevent the planters from feeling the diminution in price, which muſt at firſt ariſe from a foreign competition. But it has been the misfortune of our miniſtry, for ſome time paſt, to do things only by halves; to ſee but one ſide of an object: hence that ſeries of blundering meaſures, to uſe no harſher term, and inefficacious exertions into which the nation has been led, by a ſet of men whoſe hearts perhaps are not worſe than thoſe of their fellow-ſubjects, but whoſe ideas are too contracted to diſcern the true intereſts, and whoſe ſpirit is too feeble for the government of a great and widely extended empire.

Whatever may be the fate of their cotton, the inhabitants of Jamaica have no occaſion to be afraid of competition in one culture, namely that of ginger. This plant, which never grows above two feet high, is rather buſhy. Its leaves exactly reſemble ruſhes, only they are ſmaller. It is propagated by one of its ſhoots, which is planted towards the end of the rainy ſeaſon, and ſprings up in a week's time. When the leaves turn yellow, and are withered, the ginger is ripe. It is then pulled up, and expoſed to the ſun or wind to dry. The roots, which are the only uſeful part, are flat, broad, of different forms, but moſtly reſembling the foot of a gooſe. Their ſubſtance is cloſe, heavy, white, firm, and of the conſiſtence of a turnip. The culture of ginger is eaſy, and by no means expenſive. A ſingle man may undertake it; and the root has this double advantage, that it will keep for many years in the ground without rotting, and as long as is neceſſary after it is gathered, without being in the leaſt injured. But if ginger requires little labour, it abſorbs a vaſt quantity of nutritive juices; inſomuch, that

a piece of ground which has produced three or four crops of ginger, is ſo much exhauſted that nothing will after thrive upon it.

When the Europeans firſt viſited the Weſt India iſlands, the natives made uſe of ginger; but their conſumption of that, as of moſt other articles, was ſo ſmall in proportion to their territory, that nature afforded them a ſufficient quantity without the aſſiſtance of cultivation. The coloniſts, notwithſtanding the heat of the climate, grew paſſionately fond of this hot ſpice. They ate it in the morning to quicken their appetite: they ſerved it up at table preſerved in ſeveral different ways: they uſed it after meals to facilitate digeſtion, and at ſea as an antidote againſt the ſcurvy. This faſhion was adopted in Europe: ginger was uſed on every occaſion; and it was commonly mixed with pepper, which was then very dear. But this eaſtern production fell gradually to a more moderate price, and ginger went out of repute. The culture has accordingly been dropped almoſt every where except at Jamaica, and the price has fallen as low as ten ſhillings the hundred weight. The annual export of this article is computed at ſix hundred thouſand pounds weight, which is conſumed chiefly in the north of Europe.

Beſides ginger, Jamaica furniſhes another ſpice; namely, pimento. There are ſeveral ſorts of pimento, more or leſs pungent. The tree which bears that ſort called *Jamaica Pepper*, commonly grows on the mountains, and riſes to the height of about thirty feet. It is very ſtraight, moderately thick, and covered with a greyiſh, ſmooth, and ſhining bark. The leaves exactly reſemble thoſe of the laurel. The flowers blow at the extremities of the branches, and are ſucceeded by berries ſomewhat larger than thoſe of the juniper. They are gathered green, and ſpread in the ſun to dry; after which they turn brown, and acquire that ſpicy ſmell, which has obtained to pimento the name of All Spice. It is very uſeful to ſtrengthen cold ſtomachs that are ſubject to crudities.

But all theſe articles are inconſiderable compared with that of ſugar. The art of cultivating and preparing this commodity was introduced into Jamaica by Thomas Modiford, an opulent planter from Barbadoes. His large capital, together with his ſkill and activity, enabled him to clear an immenſe tract of land; and his conſequence both as a man and a cultivator, raiſed him to the government of the iſland in 1663. Neither his own ſucceſsful example, nor his ſolicitations, however, were able to prevail upon men habituated to arms and idleneſs to apply to the labours of agriculture. But ſome years after, when the colony of Surinam was ceded to the Dutch, fifteen hundred unfortunate men, deſtitute of the means of ſubſiſtence, who tranſported themſelves to Jamaica, proved more tractable. Neceſſity inſpired them with induſtry, and their proſperity excited emulation. Theſe beginnings of improvement were happily ſupported by the large ſums that were daily poured into the iſland, by the uninterrupted ſucceſs of the Buccaneers. Part of this money was employed, as already obſerved, in the contraband trade, and part in erecting buildings, purchaſing ſlaves, implements of huſbandry, and houſhold goods for the riſing plantations. The face of things was wholly changed; and Jamaica ſoon exported vaſt quantities

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quantities of ſugar, ſuperior in quality to that of any of the other Engliſh iſlands.

This culture has continued to increaſe, even when that of coffee was joined to it. The coffee-tree had enriched the Dutch and French ſettlements, before the Engliſh planters thought of cultivating it, notwithſtanding the vaſt conſumption of coffee, both in the colonies and the mother country. It was firſt attempted with ſucceſs in Jamaica; which, with the ceded iſlands, now furniſhes as much as the Britiſh dominions can conſume. Government has indirectly encouraged this beneficial culture, by augmenting the duty upon foreign coffee. The annual amount of all theſe different articles, with ſome others of leſs importance, is computed at thirteen hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, and the number of inhabitants in Jamaica at twenty thouſand whites, five thouſand free negroes and mulattoes, and an hundred and forty thouſand ſlaves *.

This produce and population, though very conſiderable, is by no means what might be expected from an iſland that contains four millions of acres. One fourth of that ſpace is not diſtinguiſhed by any traces of improvement. All the interior part of the country is an uncultivated waſte. There are no plantations except on the coaſts, and even theſe are not entirely cleared. Moſt of the planters poſſeſs immenſe tracts of land, but one fifth of them is not put to any proper uſe. It is difficult to account for this backwardneſs, as Jamaica is favoured with the fineſt roads and harbours, and every thing that can facilitate exportation, unleſs we aſcribe it to the badneſs of the ſoil. But that is allowed to be, in general, equal to any in the Weſt Indies; and though the exceſſive and conſtant coolneſs of the mountains would be ſo injurious to all tropical productions, that it would be in vain to attempt any plantations there, the intermediate ſpace between the mountains and the ſea-coaſt is interſperſed with vallies, hills, and plains, where immenſe quantities of cotton, cacao, coffee, and indigo at leaſt might be raiſed.

Sugar is cultivated all around the iſland, but more eſpecially on the ſouthern coaſt, which the Spaniards inhabited, and where the Engliſh have multiplied more than in any other part. The chief cauſe of that preference was a ſafe and commodious bay or harbour, which can contain a thouſand of the largeſt ſhips. This ineſtimable advantage to a trading people laid the foundation of Port Royal; which though it ſtands on a narrow neck of land, that affords none of the neceſſaries of life, not even freſh water, became a famous city in leſs than thirty years. It contained two thouſand houſes very handſomely built, and a porportional number of inhabitants. This proſperity was produced by a conſtant and quick circulation of trade; Port Royal being the chief mart for the commodities of the iſland, for the booty of the Buccaneers, and the fountain of the contraband traffic carried on with the Spaniſh ſettlements. In a word, few cities in the world ever united in the ſame compaſs an equal ſhare of opulence, buſineſs,

* Writers differ widely in regard to the quantity of ſugar annually exported from Jamaica; but it cannot be leſs than eighty thouſand hogſheads. The rum, which is the beſt in the Weſt Indies, is computed at twenty thouſand puncheons.

and

and pleaſure; and none perhaps, ſuch an active ſcene of induſtry with ſuch an entire corruption of manners. CHAP. VII.

Port Royal continued to increaſe in wealth and wickedneſs, till the 7th of June 1692, when an earthquake, which ſhook the whole iſland to its foundations, overwhelmed this city with the ocean, and buried nine tenths of it eight fathoms under water. The ſky, which was clear and ſerene, in a moment became dark, threatening, and red; a rumbling noiſe was heard underground, ſpreading from the mountains to the plains; the ſolid rocks were ſplit; hills widely ſeparated came cloſe together; infectious lakes appeared on the ſpots where the land had been ſwallowed up; whole plantations were removed ſeveral miles from the place where they formerly ſtood; enormous chaſms were opened in the earth, whence iſſued peſtilential ſtreams; the ſhips were ſhattered to pieces, or thrown aſhore over the tops of the buildings, and the ſea was covered with trees, which the earth had thrown up, or the winds torn away *. Scarce a houſe in the iſland remained undamaged, and thirteen thouſand lives are ſaid to have been loſt, beſides three thouſand by a contagious diſtemper that broke out ſoon after.

But though Port Royal periſhed in this general wreck of nature, which is thought to have left an ill diſpoſition in the climate of Jamaica, the ſituation was too advantageous to be abandoned. The people had ſcarce recovered from their conſternation, when they began to rebuild the city; but it was deſtroyed by fire, about ten years after. Notwithſtanding this ſecond diſaſter, the town was again rebuilt, and again deſtroyed in 1722, by one of the moſt terrible hurricanes that ever viſited the earth. Theſe repeated calamities, which ſeemed to mark out Port Royal as a devoted ſpot, induced the aſſembly to paſs an act for removing the cuſtom-houſe and public offices to Kingſton, a place advantageouſly ſituated towards the middle of the bay. Port Royal is, however, ſtill a conſiderable town; is the ſtation of the Britiſh fleet in thoſe latitudes, and defended by one of the beſt forts in the Weſt Indies. This fort, which is built upon the extremity of the neck of land that narrows the entrance of the bay, is called Fort Charles, and mounts upwards of an hundred pieces of cannon.

Kingſton, which is plentifully furniſhed with freſh water, and all manner of natural accommodations, is now become a flouriſhing city, and the centre of all the trade of the iſland. It contains about ſixteen hundred houſes, and near twelve thouſand inhabitants, including maſters and ſlaves. The houſes are well built, and the ſtreets of a convenient wideneſs, regularly drawn, and cutting each other at equal diſtances and right angles. Kingſton, however, notwithſtanding its proſperity, has never become the capital of the iſland. That title is ſtill due to St. Jago de la Vega, or Spaniſh Town, which ſtands upon the banks of the river Cobre, a conſiderable though not navigable ſtream. It is the reſidence of the governor, and the place where the general aſſembly and courts of juſtice are held. Though a town of leſs trade, and inferior in ſize to Kingſton, it is more gay; being chiefly inhabited by perſons of fortune, and by the princi-

* Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. II.

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pal officers of the crown. A greater number of elegant carriages are there ſeen than in many European cities, and the aſſemblies are more frequent and ſplendid.

While admiral Knowles was governor of Jamaica, an attempt was made to remove the ſeat of government from Spaniſh Town to Kingſton, for the conveniency of the commercial part of the colony. But perſonal hatred againſt the projector of this innovation; the harſhneſs of the meaſures he employed to carry it into execution; the habitual attachment which moſt people are apt to acquire for places as well as things; and the numberleſs private intereſts which muſt neceſſarily be affected by ſuch an alteration, all conſpired to ſuggeſt inſurmountable objections to a plan, which, though liable to ſome inconveniencies, muſt have been attended with many ſolid advantages. The promoters of the new ſyſtem, on their ſide, ſupported it with a contemptuous haughtineſs; and the animoſities between the two parties were ready to divide with domeſtic diſſentions a colony,
A. D. 1759. which was then ſurrounded by foreign enemies, and in danger of falling a ſacrifice to cruel and inteſtine foes. This matter will require ſome illuſtration.

When the Spaniards were compelled to evacuate Jamaica to the Engliſh, they left in the iſland a number of negroes and mulattoes, who, ſore from the yoke of ſlavery, embraced the laudable reſolution of retiring into the mountains, and there to maintain that liberty which they had acquired by the expulſion of their tyrants. Having accordingly entered into ſome agreements neceſſary to preſerve their union, they planted maize and cacao in the moſt inacceſſible places of their retreat. But the impoſſibility of ſubſiſting till harveſt, obliged them to come down into the plain, and pillage for a ſubſiſtence. The Engliſh bore this plunder the more impatiently as they had nothing yet to ſpare: they declared war againſt the negroes; many of whom were maſſacred, and the greater part of the ſurvivors ſubmitted. Only fifty or ſixty fled back to the rocks and mountains, there to live or die in freedom.

Policy, which is never influenced by compaſſion, and which while it guards the liberties of one people, ſeeks the ſlavery of another, thought it neceſſary to reduce or exterminate this handful of fugitives; but their acquaintance with the interior part of the iſland, with all its defiles, woods, and faſtneſſes, rendered that deſtructive ſcheme impracticable. It was therefore dropt, without any attempt being made to molify the temper of the independent negroes. Their hatred of their exterminators continued; and every ſlave rendered deſperate by the hardſhips of his condition, or the dread of puniſhment for offences committed, was ſoon taught to ſeek an aſylum in the mountains, where he was ſure of finding companions ready to protect him from the rod of his maſter and the oppreſſions of ſervitude. The number of fugitives daily increaſed, in ſpite of every attempt to hunt them down, till the 20th of June 1690, when they thought themſelves ſtrong enough to act offenſively. They accordingly fell upon the Engliſh plantations in ſeparate bands, and committed horrid ravages. In vain was the greater number of them cut off, and the reſt driven back to their rocks and caves; in vain were forts erected and garriſoned at proper diſtances, in order to reſtrain their incurſions; they

they ventured, notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, and their repeated loſſes, to renew their ravages from time to time.

Thoſe ravages, which were ſometimes carried as far as Spaniſh Town, continued till the year 1735, when a new reſolution was taken to exterminate the perpetrators of them. For this purpoſe, all the coloniſts formed themſelves into regular bodies of troops, and marched againſt the rebels by different roads. One party, commanded by captain Stoddart, undertook to reduce the town of Nawny, which the negroes had built and fortified in the Blue Mountains; and by the help of artillery, a fortification erected without regularity, and defended by no great guns, though ſtrong by nature, was ſoon deſtroyed, and the rebels were either diſlodged or maſſacred. But the ſucceſs of the other enterpriſes did not correſpond with this: the victory was often doubtful, and the loſs of men great. More elated with one advantage, than diſcouraged by ten defeats, the negroes were proud to contend, on a footing, with men under whoſe laſh they had trembled, without daring to repine. If they were worſted, they had ſtill ſome conſolation: they had aſſerted their natural rights; diſplayed the independency of their ſpirit, and at leaſt mingled their blood with that of their tyrannical maſters. They ruſhed againſt the ſword of the white man, that they might plunge a dagger into his breaſt; and when at length overpowered by numbers, or by the ſuperior dexterity of their aſſailants, they took refuge in the moſt remote and inacceſſible parts of the mountains, where they diſpoſed themſelves in ſmall bands, and whence the Engliſh found it impoſſible to diſlodge them.

Wretched as the lives of theſe men now were, they perſevered in maintaining their independency, and frequently from their faſtneſſes ſpread deſolation over the neighbouring country. Their barbarity, increaſed by the animoſity ariſing from hoſtile oppoſition, and the neceſſities to which they were reduced by their antagoniſts, was now alike dead to the feelings of ſympathy and deaf to the voice of ſupplication; ſo that the pooreſt coloniſts would not accept of the poſſeſſion which the government offered them in the immediate vicinity of the mountains. Even ſettlements at a greater diſtance were deſerted, and ſome of the fineſt lands in the iſland were left in the rude uncultivated ſtate of nature. No body would undertake to clear plantations, at a time when every thicket was conſidered as an ambuſcade, and beheld as an object of terror; as a den for cruel and vindictive foes, ready to drink their blood.

Such was the ſtate of the colony, when Edward Trelawney was appointed governor of Jamaica. That prudent and humane magiſtrate was ſenſible, that a ſet of men who for near a century back, had lived chiefly upon wild fruits, and who naked, and expoſed to all the inclemencies of the weather, had never ceaſed fighting againſt an aſſailant ſtronger and more ſkilful than themſelves, could not eaſily be reduced by force; that ſuch an attempt was beſides impolitic, at a time when the mother-country was on the eve of a war with Spain, whoſe ſhips continually hovered round the iſland, and would not fail to ſupply the rebels with arms and proviſions. He therefore had recourſe to pacific overtures. He offered them not only lands to cultivate, which ſhould be their own property, but liberty

and

and independency. It was alſo ſtipulated, that they ſhould enjoy thoſe privileges under their own chiefs, who nevertheleſs ſhould be ſubject to the controul of the governor of Jamaica, and to the inſpection of certain white men appointed to reſide among them.

Theſe conditions, ſo much more honourable than any that had hitherto been granted to negroes, were readily accepted: and the treaty concluded in 1739, gave equal ſatisfaction to both parties. This treaty ſeemed to promiſe laſting tranquillity, as the authority of the chiefs was made to depend upon their good behaviour: but it muſt always be dangerous to have an exclusive body of free people in any colony, where their countrymen, in a ſtate of ſervitude, compoſe the greater number of the inhabitants. The free negroes multiplied faſt by propagation; and though they were guilty of no remarkable act of violence for twenty years, they never paid due attention to that article in the treaty, which obliged them, in future, to reſtore the fugitive negroes. By theſe different means they became numerous and ſtrong; and while the flames of war raged both in Europe and America, they had formed a ſcheme, in concert with the working blacks, to murder all the white men in Jamaica, and ſeize upon the government of the iſland.

This conſpiracy, which was to have been put in execution in 1760, was defeated by the impatience of thoſe concerned in it. Some of the negroes who laboured under the preſſure of ſlavery, tranſported into frenzy by the proſpect of liberty, ſtabbed their maſters, and ſet fire to their houſes, before the appointed time. By that precipitancy their concert was broken: they were unable to reſiſt the forces ſent againſt them; their leaders were ſlain, and the whole body was diſperſed. In this ſervice, that part of the free negroes included in the treaty of independency, was particularly active. Afraid of loſing their privileges, they hunted their countrymen, like wild beaſts, and ſold their blood, at a price fixed by government, upon the head of every inſurgent ſlain by the hand of a negro.

The conſpiracy, however, broke out with more alarming violence, a few months after it was thought to be finally extinguiſhed. The number of rebels had been gradually increaſed by deſerters from the ſeveral plantations; and they proceeded as formerly to murder all the white men they could maſter. The regular troops and the militia again flew to arms, and in conjunction with a large body of negroes, marched in purſuit of the fugitive negroes. They came up with them; defeated them in ſeveral rencounters; and either killed or took priſoners the greater part of them. All the priſoners were doomed to periſh by the moſt excruciating deaths. One ſeems peculiar to the Weſt Indies, and is ſingular for its inhumanity. Thoſe who were ſuppoſed to be the chief promoters of the conſpiracy, were tied alive to gibbets, and there left to expire ſlowly, expoſed to the ſcorching ſun of the torrid zone.

Not cruſting, however, to the example of theſe awful puniſhments, certain regulations, dictated by the ſame barbarous ſpirit, were contrived to prevent future inſurrections. Theſe ordain, that if any negro be found out of his maſter's plantation without a white conductor, or a ticket or leave, he ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed; that every negro playing at any kind of game ſhall be publicly

whipped;

whipped; that every proprietor of negroes, who ſhall ſuffer any of them to beat a drum or blow a horn, or make any extraordinary noiſe in his plantation, ſhall pay a conſiderable fine. It was further ordained, That every free negro or mulatto ſhould, on pain of being impriſoned, wear upon his right ſhoulder a blue croſs, as a badge; and that every mulatto, Indian, or negro, ſelling any thing but freſh fiſh or milk, ſhall be publicly whipped.

It is impoſſible to read theſe regulations without viewing the diſcovery of of America on the dark ſide. To ſubject that New World to the dominion of Europe, it was found neceſſary to ſlaughter its inhabitants; to replace them negroes muſt be purchaſed, as they only are able to endure the climate, and the labours requiſite to make America a valuable acquiſition; and to remove theſe Africans from their native country, and tranſport them into another, where they are deſtined to cultivate the earth without having any intereſt in its produce, they muſt be ſeized by force, and condemned to ſlavery. In order to prevent the revolt of the negroes, the natural conſequence of ſeverity and ſervitude, thoſe men, whom we have made deſperate by hard uſage, muſt be reſtrained by atrocious laws. But the dominion of tyranny is ever inſecure, and cruelty has a period in its own deſtructive nature. In a moment it may ceaſe. The rancour of the negroes againſt their oppreſſors, in all the American iſlands, is exceſſive. They want only arms to render themſelves independent: theſe may be furniſhed them by a foreign power, in order to accompliſh the deſtruction of their maſters. How ſevere, in that event, will be the vengeance! Such vengeance, however, is the natural conſequence of treſpaſſing on the liberty, and ſporting with the feelings of man. The chains of ſlavery can only be cut by the ſword. Injuſtice calls for retribution, crimes beget crimes, and blood is productive of blood.

Jamaica is peculiarly expoſed to this danger from the fugitive negroes who ſtill inhabit its woods and mountains. It therefore behoves government to ſecure, by a proper military force, an iſland of ſo much importance to England. One regiment, its common compliment, is not ſufficient for that purpoſe, except in times of profound peace. Nature has happily placed Jamaica at the entrance of the gulph of Mexico, and made it a kind of key to that rich country. All ſhips going from Carthagena to the Havana are obliged to paſs by its coaſts. It is more within reach of the ſeveral trading ports on the continent than any other iſland, and the many excellent roads with which it is ſurrounded, facilitate navigation on all ſides. Theſe advantages are however balanced by ſome inconveniencies. It is eaſy at get to Jamaica by the trade winds, taking the way of the little Antilles, but it is not ſo eaſy to ſail out of it, whether the channel of Bahama or the Windward Paſſage be choſen as the courſe. The firſt gives the navigator full advantage of the wind for two hundred leagues; but as ſoon as Cape Antonio, the extreme point of Cuba towards the north is doubled, he meets with the ſame wind againſt him, which before was favourable, and runs beſides the riſk of being taken by the Guarda Coſtas of the Havana. This danger is ſucceeded by another; the winds and ſhoals on the coaſt of Florida, towards which the winds and currents drive with great violence. The other courſe is at-

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tended with no leſs difficulty and hazard. It terminates at Crooked Iſland, about eighty leagues from Jamaica, where ſhips get into the open ſea; but before they can reach that place, they muſt ſtrive againſt the eaſterly wind through the whole paſſage, coaſt along cloſe under Hiſpaniola, in order to keep clear of the flats of Cuba, and then paſs the ſtraits between thoſe two iſlands, where it is very difficult, in time of war, to avoid being intercepted by their privateers and other armed veſſels.

Navigators coming from the Bahamas are expoſed to none of thoſe dangers or obſtructions. Theſe iſlands, the firſt which Columbus diſcovered in the New World, have been more neglected than they deſerve. They conſiſt of a range of ſeveral hundreds, moſt of which are no more than rocks juſt above the water; but others are of conſiderable extent, and naturally abound with all the tropical fruits. Among theſe is Guanahani, where the diſcoveries of Columbus began. As they produced no gold, the Spaniards made no ſettlement on them: but they carried off the hoſpitable and good natured inhabitants for the purpoſes of their avarice; and thoſe unhappy men all periſhed in the mines of Hiſpaniola, or in diving for pearls on the coaſts of Margaretta and Cubagua. Not one of them had a ſingle inhabitant in 1672, when the Engliſh landed a few men on the iſland called Providence; and thoſe were all deſtroyed by the Spaniards ſeven or eight years after. This diſaſter, however, did not deter other Engliſhmen from ſettling there in 1690; but no ſooner had they eſtabliſhed a little colony, and built about two hundred houſes, than the French and Spaniards jointly attacked them, deſtroyed their plantations, and carried off their negroes in 1703.

Diſcouraged by the total loſs of their ſubſtance, the coloniſts removed to other places to ſeek employment, and were ſucceeded by pirates of their own nation; who, after exerciſing their violences on the coaſt of Africa, and in the remoteſt ſeas of Aſia, but chiefly in the latitudes of North America, found a ſafe and commodious retreat in Providence. There they fixed their habitation for ſeveral years, inſulting even the Britiſh flag with impunity, till George I. rouſed by the clamours of his people and the wiſhes of his parliament, fitted out, in 1719, a force ſufficient to ſubdue them. The greater part accepted the proferred amneſty, and increaſed the colony which Woods Rogers brought with him from England. That colony may now conſiſt of about three thouſand perſons, one half of whom are ſettled at Providence, and the other chiefly at Eleuthera, the largeſt and moſt fertile of this range of iſlands, equally known by the name of the Lucayos or Bahamas. Accuſtomed to live upon plunder, the inhabitants ſtill retain too much of their former habits of life, or the diſpoſitions of their anceſtors. In time of war, their favourite employment is privateering, and in peace that of ſearching for wrecks, which it is affirmed they have the means of procuring. Hence the languid ſtate of their agriculture; though the variety of their ſoil is a conſtant incentive to their induſtry, their avarice, and even their ambition. It is not indeed remarkably fertile, but there are particular ſpots ſufficiently rich to inſure the proſperity of a very conſiderable population.

Thoſe

Thoſe iſlands, which have hitherto been of little benefit to Great Britain, may at leaſt prove ſerviceable by their ſituation, if not by their productions. They form a chain, which extends from the Gulph of Florida to the Windward Paſſage. There ſome other iſlands, called Caicos and Turk's iſlands, lately diſputed by the French, begin, and continue the chain as far as the middle of the northern coaſt of Hiſpaniola. Between theſe iſlands, there are five paſſages for the largeſt ſhips. The moſt conſiderable of Turk's iſlands, and the great Caicos, have lately been fortified by the Britiſh government; and as they afford a good anchorage, and a ſafe retreat for privateers, at the ſame time that they command the narrow channel which divides them from Hiſpaniola, the ſhips coming from that rich iſland muſt generally fall into our hands.

The Bermudas or Summer-Iſlands, once ſo celebrated, do not promiſe equal advantages. This cluſter of iſlands, diſtant about three hundred leagues from the Antilles *, was diſcovered in 1527, by John Bermudas, a Spaniard, who gave them his name, but did not attempt any ſettlement. They appear afterwards to have been viſited by his countrymen, though never regularly inhabited by any human being, before 1612, when ſixty Engliſhmen there fixed their abode. The population increaſed rapidly; becauſe both the ſalubrity of the air, and the fertility of the ſoil, eſpecially the latter, was greatly exaggerated. People reſorted thither from the Antilles for the recovery of their health, and from the northern colonies to enjoy their fortune in tranquillity, in a temperate climate, and beneath a ſerene ſky. Many royaliſts, during the government of Cromwell, retired to the Bermudas, in anxious expectation of the death of their oppreſſor. Waller, among the reſt, croſſed the ocean, and celebrated theſe happy iſlands, where he reſided ſome years, in an elegant but unequal poem. He imparted his enthuſiaſm to the ladies; among whom Bermuda hats, made of palm-leaves, were long the faſhion, and came to be conſidered an eſſential part of dreſs.

The charm, however, was at length broke, and the Bermudas ſunk into that inſignificance which muſt be the lot of every colony that is deſtitute of productions for exportation. Theſe iſlands are very numerous, though their whole compaſs is not above ſixteen leagues. Their ſoil is very indifferent, and there is not a ſingle ſpring to refreſh it. The inhabitants are therefore obliged to procure all their water from wells dug in the earth, and that is generally brackiſh, or from reſervoirs for the preſervation of what the clouds diſtil. Maize, vegetables, and excellent fruits, afford however plenty of wholeſome food for about five thouſand white inhabitants; but they poſſeſs few articles of commerce, and have no outward connexions, except by ſome ſhips paſſing from North America to the Antilles, which ſtop ſometimes at theſe peaceful ſpots to take in refreſhments.

Some attempts have been made to improve by new branches of induſtry the condition of the inhabitants of the Bermudas. It has been wiſhed that they would try to cultivate ſilk, then cochineal, and laſtly, that they would plant vineyards; but theſe projects have been merely propoſed: no

* The Bermudas do not properly belong to the American archipelago; but as they are too inconſiderable to claim a particular diviſion, they are here brought under review.

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assistance has been given by government to enable them to carry them into execution. They themselves, consulting their own necessities, have confined their ingenuity to humbler objects: they have began with success the weaving of sailcloth; a manufacture well adapted to plain and moderate men, and which grows every day more flourishing. It is also intimately connected with a former branch of their industry. For upwards of a century past, small ships have been built at the Bermudas that are unequalled in swiftness and durability. They are constructed of cedar of their own growth. Attempts have been made to imitate them at Jamaica and the Bahama islands, but without success. They are chiefly employed in the trade between North America and the West Indies, and generally navigated by Bermudians, who are excellent seamen.

The principal inhabitants of those islands have lately formed a society, the laws of which do honour to humanity. They have obliged themselves to form a library of all books of husbandry, in whatever language they are written; to procure all sober persons of both sexes, an employment suitable to their inclination; to bestow a reward upon every man who shall introduce into the colony any new art, or contribute to the improvement of any one already known; to give a pension to every journeyman mechanic, who after having assiduously continued his labour for forty years, shall not have been able to lay by a stock sufficient to enable him to pass his latter days in tranquillity; and lastly, to indemnify every inhabitant of the Bermudas, who shall have been oppressed either by the minister or the magistrate.—Who can help here putting up a wish, that these advantages may ever be preserved to this industrious colony; that, happy in their labour and in their poverty, they may continue to enjoy in a state of innocence the benefits of a pure and serene sky, uninfected by the poison of luxury; that, strangers themselves to ambition and envy, the rage of war may be silenced upon their coasts, as the storms of the ocean that surrounds them are broken against their rocks.

Such were the English settlements in the West Indies before the commencement of the late war, the successes of which confirmed to Britain Great the possession of several valuable islands, that now serve to extend her empire and increase her commerce. At the head of these stands Tobago, which is about thirty leagues in circumference. It is not like most of the other Caribbees, full of barren rocks or unwholesome morasses. Plains of considerable extent are here crowned with gently rising hills, whose declivities are every where fit for cultivation. From these hills flow innumerable streams, many of which seem intended by nature to turn the sugar-mills. The soil, sometimes sandy, is constantly black and deep. Along the north and west sides of the island, which is not exposed to those dreadful hurricanes so common in the islands more remote from the continent, are many safe and commodious harbours.

Tobago was formerly exceedingly populous, if we may credit tradition. Its inhabitants long withstood the fierce and frequent attacks of the savages from the continent; but at length wearied out with these incessant hostilities, they dispersed themselves in the adjacent islands. Their place was supplied by two hundred

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natives of Fluſſingen, who landed at Tobago, already claimed by England *, in 1632, in order to lay the foundation of a Dutch colony. The neighbouring Indians, encouraged and aſſiſted by the Spaniards of Trinidad, conſpired and effected the ruin of a ſettlement which gave umbrage to both. All who attempted to reſiſt their fury, were killed or taken priſoners, and thoſe who eſcaped ſoon deſerted the iſland. The Dutch were ſucceeded by the Courlanders, under the protection of England; and theſe were diſpoſſeſſed in 1658, by the ſubjects of the republic. But the Dutch did not long enjoy the fruits of their violence: they were expelled by the Engliſh in 1666, again put in poſſeſſion of the iſland by the French, and violently driven out by the ſame power in 1677. CHAP. VII.

From that æra Tobago, left deſolate by the vain glorious Lewis XIV. was regarded as a neutral iſland till 1763, when it was ceded in full right to Great Britain by the ninth article in the treaty of Paris. The ſettlement formed in conſequence of this treaty has made rapid progreſs, and promiſes to be one of our moſt valuable colonies. It already conſiſts of near three hundred plantations, and exports annually about five thouſand hogſheads of ſugar, beſides other valuable productions. The culture of ſugar alone, it is affirmed, may be carried to the incredible extent of fifty thouſand hogſheads.

Granada, another of the ceded iſlands, which lies to the leeward of Tobago, and is about nine leagues long and five broad, yields already a vaſt produce. Its plains are interſected by a few mountains of moderate height, and watered by a number of conſiderable ſtreams, ſome of which even deſerve the name of rivers. Its ſoil is of different kinds, but in general a rich, deep, black mould, which is remarkably fertile. It has never felt the rage of a hurricane any more than Tobago. Theſe advantages, ineſtimable in themſelves, are rendered more precious by two excellent harbours; namely, that of Calvini, at the ſouth-eaſt extremity, and that of Fort Royal, the capital of the iſland, on the ſouth-weſt ſide. The harbour of Fort Royal is ſo capacious, that ſixty ſhips of the line may there ride with eaſe, and in perfect ſafety.

Though the French as early as the year 1638, had formed the project of ſettling in Granada, they did not carry it into execution before 1651. On their arrival, they gave a few hatchets, ſome knives, and a barrel of brandy to the chief of the natives; and imagining they had purchaſed the iſle with thoſe trifles, aſſumed the ſovereignty, and ſoon acted as tyrants. The Caribs, unable to contend with them by open force, took the method which weakneſs always inſpires to repel oppreſſion; they murdered all whom they found defenceleſs or alone. The troops ſent to ſupport the colony, purſued the courſe marked out by all the conquerors of America; that of extirpating the natives. The remainder of theſe miſerable men took refuge upon a ſteep rock, reſolving rather to throw themſelves from the top of it, than ſubmit to an implacable and vindictive enemy. The French wantonly called this rock *le Morne des Sauteurs*, "the Hill of the Leapers;" and it ſtill retains that name.

* This claim was founded on a viſit made to it by Sir Robert Dudley, during the reign of Elizabeth, and a reſolution formed to people it, but never carried into execution.

BOOK III.

The conquerors, however, were juſtly puniſhed for all their cruelties by a rapacious, violent, and inflexible governor. Moſt of the coloniſts, no longer able to bear his tyranny, retired to Martinico, and thoſe who remained on the iſland condemned him to ſuffer death after a formal trial. In the whole court of juſtice that tried this petty deſpot, there was only one man, named Archangeli, who could write, and he was an Italian. The perſon that conducted the impeachment was a farrier, who, inſtead of his name, made an impreſſion with a horſe-ſhoe; and Archangeli, who acted as clerk, wrote gravely round it, *La que de Monſieur de la Brie, Conſeiller Rapporteur*:—"MARK of Mr. de la Brie, COUNSEL for the COURT *!"

But Granada, though relieved from its oppreſſor, acquired no degree of importance till the beginning of the preſent century. About the year 1714, an univerſal change was obſerved; and this advance towards proſperity was effected by its connexion with Martinico. That iſland was then laying the foundation of its opulence. It ſent an immenſe quantity of productions to France, and received many valuable commodities in return. The richeſt of theſe manufactures were ſent to the Spaniſh coaſts. Its ſhips touched at Granada, in order to take in refreſhments. The trading privateers, who undertook this navigation, taught the people of Granada the value of their ſoil, which only required cultivation. They did more. Some traders furniſhed the inhabitants with ſlaves and utenſils to erect ſugar works. An account was eſtabliſhed between the two colonies; and Granada was gradually paying off its debts by its rich produce, and had almoſt cloſed the balance, when the war in 1744 interrupted the communication between the two iſlands, at the ſame time that it put a ſtop to the progreſs of the ſugar plantations.

This loſs was ſupplied by the culture of coffee, which was purſued, during the hoſtilities, with all the activity and eagerneſs that induſtry could inſpire; and the peace of Aix-la Chapelle, in 1748, revived all the labours of Granada, and opened all its former ſources of wealth. The cultivation roſe to eighty three ſugar plantations; two million, ſeven hundred and twenty five thouſand, ſix hundred coffee-trees; one hundred and fifty thouſand, three hundred cacao trees, and eight hundred cotton ſhrubs. The colony, in a word, made a progreſs rapid in proportion to the fertility of its ſoil, till it fell under the dominion of England.

In the firſt enthuſiaſm raiſed by an acquiſition of which the higheſt ideas had been formed, ſome blunders were committed, which diſappointed the hopes of the new planters, and proved diſadvantageous to the nation. As every one was eager to purchaſe eſtates in Granada, they ſold for much more than their real value. This caprice, by tempting the old coloniſts, who were inured to the climate, to part with their plantations, has drained England of fifteen hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, at the ſame time that it has been accompanied with an unneceſſary waſte of her inhabitants. The number of ſlaves has, however, been increaſed as far as forty thouſand, and the annual produce of the iſland has been raiſed to three times its amount, under the French government.

* Labat, tom. IV. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. l. ... vii. p. 534.

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The exports of Granada will be further augmented by the neighbourhood of a dozen of ſmall iſlands called the Granadines, which are dependent on the colony. They are from three to eight leagues in circumference, and the ſoil is excellent; but they do not afford a ſingle fountain of water. The air, however, is wholeſome; and as the ground, covered only with buſhes, has not been ſcreened from the ſun, it exhales none of thoſe noxious vapours ſo fatal to the huſbandman, on turning up moſt of the new lands in the Weſt Indies. Cariuacou, the only one of thoſe iſlands cultivated by the French, produces a great quantity of cotton; and the culture of ſugar has ſucceeded remarkably well at Becouya, the largeſt and moſt fertile of the Granadines, which is no more than two leagues diſtant from St. Vincent, alſo the property of Great Britain.

When the Engliſh and French, who for thirty years had been ravaging the Windward Iſlands, began to give ſome conſiſtence to their ſettlements they agreed in 1660, that Dominica and St. Vincent ſhould belong to the Caribs. Some of thoſe ſavages, who had hitherto been diſperſed, retired into the former, and the greater part into the latter. There they lived in the woods, in ſcattered tribes, under the guidance of an old man, whom age and experience alone had advanced to the dignity of ruler. The dominion paſſed ſucceſſively into every tribe, where the oldeſt always became chief; that is to ſay, the head and father of the nation.

While things proceeded in this chain, the population of theſe children of nature was ſuddenly augmented by a race of Africans, whoſe origin has never been preciſely aſcertained. It is ſaid that a ſhip, carrying negroes for ſale, foundered on the coaſt of St. Vincent; and that the ſlaves who eſcaped the wreck, were received as brethren by the ſavages. Others pretend that theſe negroes were fugitives, who had deſerted from the plantations of the neighbouring iſlands. A third tradition ſays, that this foreign race ſprung from the blacks whom the Caribs took from the Spaniards, in their different wars with thoſe tyrants of the New World; and if we may credit Du Tertre, the moſt ancient hiſtorian who has written an account of the Antilles, theſe terrible ſavages ſpared the captive ſlaves, while they bathed their hands in the blood of their maſters; brought them home, and reſtored them to liberty, that they might enjoy LIFE! ſuch was their emphatical expreſſion for that freedom, which no man has a right to withhold from any of his fellow creatures, and the privation of which is worſe than death. Nor did their kindneſs ſtop here: for by whatever chance theſe ſtrangers were brought into the iſland, the proprietors of it gave them their daughters in marriage; and the race that ſprung from this mixture, were called Black Caribs. They have preſerved more of the primitive colour of their fathers, than of the lighter hue of their mothers; and they are otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed. The Red Caribs are of a low ſtature, the Black Caribs tall and ſtout; and this doubly ſavage race ſpeaks with a vehemence that reſembles anger.

Notwithſtanding their original good agreement, ſome differences ſoon aroſe between the two races. The people of Martinico reſolved to take the advantage of thoſe miſunderſtandings, in order to raiſe themſelves on the ruin of both parties,

BOOK III. ties. Their pretence for interfering was, that the Black Caribs gave ſhelter to the ſlaves, who deſerted from the French iſlands. Impoſture is generally the forerunner of injuſtice: thoſe who had been falſely accuſed, were afterwards attacked without provocation. But the ſmallneſs of the numbers ſent againſt them; the jealouſies of thoſe who were appointed to command the expedition; the defection of the Red Caribs, who refuſed to aſſiſt ſuch dangerous allies, even againſt their rivals, with the promiſed ſuccours; the difficulty of procuring ſubſiſtence, and the impoſſibility of coming up with enemies, who concealed themſelves in woods and faſtneſſes, with a variety of other adverſe circumſtances, all conſpired to diſconcert this raſh and dangerous enterpriſe. It was accordingly given up, after the loſs of many valuable lives.

But the gallant reſiſtance of the Caribs did not prevent them from ſuing for peace. They even invited the French to come and live with them, ſwearing ſincere friendſhip and inviolable concord. The propoſal was agreed to; and in 1720, the year following the hoſtilities, many of the inhabitants of Martinico removed to St. Vincent. The firſt who went thither ſettled peaceably, not only with the conſent, but by the aſſiſtance of the Red Caribs. This ſucceſs induced others to follow their example; but theſe, whether from jealouſy, or ſome other motive, taught the ſavages a fatal ſecret. That people, who knew of no property but the fruits of the earth; becauſe they are the reward of labour, and uninſtructed reaſon taught them, that every man has a right to reap what he has ſown, learned with aſtoniſhment, that they could ſell the earth itſelf, which they had always looked upon as belonging to mankind in general. This information induced them to meaſure fields and fix bundaries; and from that inſtant peace and happineſs were baniſhed from their iſland. The partition of lands occaſioned diviſions among men.

The cauſes of this revolution in property deſerve to be traced, as they are intimately connected with the hiſtory of human nature. When the French ſettled in St. Vincent in 1720, they brought ſlaves along with them to clear and till the ground. The Black Caribs, ſhocked at the thought of reſembling men who were degraded by ſlavery, and fearing that ſome time or other their colour, which betrayed their origin, might be made a pretence for enſlaving them, took refuge in the thickeſt part of the foreſt. In this ſituation, in order to imprint on their tribe an indelible mark of diſtinction, which might be a perpetual token of their independence, they flattened the foreheads of all their children as ſoon as they were born. The full-grown men and women, whoſe heads would not bend to this ſtrange ſhape, cared no longer be ſeen in public without that viſible ſign of freedom; but the next generation boldly ventured forth, and appeared as a new race*.

The Flat-headed Caribs, who were nearly of the ſame age; tall, well made men, hardy and fierce, came and erected huts by the ſea ſide. No ſooner were they made acquainted with the price which the Europeans ſet upon the lands

* Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV.

that they inhabited, than they claimed a ſhare with the other iſlanders. This riſing ſpirit of avarice, the reſult of more diſtinct ideas of property, was at firſt appeaſed by ſome preſents of brandy, and a few ſabres. But not content with theſe, they ſoon demanded fire-arms, that they might be on a footing with the Red Caribs, to whom ſuch arms had been granted; and at laſt they were deſirous of having their ſhare in all the future ſales of land, and likewiſe in the produce of paſt ſales. Provoked at being denied a part in this brotherly partition, they formed themſelves into a ſeparate tribe; ſwore never more to aſſociate with the Red Caribs; choſe a chief of their own, and declared war.

The number of the combatants might be equal, but their ſtrength was by no means ſo. The Black Caribs had every advantage over the Red that ſtrength, valour, and perſeverance, muſt ever acquire over a feeble body and a timorous ſpirit. But that ſenſe of equity, that inſtinctive juſtice, which is ſeldom denied to ſavages, made the victors conſent to ſhare with the vanquiſhed all the territory lying to the leeward. It was the only one which both parties were deſirous of poſſeſſing, becauſe there they were ſure of receiving preſents from the French. The Black Caribs, however, had ſoon reaſon to repent of their generoſity: they found themſelves loſers by a treaty which they themſelves had drawn up. The new planters who came to the iſland always landed and ſettled near the Red Caribs, where the coaſt was moſt acceſſible. This preference rouſed that enmity which was but ill extinguiſhed. The war broke out a freſh; and the Red Caribs, who were always worſted, retired to the windward of the iſland. Many took to their canoes, and went over to the continent or to Tobago; and the few who remained, lived ſeparate from their former aſſociates.

The Black Caribs, conquerors and maſters of all the leeward coaſt, now required of the Europeans, who belonged to different nations, a new price for the lands which they had already purchaſed. A Frenchman offered to ſhew the deed of conveyance of ſome land which he had bought from a Red Carib "I know not," replied a Black Carib, "what thy paper ſays; but read what is written on my arrow. There you may ſee, in characters which do not lye, That unleſs you give what I demand, I will go and burn your houſe to-night *." In this manner did a people, who had not learned to read, reaſon with thoſe who derived ſuch conſequence from knowing how to write. They urged the right of force with as much aſſurance, and as little remorſe, as if they had been acquainted with divine, political, and moral caſuiſtry.

But time, which introduces a change of meaſures with a change of intereſts, put an end to thoſe diſturbances. The French became, in their turn, the tyrants of St. Vincent; which was ſtill, however, conſidered by England as a neutral iſland. They no longer occupied themſelves in breeding poultry and cultivating vegetables; manioc, maize, and tobacco, in order to ſupply Martinico. More important cultures, which employed eight hundred white men, and three thouſand blacks, were attempted with ſucceſs. The annual amount of theſe commo-

* Raynal, liv. xiv.

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dities was by no means inconſiderable, when St. Vincent fell into the hands of the Engliſh, to whom it was ſecured by the treaty of Paris.

The French coloniſts, unacquainted with the ſubtle politics of princes, entertained not the leaſt doubt of their title to the lands which they had cleared. Their ſurpriſe was therefore inexpreſſible, when they were informed, that Great Britain thought herſelf authoriſed to ſtrip them of their poſſeſſions, unleſs they would ranſom thoſe very fields which they had already redeemed from the waſte and uncultivated ſtate of nature by the labour of their own hands, and which they either held by a grant from the original inhabitants, or had acquired by the great law of force. Their complaints, however, were diſregarded: a general order was iſſued to ſell the lands indiſcriminately, as if no ſuch ſettlements had been made. England conſidered them as invaſions, and France made no ſtipulation for the ſecurity of her ſubjects. Diſguſted rather than oppreſſed, as the fine was very moderate, many of them went over to St. Lucia, where lands were freely granted to thoſe who would clear them. But the emigration was by no means univerſal. When the firſt emotions of diſcontent were over, the more prudent part of the French planters conſidered, that they would gain more by ranſoming their own lands, than by ſettling upon freſh grounds which ſhould coſt them nothing; and that the colony, which had never yet been upon any ſolid foundation, and where their property was always inſecure, muſt acquire ſtability and vigour under the Britiſh government.

St. Vincent is about eight leagues in length, and near ſeven in breadth. It is agreeably diverſified with hills and vallies, and watered by a variety of ſtreams, twenty-two of which are large enough to give motion to the ſugar mills. The ſoil is remarkably favourable to the culture of cacao, arnotto, and even ſugar. The French colony applied themſelves chiefly to the planting of coffee, of which they exported annually three millions weight, at the time the iſland was ceded to England. But this culture is now almoſt entirely neglected for that of ſugar. The leeward ſide of the iſland on which the Engliſh firſt ſettled, afforded the new coloniſts but a ſmall quantity, being rugged and mountainous. This circumſtance made them deſirous of poſſeſſing the plains on the windward ſide. The Caribs, who had taken refuge there, refuſed to reſign their poſſeſſions: the Engliſh took up arms to compel them; and though they defended themſelves with obſtinate courage, they were at laſt humbled. Hard conditions, however, were not impoſed upon them. A diſtrict in the northern part of the iſland, comprehending about one third of the whole, was ſecured to them by a treaty concluded in 1773. The colony has ſince enjoyed perfect tranquillity, and promiſes every thing that can be expected from ſuch a ſpot.

Dominica is more extenſive, and no leſs fertile. It is thirteen leagues in length, and nine at its greateſt breadth *. The centre is occupied by inacceſſible moun-

* Theſe are the dimenſions aſſigned to this iſland by the compiler of the *Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages*, a work on whoſe accuracy the French pride themſelves; and they are ſeldom in the dark where their government has any intereſt or claim. The anonymous author of the Preſent State of the Weſt Indies aſſigns Dominica, however, only eight leagues and an half in length, and four as its greateſt breadth. He diminiſhes the ſize of St. Vincent in nearly the ſame proportion.

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tains, which pour down numerous rivers of excellent water upon a rich but irregular country; abounding in excellent timber for every purpoſe, and producing in the greateſt perfection all the tropical fruits and plants. Some of theſe rivers are navigable for ſeveral miles from the ſea, (a circumſtance very uncommon in the Weſt Indies) and contribute to the more eaſy conveyance of thoſe commodities which they have ſerved to produce by their refreſhing influence. Its ſize, accompanied with ſo many natural advantages, muſt in time render Dominica a very valuable colony. It is ſuppoſed to contain near twice as many acres of improvable land as Barbadoes.

This iſland was diſcovered in 1493, by the great Columbus, who gave it the name of Dominica, becauſe the diſcovery was made on a Sunday. The Spaniards, however, took no farther notice of it; and that famous Engliſh navigator the earl of Cumberland, who viſited it in 1598, found it inhabited only by its own children, the Caribs, who made no oppoſition to his landing. If he made no ſettlement on the iſland, it was owing merely to a defect in his commiſſion, where no clauſe was inſerted for ſuch purpoſe. George Piercy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, afterwards touched here in his way to Virginia with ſome recruits; and though the Engliſh had yet attempted no eſtabliſhment in Dominica, Charles I. made no ſcruple to inſert it along with Barbadoes, in the earl of Carliſle's patent. But the French, become ſenſible of the value of this iſland, inflamed the natives againſt the Engliſh, and were able, by various means, to prevent any durable ſettlement being made upon it till 1748, when it was formally declared neutral by the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle.

The French, however, obſerved a moſt inſidious neutrality; for when Dominica, towards the concluſion of the late war, was reduced under the dominion of the crown of Great Britain, to which it is ſecured by the treaty of Paris, almoſt the whole windward coaſt was ſettled by the ſubjects of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. The French colony, in a word, conſiſted of ſix hundred white people, and two thouſand ſlaves, who were ſucceſsfully employed in cultivating cotton, coffee, and cacao, or in breeding poultry and raiſing proviſions for the conſumption of Martinico. But it was not for the ſake of cotton, coffee, or cacao, which, however, prevent the wiſhes of the planter; nor for the ſake of ſugar, which will not diſappoint his hopes, that France employed ſo many intrigues to obtain poſſeſſion of Dominica. An object of greater importance than a mere commercial colony entered into her diſtant political views. She perceived that this iſland, by its poſition between Martinico and Guadeloupe, and only at a ſmall diſtance from each, would, in the hands of her rival, become equally alarming to both iſlands; that in time of war, its ſafe and commodious roads would enable the Engliſh privateers and ſquadrons to intercept, without riſk, the navigation of her colonies, and even to cut off the communication between her two principal ſettlements. But if the ſituation of Dominica renders it formidable to France, and conſequently important to England, independent of its valuable produce, this ſituation alſo expoſes it to danger. The Britiſh miniſtry ought therefore to keep a watchful eye on a ſpot, which nature has made the key of the Windward Iſlands,

BOOK III. and which every motive of intereſt, ambition, reſentment, ſafety and conveniency, muſt prompt the French to recover from the hands of their powerful neighbours, and now declared enemies.

The court of France, among other attempts to diſcredit Dominica in the eyes of the Engliſh, both before and during the negociating of the treaty of Paris, repreſented it as deſtitute of any harbour, and altogether unfriendly to navigation. But this deſcription is found to be falſe; for although no regular port has yet been diſcovered, there is ſafe and convenient anchorage in the bays and coves which indent the whole coaſt. The principal of theſe, deep, ſandy, and capacious, named Prince Rupert's Bay, is ſituated at the north-weſt end of the iſland, and well ſheltered from the winds on all ſides by the ſurrounding mountains. In that bay has been lately traced out the plan of a new town, to be called Portſmouth; and it is to be hoped that the name will prove auſpicious. The Caribs, formerly ſo numerous in this iſland, are now reduced to a few families; ſo that the Engliſh have little to fear at Dominica, or indeed in all the Weſt Indies, except from the French. Let us now enquire how far the policy of Great Britain in regard to her colonies in thoſe latitudes encourages or enables them to reſiſt a foreign force.

All the free inhabitants in the Engliſh Weſt India iſlands are formed into a body of militia. This regulation, which neither expoſes them to the caprices of a governor, nor to the inſulting pride of regular troops, is perfectly agreeable to the independent ſpirit of the Creoles; and that militia, little inferior in point of diſcipline to European ſoldiers, is much beyond them in ardour and courage. They want nothing but numbers to be able fully to defend themſelves, and occaſionally to annoy the enemy; for which purpoſes they are infinitely more fit, by being habituated to the climate, than raw troops, which in the Weſt Indies can never meet an enemy in the field with above half their complement. But the too great diſproportion between the blacks and whites, makes the militia little more than ſufficient to keep the ſlaves in awe. This diſproportion has not always been the ſame in the Engliſh iſlands. They formerly contained a greater number of white men: but theſe have gradually diſappeared with the decreaſe of the ſmaller cultures, as their place has been chiefly ſupplied by ſugar-plantations, which require a more conſiderable extent of territory, and a larger ſtock to carry them on. They have ſucceſſively taken refuge in North America, or the ceded iſlands, where the number of blacks has been multiplied in a ſtill greater proportion, than in the original ſettlements.

Other cauſes have conſpired to augment this evil. England perhaps, at preſent, contains as many indigent and idle men as at the time of the firſt emigrations from Europe to America; but that ſpirit of adventure and enterpriſe, which was roufed by the novelty of the object, has in a great meaſure ceaſed; and far from being encouraged, it has been ſtifled by our Weſt India planters, who chuſe to do every thing by negroes, which can poſſibly be done by them. In vain do the laws require every proprietor to have a certain number of white ſervants in proportion

portion to the blacks on his plantation: this regulation has proved ineffectual to remedy the abuſe. The planters chuſe rather to run the riſk of paying a ſmall penalty, than to act in conformity to a law the obſervance of which would be more expenſive to them than the penalty inflicted on the breach of it. Their avarice makes them blind to the hazard to which they expoſe the ſum total of their affairs, as well as to the intereſts of the mother-country; for independent of that ſecurity, to which white men are ſo eſſential, the ſale of our manufactures in the colonies is, in a great meaſure, proportioned to the number of ſuch inhabitants, as it is well known, that one white man, by the moſt moderate calculation, conſumes more European commodities than three negro ſlaves.

All theſe conſiderations evince the neceſſity of increaſing the number of white inhabitants in our Weſt India iſlands by the moſt liberal conceſſions, premiums, and encouragements of every kind; and alſo of ſending, till ſuch increaſe ſhall take place, eſpecially in time of war, a certain number of troops to co-operate with their brave militia, if we would extend a reaſonable hope towards the preſervation of ſuch valuable poſſeſſions againſt the invaſions of an enemy, whoſe government is almoſt entirely military. Though Great Britain has never laid any direct impoſt upon her colonies for the ſupport of ſuch an eſtabliſhment, they are more burdened with taxes than thoſe which belong to leſs moderate governments. Obliged to remedy the evils of war, and to provide for their defence, they have erected fortifications by voluntary contributions. Theſe have been large, and ruinous in their conſequences, by the debts which they have obliged the colonies to contract; and the civil adminiſtration, in manifeſt contradiction to the republican ſpirit, by which moſt of our colonies were eſtabliſhed, has always been very coſtly. Public buſineſs has never been tranſacted without great expence.

But theſe heavy contributions and accumulated expences do not hinder the lands in the Engliſh iſlands from bearing a very high price. The Europeans and Creoles vie with each other in purchaſing them; and this competition enhances their value. Planters are allured by the certainty of finding a better market for their commodities in the mother-country, notwithſtanding the enormous duties which they pay on entering it, than other nations can find elſewhere. Beſides, the Engliſh iſlands, though protected by no great internal force, are leſs expoſed to invaſion and devaſtation, than thoſe belonging to other powers, though better garriſoned and fortified: her fleets ſecure them. The navigation of a people born for the ſea ſupports itſelf by its own ſtrength in war as well as in peace. This obſervation leads to a general concluſion.

The ſtrongeſt fortreſs muſt ſoon ſurrender unleſs it receives a conſtant ſupply of men and proviſions. A garriſon in the Weſt Indies can receive no effectual ſuccours or ſupplies but by ſea. Hence it is evident, that there is no other way to preſerve our colonies in thoſe iſlands, but by a formidable navy. It is on the docks, and in the harbours of Britain, that the baſtions and ramparts of her Weſt India ſettlements muſt be raiſed. While the mother-country ſhelters them, as it were, under the wings of her ſhips—ſo long as ſhe ſhall fill up with her fleets the vaſt interval that ſeparates her from theſe ſettlements, the offſpring of her induſtry and

BOOK III.

power, her parental attention to their proſperity will ſecure their attachment, and enable them to repel every invader. The advantage and invigorating power is mutual. While Britain retains the poſſeſſion of thoſe iſlands, whoſe produce annually loads eight hundred ſhips, navigated by ſixteen thouſand ſeamen, ſhe will have it in her power to protect them, and even to bring under her dominion, as formerly, the ſettlements of her rival. The winds are at her command, and all the elements conſpire to promote her glory. She wants only able miniſters and commanders, while ſhe continues to reign miſtreſs of the ſea, to ſubdue the whole Weſt Indies; and as ſhe is now embroiled with France, perhaps the moſt elegible ſtep ſhe can take is the reduction of the principal iſlands belonging to that crown. She would then engroſs the commerce of the American archipelago, and that would enable her to preſerve the ſovereignty of the ocean; which, in the preſent ſtate of things, may be conſidered as the ſovereignty of the earth. Her manufactures, in that event, would attain a degree of proſperity which they have never known; her cuſtoms would be doubled; and the ferment in her colonies on the continent would be appeaſed, by the proſpect of ſuch an advantageous mart for their productions as would then be opened to them by a free intercourſe with all the Weſt India iſlands, as well as with the European dominions of the mother-country.

THE


An
EXACT MAP
of
NORTH AMERICA
from the best
Authorities.
Degrees W. of London.
27 35
Meridian
Warkdan
Garda
Lookmund
Erik's Fiord
Garda
C. Christian
C. Farewell
GREENLAND
SEA OF
Behrings I.
Theodores I.
Stephens I.
St. Macarie's I.
Discoveries
M. St. John
Peters Harbour
Settlement
Bay of Esquimaux
C. Charles
Str.s of Belisle
Bonavista
Trinity Bay
Conception Bay
St. John
C. Race
Placentia
Miquelon
C. Breton
Royal
Sable I.
Halifax
C. Sable
Jaquet Bank
the Great Bank
NORTHERN
SEA
OR
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
PACIFIC
GREAT
Green I.
Azores
Terceira
Flores
Fayal
Pico
Graciosa
Bermudas or
Summers I.ds
50
40
30

such


An
Exact Map
of
North America
from the best
Authorities.
Degrees W. of London.
SEA OF KAMTSCHATKA
Discoveries made by the Russians during the last 30 Years
Unknown Parts
PACIFIC OCEAN
or
GREAT SOUTH SEA
BAFFINS BAY
GREENLAND
Straits of Baffin
PRINCE WILLIAMS LAND
Arctic Circle
NEW NORTH WALES
Esquimaux
HUDSONS BAY
NEW SOUTH WALES
CANADA
NORTHERN SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
The Great Bank
Tropic of Cancer
GULF OF MEXICO
MEXICO
LOUISIANA
NEW MEXICO
Drake's Harbour
New Albion
Puerto de Nova Cuesta
Puerto de la Concepcion
Fuca
Aleutian Islands
Kurile Islands
Japan
Formosa
Philippine Islands
Marianne Islands
Sandwich Islands
Owhyhee
Mowee
Atooi
Onecheow
Navigators Islands
Friendly Islands
Solomon Islands
Admiralty Islands
New Britain
New Ireland
New Guinea
Moluccas
Celebes
Java
Sumatra
Borneo
Timor
Ceram
Banda
Gilolo
Ternate
Tidore
Amboyna
Bay de Manuel Rodrigues
Chippertona L. by conjecture
Cape Horn
Terra del Fuego
Falkland Islands
Staten Land
Sandwich Land
Georgia
Sandwich Land
Trinidad
Martinico
Barbadoes
Jamaica
Hispaniola
Cuba
Bahama
Florida
Carolina
Virginia
Maryland
Pensylvania
New York
New England
Nova Scotia
Canada
Labrador Country
Esquimaux
Hudsons Bay
Baffins Bay
Greenland
Iceland
Azores
Bermudas
Cape Verd Islands
Canary Islands
Madeira
Africa
Europe
Asia
Australia
Terra Australis
Arctic Circle
Tropic of Cancer
Equator
Discoveries made by the Russians during the last 30 Years
Pretended Entrance of Admiral Fonte
Entrance found by Juan de Fuca
Coast seen by Tchirikow
Land seen by Quiros
Land seen by Mendana in 1568
Dona Maria Lasarda or Sta Maria Lagarta
Rocca partida
Los Monges
La Desgraciada
La Mesa
La Vuelta
Sheldrick
Shelvocke
Anson
Byron
Wallis
Cook
Clerke
Gore
Vancouver
Meares
Dixon
Portlock
Coxe
Hearne
Mackenzie
Carver
Pike
Lewis
Clark
Long
Hutchins
Evans
Thompson
Arrowsmith
Faden
Jefferys
Bowen
Kitchin
Dalrymple
Laurie
Whittle
Dodd
Mudge
Zachariah
Engraved by J. Walker, 1794.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICA.

BOOK IV.

NORTH AMERICA.

CHAP. I.

A general View of the State of North America *when firſt diſcovered, with an Account of the Character, Manners, Cuſtoms, civil and religious Inſtitutions of the original Inhabitants.*

THAT vaſt continent, which extends from the bottom of the Gulph of Mexico to Hudſon's Bay, and from the peninſula of California to the north pole, when firſt viſited by the Europeans, was inhabited by a number of ſmall nations, or free and independent tribes, who ſubſiſted chiefly by hunting, and among whom the right of private property was either entirely unkown, or but imperfectly underſtood. Countries occupied by ſuch people, were almoſt in the ſame ſtate as if they had never been inhabited: immenſe foreſts covered the greater part of thoſe uncultivated regions; and as the hand of induſtry had not taught the rivers to flow in a proper channel, or drained off the ſtagnating waters, many of the moſt fertile plains were overflowed by inundations, or converted into marſhes. The condition of the people was as rude as the face of their country: they were all in a ſtate that may be denominated ſavage; and notwithſtanding ſome trifling diverſity in their character, their manners, and inſtitutions, the qualities belonging to the members of all the different tribes have

BOOK IV.

BOOK IV.

such a near resemblance, that they may be delineated with the same lines, and painted with the same colours. They seem all to be branches of one common stock *.

This observation might naturally lead us into an enquiry concerning the first peopling of America; a subject which has long divided the opinions of the learned, and distracted the minds of the religious. But as every such enquiry must terminate in conjecture, it is sufficient to observe, that both reason and scripture tell us that the purpose of the Author of nature was, that the earth should be peopled; and it is peopled. The means employed for that end, it is impossible for us, in every instance to know. Continents and islands, now widely separated, may have been formerly united. Without admitting such a supposition, or granting that the Creator every where scatters the seeds of plants and animals, it is impossible to account for the state in which several islands, remote from any land, have been discovered. Some of these have been found inhabited only by serpents, and such noxious reptiles as could not well compose part of the crew of any vessel, except that of Noah's ark; and it rested upon mount Ararat: others, at a greater distance from any continent, or its contiguous islands than America, have been possessed, when first visited by our navigators, by a people considerably advanced in arts and civility †. America might be peopled from the north of Europe or of Asia, from which it is separated only by a narrow channel, if not really united to both continents. It might be peopled from the coast of Africa, by means of a chain of islands, which almost pave the way to Brazil. But the native Americans have no resemblance, on which any reasoning can be founded, either to the Europeans, Africans, or Asiatics, in their bodily constitution, or in the frame and temper of their minds; and no traces of the manners or arts of either have been discovered among them. Even the plants and animals in the New World, a few towards the northern extremity excepted, are entirely different from those in the old. If it was necessary, however, that man should migrate from the ancient continent, we must trace him from the north-east of Asia; for the Americans, from Cape Horn to the southern confines of Labrador, have some similitude to the Tartars and Kamchatkans, but none to the inhabitants of Europe, and as little to those of Africa. The Esquimaux, who inhabit the country that stretches from Labrador to the pole, may be supposed, as we shall afterwards have occasion to shew, to have migrated from the north of Europe. But let us leave, at present, such idle inquiries to vain speculators and systematical theologians, and proceed to an actual survey of the character, manners, customs, and institutions of the North American Indians, without considering them in any other light than as human beings, who must somewhere have had a beginning.

* The Esquimaux, as formerly observed, must be excepted from this description. Of them therefore, as well as of the Natches, distinguished by their civil and religious institutions, a particular account shall be given in treating of their several countries.

† The author here alludes to Otaheite and the Society Islands.

The

The natives of North America, like all the original inhabitants of the New World, the Eſquimaux excepted, are of a reddiſh brown, nearly reſembling the colour of copper,*. Their features are naturally regular, but often diſtorted by art, in order to render their aſpect more fierce. The men have no beards, nor either ſex hair on any part of the body but the head, the covering of which is black, coarſe, and lank. Their perſons are well proportioned, remarkably ſtraight, and tall even beyond the common ſtandard of any European nation; but their limbs want that muſcular contraction, and their ſhoulders that ſpread, which is requiſite for any vigorous exertion or laborious employment. Habit and neceſſity, however, inure them to ſuffer hunger and fatigue beyond what ſeems poſſible for human nature; and the lightneſs of their make, aſſiſted by their active courſe of life, endows them with a ſurpriſing degree of agility. They reſemble animals of prey, rather than beaſts of burden.

The complexion of their minds correſponds with this character drawn from their external form. The North American Indians are grave even to ſadneſs, and vindictive to a degree that the moſt obdurate natures only can contemplate without horror. When they have received an injury, they diſguiſe their ſentiments; they appear reconciled, that they may be enabled more conveniently to execute their terrible vengeance. No length of time is ſufficient to allay the rancour of an Indian, no diſtance of place great enough to ſecure its object: he croſſes the ſteepeſt mountains, he pierces the moſt impracticable foreſts, and traverſes the moſt pathleſs deſerts for ſeveral hundred miles together; bearing the inclemency of the ſeaſons, the fatigue of the journey, and the extremes of hunger and thirſt, not only with patience but cheerfulneſs, in hopes of ſatiating his revenge with the blood of the offender *. Such is the ſtrength of private animoſity!—and public reſentment, as we ſhall have occcaſion to ſee, is no leſs violent among this relentleſs race.

But unleſs when rouſed by ſuch a ſtrong paſſion, or when engaged in ſome of the functions of war or hunting, the Indians loiter away their time in thoughtleſs indolence. Their averſion againſt labour is ſo great, that neither the hope of future good, nor the apprehenſion of future evil, can ſurmount it. Even among thoſe more improved tribes, where the career of induſtry is begun, and where the laborious arm has made the firſt eſſay of its power, the improvident and ſlothful genius of the ſavage ſtate predominates. Labour is deemed ignominious and degrading, and it is only to work of a certain kind that a man will put his hand. The greater part is devolved entirely upon the women, while the warrior or the hunter repoſes in his cabin †; for, to continue the metaphor, the beaſt of prey is a ſluggard.

In ſome parts of North America, nature ſeems to have indulged the lazineſs of the people, by the liberality with which ſhe miniſters to their wants. The vaſt

* The uniformity of this colour, which, as formerly obſerved, is the ſame in all latitudes, has much perplexed thoſe naturaliſts, who aſcribe the blackneſs of the negroes to climate, and thoſe theological theoriſts who would people America from the ancient continent.

† Laſitau. Charlevoix. Adair. ‡ Charlevoix, Hiſt. de la N. France, tom. III.

rivers, which interſect that immenſe continent, abound with an infinite variety of the moſt delicate fiſh; and the great lakes, and marſhes formed by the overflowing of the waters, are filled with all the different ſpecies, and ſwarm in ſuch ſhoals, that in ſome places they are catched without art or induſtry. But the contiguous tribes only can ſuſtain themſelves in this manner. The greater part of the Indian nations, diſperſed over the foreſts with which their country is covered, do not procure ſubſiſtence with the ſame facility; for although thoſe foreſts are plentifully ſtored with game, conſiderable efforts of activity and ingenuity are requiſite in the purſuit of it. Neceſſity excited them to the one, and taught them the other. Hunting became their principal occupation; and as it calls forth ſtrenuous exertions of courage, of force, and of invention, it is deemed an employment no leſs honourable than neceſſary. As may be expected, it is peculiar to the men, who are trained to it from their earlieſt youth. A bold and dexterous hunter ranks next in fame to the diſtinguiſhed warrior; and an alliance with the former, is often courted in preference to one with the latter *.

Hardly any device, which the ingenuity of man has diſcovered, for enſnaring or deſtroying wild animals, was unknown to the North Americans in their native foreſts, even before they had any intercourſe with the Europeans. While engaged in this favourite exerciſe, as well as neceſſary occupation, they ſhake off the indolence peculiar to their nature; the latent powers and vigour of their minds are rouſed, and they become active, perſevering and indefatigable. Their ſagacity in finding their prey, and their addreſs in killing it are equal. Their imagination and their ſenſes being conſtantly turned towards this one object, the former diſplays ſuch fertility of invention, and the latter acquires ſuch a degree of acuteneſs as appear almoſt incredible. They diſcern the foot ſteps of a wild beaſt, which eſcape every other eye; they can trace it like a hound by the ſmell, and follow it with certainty through the pathleſs foreſt. If they attack their game openly, their arrow ſeldom errs from the mark; and if they endeavour to circumvent it by art, it is almoſt impoſſible to elude their toils. Among ſeveral tribes, their young men were not permitted to marry, until they had given ſuch proofs of their ſkill in hunting as put it beyond doubt that they were capable of providing for a family †.

This conſideration naturally leads man to a more advanced ſtate of ſociety. The chaſe, even where prey is abundant, and the dexterity of the hunter much improved, affords but an uncertain maintenance, and at ſome ſeaſons it muſt be ſuſpended altogether. If a ſavage truſts to his bow alone for food, he and his family will be often reduced to extreme diſtreſs. Hardly any region of the earth furniſhes man ſpontaneouſly with what his wants require. In the mildeſt climates, and moſt fertile ſoils, his own induſtry and foreſight muſt be exerted in ſome degree, to ſecure a regular ſupply of food. Their experience of this ſurmounts the abhorrence of labour natural to the Indians, and compels them to have recourſe to culture as a ſubſidiary to hunting. Hence throughout all North America, we meet with no nation of hunters that does not practice ſome ſpecies

* Charlevoix, Hiſt. de la N. France, tom. III. † Id. ibid.

of

of cultivation. Their agriculture, however, is neither expenſive nor laborious. As game and fiſh are their principal food, all they aim at by cultivation is to ſupply any occaſional defect of theſe. The clearing of the ground is the buſineſs of the men, and their indolence is ſatisfied with performing it in a very ſlovenly manner. The labour of cultivation is left to the women; who, after digging, or rather ſtirring the field, (with wooden mattocks and ſtakes hardened in the fire, (before the Europeans furniſhed them with iron implements) ſow or plant it *.

The fair ſex cannot be held in high eſtimation in a country where ſuch ſevere and humiliating taſks are impoſed upon them. The indifference, or rather inſenſibility, of all the natives of America in this reſpect, as we have had occaſion more than once to remark, is indeed the moſt ſtriking feature in their character. The charms of beauty ſeem to have no influence on their obdurate hearts. That paſſion which was deſtined to perpetuate life, to be the bond of ſocial union, and the ſource of tenderneſs and joy; love, the ſtrongeſt paſſion in the human breaſt, appears ſcarcely to be felt by the North Americans, and has never inſpired them with one ſoft or generous ſentiment, or given birth to one illuſtrious action. Almoſt a ſtranger even to inſtinctive deſire, and proud of excelling in ſtrength and courage, the Indian views his female with coldneſs and diſdain, as an animal of a leſs noble ſpecies. He is at no pains to win her favour by the aſſiduity of courtſhip, and ſtill leſs ſolicitous to preſerve it by indulgence and gentleneſs †.

This inattention of the Americans to their women, has ſtruck every intelligent traveller who has had occaſion to obſerve their manners. The fact is not diſputed; the only difficulty is, how to account for it. One ingenious writer ‡, conſidering the beardleſs countenance and ſmooth body of the Americans as indications of want of vigour, occaſioned by ſome vice in their frame, has aſſigned this languor of deſire to the ſame cauſe. He has aſcribed both to the temperament of that portion of the earth which they inhabit. But two authors of no leſs eminence ||, have very juſtly obſerved, that political and moral cauſes have conſiderable influence in modifying the degree of attachment between the ſexes; that in a ſtate of high civilization, this paſſion, inflamed by reſtraint, refined by delicacy, and cheriſhed by faſhion, occupies and engroſſes the heart; that, no longer a ſimple inſtinct of nature, ſentiment heightens the ardour of deſire, and the moſt tender emotions of which our frame is ſuſceptible, ſoothe and agitate the ſoul. This deſcription, however, applies only to thoſe, who, by their ſituation, are exempted from the more preſſing cares and labours of life; for among perſons of inferior rank, who are doomed by their condition to inceſſant toil, the dominion of love is leſs violent. Their ſolicitude to procure ſub-

* Their chief grain is Maize, or Indian wheat, of which the women make a kind of bread. They have alſo a kind of bean, which ſeems peculiar to the country. Charlevoix, ubi ſup. Hutchinſon, Hiſt. Maſſachuſet's Bay, chap. vi.

† Hennepin, Mœurs des Sauvages. Hutchinſon, Hiſt. Maſſachuſet's Bay, chap. vi.

‡ The author of *Recherches Philoſophiques ſur les Americains.* || Raynal and Robertſon.

ſiſtence,

ſiſtence, and provide for the firſt demand of nature, leaves little leiſure for attending to her ſecond call. The diminution of this paſſion, it is urged, muſt be ſtill more conſiderable in the ſavage ſtate, where ſubſiſtence is always precarious, and often ſcanty; where men are almoſt entirely engaged in the purſuit of their enemies, or in guarding againſt their attacks, and where neither dreſs nor reſerve are employed as arts of female allurement; that, in ſuch a ſtate, the attentions of the Americans to their women would be extremely few, without admitting any phyſical defect in their frame.

In oppoſition to theſe reaſonings may be urged, the ardent paſſion of the negroes for the companions of their toils, in the moſt depreſſed condition in human life, and where woman has certainly fewer allurements, and man fewer motives to procreation or amorous intercourſe, than in any ſtate, how ſavage ſoever, in which he enjoys liberty and health. But be the cauſe what it may, the effect is certain: woman is every where treated with indifference or contempt by the North Americans; yet marriage is univerſally eſtabliſhed among them, and its rights underſtood. The idea of an indiſſoluble tie, however, never entered the thoughts of a people paſſionately fond of liberty, and impatient under reſtraint of every kind; hence their natural levity and caprice often furniſh a pretext for ſeparating. Inſtead of being an union of intereſt and affection between equals, marriage becomes among them, the unnatural conjunction of a maſter with a ſlave. The huſband, inſtead of receiving a dower with his bride, generally obtains her from her parents in conſideration of certain preſents or ſervices *; and this circumſtance, added to the low eſtimation in which women are held by his countrymen, leads him to conſider her as a female ſervant that he has acquired, and whom he has a right to treat as an inferior †. Inſtead of employing his greater ſtrength in the labours neceſſary for their mutual ſupport, he exerts it only to depreſs the wife, who is condemned to every office of toil and drudgery, and is in fact no better than a beaſt of burden ‡.

In this humiliating ſtate of depreſſion, it cannot be expected that the American women ſhould be prolific. The vigour of their conſtitution is exhauſted by ſuch

* Lafitau, vol. I. Charlevoix, vol. III.

† If it is neceſſary to combine another moral cauſe with that phyſical frigidity peculiar to the Americans, in order to account for the ſervile ſubjection, and cruel depreſſion of the women, thoſe liberties which, before marriage, they are univerſally accuſtomed to grant to various lovers, may perhaps have ſome operation. This freedom of commerce may alſo perhaps blunt the edge of deſire in early youth, and render the young men little ſolicitous of favours which they can at any time obtain, and which are even beſtowed without aſking; but it will not account for their want of attachment, which muſt proceed from want of choice, and conſequently from a defect in mental ſenſibility. Nor is the condition of an Indian by any means unfavourable to ſuch attachment. That indolence in which he paſſes great part of his time, by leaving the mind vacant, has ever been deemed friendly to love; and thoſe toils and perils, thoſe meetings and partings, which diverſify the life of the hunter and the warrior, are calculated to excite the moſt lively and laſting paſſions between the ſexes, as they furniſh the moſt perfect exerciſe for the tenderneſs of the heart.

‡ The Indians applaud themſelves for this management, and blame the European huſbands "for ſpoiling *good working creatures.*" Hutchinſon's, Hiſt. Maſſachuſet's Bay, chap. vi.

exceſſive fatigue as is naturally unfriendly to population, and the fear of augmenting their toils induces them to take various precautions in order to prevent too rapid an increaſe of their offspring. Among others, they generally nurſe their children for ſeveral years: their huſbands never approach them during that interval; and as they ſeldom marry early, the period of their fertility is over before they can finiſh the long but neceſſary attendance upon two or three ſucceſſive births *. When twins are born, one of them is commonly abandoned, becauſe the mother is not equal to the taſk of rearing both; and when a mother dies while ſhe is nurſing a child, all hope of preſerving its life expires, and it is buried together with her in the ſame grave †. All feeble and diſtorted infants are likewiſe abandoned to their fate ‡. Hence that uniform ſymmetry and perfection in the external figure of the North American Indians, which has been ſo much celebrated by travellers, and aſcribed by certain philoſophers to the vigorous and ſound ſtate of their parents, and the freedom of the children from artificial reſtraints.

The inhabitants of America, however, are by no means deſtitute of natural affection, though neceſſity obliges them to ſet bounds to the increaſe of their families. They feel this inſtinct in its full force; and as long as their progeny continue feeble and helpleſs, no people exceed them in tenderneſs and care: but it is only an inſtinct, and like the fondneſs of brutes, to which it is perfectly analogous, ceaſes almoſt entirely, as ſoon as their offspring are able to provide for themſelves. They ſometimes employ exhortations or entreaties, in order to correct the faults of their children, but never ſtripes or menaces; from a conviction that no man has a right to domineer over another, and a dread leſt ſuch paternal corrections might check that ſpirit of independency which is the pride of an Indian. They ſuffer them to be abſolute maſters of their own actions; and in the cabin or hut of a North American, a father, a mother, and their poſterity, live together like perſons aſſembled by accident, and whom no common bond unites ‖. They do not ſeem to feel the obligation of the duties ariſing from their natural connexion.

From the domeſtic ſtate of the North Americans, the tranſition is eaſy to the conſideration of their civil government and political inſtitutions. They were divided, on the arrival of the Europeans, as has been already obſerved, into ſmall independent communities. But the territory of each tribe was extenſive; for while hunting is the chief ſource of ſubſiſtence, a great extent of country is requiſite for ſupporting an inconſiderable number of people. In proportion as men multiply and unite, the wild animals on whom they prey, diminiſh, or fly to a greater diſtance from the haunts of their enemy. The increaſe of ſociety in this ſtate, is therefore limited by its own nature, and its members muſt either diſperſe, like the game which they purſue, or fall upon ſome better method of procuring

* Charlevoix, tom. III. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. p. 37. † Id. ibid.

‡ Churchill's Collect. vol. VI. p. 108. Even where the tenderneſs of parents induces them to endeavour to rear all their children without diſtinction, ſo great and numerous are the hardſhips of ſavage life, that few of thoſe who labour under any original frailty attain the age of manhood. Creuxii, Hiſt. Canad. p. 57.

‖ Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III.

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food than by hunting *. Beaſts of prey are by nature ſolitary and unſocial; they go not forth by choice in herds, but delight in thoſe receſſes of the foreſt where they can roam and deſtroy unobſerved. A nation of hunters, to reſume our former ſimile, reſemble ſuch animals both in occupation and genius. They cannot form into large communities, becauſe it would be impoſſible to find ſubſiſtence, and they muſt drive to a diſtance every rival who may encroach on thoſe domains, which they conſider as their own †. Accordingly, though ſcattered over vaſt regions, the numbers in each of the North American tribes, or nations, were ſmall: they were far removed from each other, and engaged in perpetual hoſtilities or rivalſhip ‡.

Among a people who ſubſiſt by hunting and fiſhing, the idea of property, as it regards the individual, is very obſcure, and does not extend beyond the weapons and the utenſils which he employs, or the fur with which he cloaths his ſhoulders; and which is worn as a kind of trophy, or ſymbol of his victory, as well as a neceſſary defence againſt the inclemency of the weather. He can found no claim to the animals while wild in the foreſt, or to the fiſh while hid in the boſom of the lake, as they have not been bred under his inſpection, nor nouriſhed by his care. Game cannot be appropriated before it is caught: where it is ſo plentiful that it may be obtained with little trouble, every man freely ſhares it with his neighbour; and where it is ſo rare that the labours or dangers of the chace require the united efforts of a tribe or village, what is killed becomes common ſtock, belonging to all who have contributed, by their ſkill or their courage, to the ſucceſs of the excurſion. The foreſt or hunting grounds, are deemed the property of the tribe, from which it has a title to exclude every rival nation, but no individual arrogates a right to any of theſe, in preference to his fellow citizens. They belong alike to all; and thither, as to a general and undivided ſtore, all repair in queſt of ſuſtenance ‖.

Even agriculture, which moſt tribes blend with the practice of hunting, has not introduced a complete idea of property among the North Americans: the ſame principles by which they regulate their chief occupation extend to that which is ſubordinate; they ſtill follow, with reſpect to the ſoil and the fruits of the earth, the analogy of their principal object. As the men hunt, the women labour together; and after they have ſhared the toils of the ſeed-time, they enjoy the harveſt in common. The field in which they have planted, like the diſtrict over which they are accuſtomed to hunt, is claimed as a property by the nation, but is not parcelled out in lots to its members. Among ſome tribes, the increaſe of their cultivated lands is depoſited in a public granary, and diſtributed among

* Robertſon, Hiſt. Americ. book IV.

† Id. ibid.

‡ In North America the word *nation* is not of the ſame import as in the other parts of the globe. It is applied to ſmall tribes or ſocieties, not exceeding ſometimes two or three hundred perſons, but occupying provinces larger than ſome kingdoms in Europe.

‖ Ferguſon, Hiſt. Civil Society, part II. ſect. ii. Robertſon, Hiſt. Americ. book IV. Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III. Brickill, Hiſt. N. Carolina.

them, at ſtated times, according to their wants: among others, though they lay up ſeparate ſtores, they do not acquire ſuch an excluſive right of property, that they can enjoy ſuperfluity while thoſe around them ſuffer want *.

Where the idea of private property is not eſtabliſhed, there can be no diſtinction among men but what ariſes from perſonal qualities: and theſe can only be conſpicuous on ſuch occaſions as call them forth into action. Hence the natives of North America retain in an high ſenſe of equality and independence. They know of no degree of ſubordination except what reſults from the diſtribution of functions, which follow the differences of age, talents, and diſpoſitions. In times of danger, for example, or affairs of intricacy, the wiſdom and experience of age are conſulted, and preſcribe the meaſures that ought to be purſued: when they take the field againſt the enemies of their country, the warrior of moſt approved courage in like manner, leads the youth to battle: if they go forth in a body to the chace, the moſt expert or adventurous hunter is foremoſt, and directs their motions; but during ſeaſons of tranquillity and inaction, when no opportunity is afforded of diſplaying thoſe talents which give an aſcendant, all pre-eminence ceaſes †.

Every circumſtance indicates that all the members of the community are on a level. They are cloathed in the ſame ſimple garb; they feed on the ſame plain fare; their houſes and furniture are exactly ſimilar. No diſtinction can ariſe from the inequality of poſſeſſions, where the ſociety is the only proprietor. Whatever forms dependence on one part, or conſtitutes ſuperiority on the other, is entirely unknown: all are free men; all feel themſelves to be ſuch, and aſſert with firmneſs the rights which belong to that condition. This ſentiment of independence is imprinted ſo deeply in their nature, that no change of condition can eradicate it, or bend their minds to ſervitude: accuſtomed to be abſolute maſters of their own actions, they diſdain to execute the orders of another; and having never known controul, will not ſubmit to correction ‡.

Among people in this ſtate, little authority can be aſſumed by government, if that term can indeed be applied to ſuch a rude convention, and the ſenſe of civil union muſt be very imperfect. Even when they follow a leader into the field, the North Americans cannot brook the pretenſions to a formal command: they liſten to no orders; and they come under no military engagements, but thoſe of mutual fidelity and equal ardour in the enterpriſe ‖. Where the right of ſeparate and excluſive poſſeſſion is not introduced, the great object of law and juriſdiction does not exiſt. When occupied in the common fatigues of the chace, or

* Id. ibid. Dr. Ferguſon's informations on this ſubject, as he himſelf informs us, were chiefly from "living witneſſes, who in the courſe of trade, of war, and of treaties, have had ample occaſion to obſerve the manners of the original North Americans." Eſſay on the Hiſt. of Civil Society, part II. ſect. ii.

† Ferguſon, ubi ſup.

‡ Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer. book IV. Many of the natives of Florida, when they found that they were treated as ſlaves by the Spaniards, died of grief, and many deſtroyed themſelves in deſpair. Vega, Conq. de la Florid.

‖ Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III.

engaged

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engaged in the operations of war; while expoſed to the ſame toils and dangers, the members of a tribe perceive that they are part of a political body. They are ſenſible of their own connexion with the companions in conjunction with whom they act; but during the intervals between ſuch common efforts, they are ſcarcely conſcious of the ties of political union. No viſible form of government is eſtabliſhed; and the names of *magiſtrate* and *ſubject*, of *noble* and *mean*, are as little known as thoſe of *rich* and *poor* *.

If a ſcheme of public utility is propoſed, the members of the community are left at liberty to chuſe, whether they will aſſiſt in carrying it into execution. No ſtatute commands any ſervice as a duty, nor has any one a right of impoſing his will upon another. Every meaſure is voluntary, and flows from the native impulſe of the mind. The old men, indeed, without being inveſted with any conſtitutional authority, employ their natural influence in adviſing, or in prompting the reſolutions of their tribe, and the leader in a former expedition pleads his ſucceſsful proweſs; but the ſtateſman is diſtinguiſhed only by the attention with which his counſel is heard, and the warrior by the confidence with which the youth of his nation follow him to the field. Power is no more than the natural aſcendency of the mind; the diſcharge of office no more than the natural exerciſe of the perſonal character; and while the community acts with an appearance of order, there is no ſenſe of diſparity in the breaſt of any of its members †.

In theſe happy, though informal proceedings, obſerves Dr. Ferguſon, where age alone preſides in the council; where youth, ardour, and valour in the field, give a title to the ſtation of leader; where the whole community is aſſembled on any alarming occaſion, we may venture to ſay, That we have found the origin of the ſenate, the executive power, and the aſſembly of the people, inſtitutions for which ancient legiſlators were ſo much renowned. The ſenate among the Greeks, as well as the Romans, appears to have been originally compoſed, as its name imports, of elderly men. The military leader at Rome, in a manner not unlike to that of the American warrior, proclaimed his levies, and the citizens prepared for the field, in conſequence of a voluntary engagement. The ſuggeſtions of nature, which directed the policy of nations in the wilds of America, were followed before on the banks of the Eurotas and the Tyber; and Lycurgus and Romulus found the model of their inſtitutions, where the members of every rude nation find the earlieſt mode of uniting their talents and combining their forces ‡.

But the object of government among ſavages is rather foreign than domeſtic. They do not aim at maintaining order and police by public regulations, or the exertions of any permanent authority; they only labour to preſerve ſuch union among the members of their tribe, that they may watch the motions of their enemies, and act againſt them with concert and vigour. The firſt ſtep towards eſtabliſhing a public juriſdiction has not been taken among the North American Indians. The right of revenge is left in private hands. If violence is committed,

* Ferguſon, ubi ſup.

† Colden's Hiſtory of the Five Nations. Ferguſon, ubi ſup.

‡ Eſſay on the Hiſtory of Civil Society, part II. ſect. ii.

or

or bloodſhed, the community does not aſſume the power either of inflicting or of regulating the puniſhment. It belongs to the family and friends of the perſon injured or ſlain to avenge the wrong, or accept of the reparation offered by the aggreſſor. If the ſeniors interpoſe, it is to adviſe, not to decide. But though families, like ſo many ſeparate tribes, are ſubject to no inſpection or government from abroad, they are, in the mean time, the parts of a village or canton. Many ſuch cantons aſſemble to conſtitute a national council, or to execute a national enterpriſe; and when the Europeans made their firſt ſettlements in America, ſix ſuch nations had formed a league, had their amphyctiones or ſtates-general, and by the firmneſs of their union, and the ability of their councils, had obtained an aſcendant from the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi to that of the river St. Laurence *. They appeared to underſtand the objects of the confederacy, as well as the intereſts of the ſeparate nation; they ſtudied a balance of power: the ſtateſman of one country watched the deſigns and proceedings of another, and occaſionally threw the weight of his tribe into a different ſcale. They had their alliances and their treaties; which, like the nations of Europe, they maintained or broke upon reaſons of ſtate: they remained at peace from a ſenſe of neceſſity or expediency, and went to war upon any occurrence of provocation or jealouſy †.

Such occurrences were frequent. Though ſtrangers to the idea of ſeparate property veſted in any individual, the rudeſt of the North American nations, as already obſerved, were well acquainted with the rights of each community to its own domains. That right they held to be perfect and excluſive, entitling the poſſeſſors to oppoſe the encroachment of neighbouring tribes: and as it is of the utmoſt conſequence to prevent them from deſtroying or diſturbing the game in their hunting grounds, they guard this national property with a vigilant attention. But as their territories are extenſive, and the boundaries of them not exactly aſcertained, innumerable ſubjects of diſpute ariſe, which ſeldom terminate without bloodſhed. Thoſe violences produce others. The hoſtile diſpoſitions inſpired by intereſt and jealouſy are rendered more inveterate by revenge.

This paſſion, which burns with ſuch violence in the breaſts of ſavages, that eagerneſs to gratify it may be conſidered as their moſt peculiar characteriſtic, is inextinguiſhable among the natives of North America; where the right of redreſſing his own wrongs being left in the hands of every man, injuries are felt with exquiſite ſenſibility, and can ſeldom be expiated but by the blood of the offender. In carrying on their public wars, the Indians are influenced by the ſame ſpirit, as in proſecuting private vengeance. Nor are they ſingular in this particular. In ſmall communities, every individual is touched with any injury or affront offered to the body of which he is a member, as if it were a perſonal attack upon his own honour and ſafety. The deſire of revenge is communicated from breaſt to breaſt, and ſoon kindles into rage. Hence war, which between extenſive kingdoms is carried on with little animoſity, is proſecuted by the petty North American tribes with all the rancour of private quarrel: the reſentment of nations is as

* Lafitau. Charlevoix. Colden. † Ibid. See alſo Ferguſon, ubi ſup.

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implacable as that of individuals: they fight, not to conquer, but to deſtroy When they engage in hoſtilities, it is with a reſolution never to ſee the face of an enemy in peace, but to proſecute the conteſt with immortal enmity *.

The deſire of vengeance is the firſt, and almoſt the only principle which a North American inſtills into the minds of his children: it grows up with them as they advance in years; and as their attention is directed to few objects, it acquires a degree of force unknown among men whoſe paſſions are diſſipated and weakened by the variety of their occupations and purſuits. It reſembles the inſtinctive rage of brutes rather than the anger of rational beings; and man, while under its dominion, becomes the moſt cruel of all animals. He neither pities, nor forgives, nor ſpares. The force of this paſſion is ſo well underſtood by the Indians, that they always apply to it in order to excite their people to take arms. If the old men of any tribe attempt to rouſe their youth from ſloth, if a chief wiſhes to allure a band of warriors to follow him in invading an enemy's country, the moſt perſuaſive topics of their martial eloquence are drawn from revenge. "The bones of our countrymen," ſay they, "lie uncovered; their bloody bed has not yet been waſhed clean. Their ghoſts cry againſt us: they muſt be appeaſed. Let us go and devour the people by whom they were ſlain. Sit no longer inactive upon your mats; lift the hatchet, conſole the ſpirits of the dead, and tell them that they ſhall be avenged †."

Animated by ſuch exhortations, the young men ſnatch their arms in a tranſport of fury, raiſe the Song of War, and burn with impatience to imbrue their hands in the blood of their enemies. "I go to war," exclaim they, "to revenge the death of my brothers: I ſhall kill, I ſhall exterminate, I ſhall burn my enemies; I ſhall bring away captives; I ſhall devour their heart, dry their fleſh, drink their blood; I ſhall tear off their ſcalps, and make cups of their ſkulls ‡."

This rage often vents itſelf in irregular ſallies againſt an hoſtile tribe; at which the heads of the community connive, as ſuch expeditions tend to encourage a martial ſpirit, to inure their youth to hardſhips, and make them familiar with danger. But when war is national, and undertaken by public authority, the deliberations are formal and ſlow. The old men aſſemble; they deliver their ſentiments in ſolemn ſpeeches; they weigh with maturity the nature of the enterpriſe; and balance its beneficial or diſadvantageous conſequences with no inconſiderable degree of political diſcernment and ſagacity. Their prieſts and ſoothſayers are conſulted, and ſometimes they aſk the advice even of their women ‖. If the determination is war, they prepare for it with much ceremony. The youth of the principal village are ſummoned; the war-kettle is ſet on the fire; the war-ſongs and dances commence; the hatchet is ſent to all the other villages of the ſame nation, and alſo to thoſe of its allies: the flame ſpreads; and nothing is heard day and night over the whole territory, but hoſtile defiances and denunciations of vengeance **.

* Boucher, Hiſt. Nat. de N. France Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III. Colden, vol. I.
† Charlevoix, Hiſt N. France, tom. III. ‡ Beſſu's Travels through Louiſiana, vol. I. ‖ Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III. ** Charlevoix, ubi ſup. Lafitau, tom. II.

When

When by theſe, and other means, the fury of the nation is rouſed to the higheſt pitch, they proceed to the choice of a leader. After ſtratagem in war, and an exact knowledge of the country, qualities eſſentially requiſite in ſuch a commander, the chief inducements to a preference are, a fierce aſpect and a ſtrong voice, in order to ſtrike terror into the enemy. The leader invites his followers to a feaſt, preparatory to their military expedition, where they enter into engagements of mutual fidelity and attachment: he begins the war-ſong; which having continued for ſome time, in concert with his aſſociates, he raiſes his voice to the higheſt pitch, and breaking ſuddenly into a ſort of prayer, addreſſes himſelf thus to the God of War: "I invoke thee to be favourable to my enterpriſe! I invoke thy care upon me and my family!—I invoke you likewiſe, all ye ſpirits and demons good and evil! all ye that are in the ſkies, that are on the earth or under the earth, to pour deſtruction upon our enemies, and return me and my companions ſafe to our country *!"—All the warriors join their commander in this prayer, with ſhouts and acclamations: he renews his ſong, and is accompanied by his followers in the war dance.

The maxims by which the Indians regulate their military operations, as well as the ſpirit by which they are dictated, though extremely different from thoſe which prevail in Europe, are well ſuited to their own political ſtate. They never take the field in numerous bodies, as it would be impoſſible for them to provide for their ſubſiſtence, during a march of ſome hundred miles through dreary foreſts. Their armies are not incumbered with baggage or military ſtores. Each warrior, beſides his arms, carries a mat, and a ſmall bag of pounded maize; and with theſe he is completely equipped for any ſervice. While at a diſtance from the enemy's frontier, they diſperſe through the woods, and ſupport themſelves with the game which they kill, or the fiſh that they catch; but as they approach nearer to the territories of the nation which they intend to attack, they collect their troops, and advance with greater caution. Yet even then, they proceed wholly by ſtratagem and ambuſcade. They place not their glory in attacking their enemies with open force, and defeating them upon equal terms: to ſurpriſe and deſtroy is the greateſt merit of a commander, and the higheſt pride of his followers †.

As war and hunting are the only occupations of the Indians, they conduct both with the ſame ſpirit and the ſame arts. They follow the track of their enemies through the foreſt; and by the keenneſs of their ſight, it is ſaid, they can trace foot-ſteps that are made on the ſhorteſt graſs, upon the dry ground, and even upon ſtone, and from the nature of theſe foot-ſteps can diſcover to what nation the adventurers belong ‡. They endeavour to diſcover their haunts, in which they are wonderfully aſſiſted by the quickneſs of their ſmell: they lurk in ſome thicket near to theſe; and with the patience of a ſportſman lying in wait for game, will continue in their ſtation day after day, until they can ruſh on their prey, when leaſt able to reſiſt them. If they meet no ſtraggling party of the

* Id. ibid. † Charlevoix, tom. III. ‡ Henepin, Mœurs des Sauvages.

enemy,

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enemy, they advance towards their villages, but with ſuch ſolicitude to conceal their approach, that they often creep on their hands and feet through the woods, and paint their ſkins of the ſame colour with the withered leaves, in order to avoid detection *; and if ſo fortunate as to eſcape the vigilance of the enemy, they ſet fire to their huts in the dead of night, and maſſacre the inhabitants, as they fly naked and defenceleſs through the flames. But if they find that their motions are diſcovered, notwithſtanding all their ingenious precautions; that the enemy has taken the alarm, and is prepared to oppoſe them, they uſually judge it moſt prudent to retire. They account it extreme folly to meet an enemy who is on his guard, or to give battle, upon equal terms, in an open field. The moſt diſtinguiſhed ſucceſs is a diſgrace to a leader, if purchaſed with any conſiderable loſs of his followers; and to fall in battle, inſtead of being deemed an honourable death, is a misfortune which ſubjects the memory of the warrior to the imputation of raſhneſs or imprudence †.

This ſyſtem of war was univerſal in North America, the Chileſe excepted, among all the ſavage tribes diſperſed through the different regions and climates of the New World: they all diſplay more craft than boldneſs in carrying on their hoſtilities. Hence ſeveral celebrated writers have been led to conclude, that the Americans are naturally deficient in active courage ‡. "But when we reflect," ſays an author to whom great reſpect is due ‖, "that many of theſe tribes, on occaſions which call for extraordinary efforts, not only defend themſelves with obſtinate reſolution, but attack their enemies with the moſt daring courage **, we muſt aſcribe their habitual caution to ſome other cauſe than conſtitutional timidity. The number of men in each tribe is ſo ſmall, and the difficulty of rearing new members amid the hardſhips and dangers of ſavage life ſo great, that the life of a citizen is extremely precious; and the preſervation of it becomes a capital object in their policy." But is it not more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that this caution is the effect of original diſpoſition, than that political maxims ſhould ſo ſtrongly influence the conduct of ſavage nations boiling with revenge, and of individuals ſo deſtitute of every other kind of foreſight as to ſell for a trifle, in the morning, the hammoc in which they ſhould ſleep at night ††?—Beſides, the deſire of ſaving men ought to have had equal weight with our barbarous anceſtors, ſo prodigal of their lives! and indeed with barbarous tribes in every quarter of the globe, among many

* Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III. Indians. Charlevoix, ubi ſup.

† Adair's Hiſt. of American

‡ The author of *Recherches Philoſ. ſur les Americ.* tom. I. p. 116, and tom. II. p. 53. Chevalier des Marchais, Voyage, tom. IV. Lord Kaims's Sketches on Man, vol. I. ſket. i.

‖ Dr. Robertſon.

** This remains to be proved; for the affirmation of Lafitau and Charlevoix, advocates for the ſame opinion, are not ſufficient to eſtabliſh ſuch a fact in oppoſition to the unanimous teſtimony of all military men, both French and Engliſh, who have been either the aſſociates or the adverſaries of the Indians in war, and who all declare that they never attack except when they have an evident certainty of victory, nor defend themſelves againſt a ſuperior or even an equal force, unleſs when the poſſibility of retreat is cut off.

†† See Robertſon's Hiſt. of Amerc. vol. I. p. 310, where much ingenuity is employed to prove, that the Americans are incapable of being influenced by diſtant conſequences, or indeed by any motive but the impreſſion of the moment.

of whom we find the moſt hardy valour, and a contempt of danger and of death, that has made them intrepidly meet the moſt numerous and beſt diſciplined armies, and bravely challenge their enemies to the combat, even with an inferior force. In a word, the point of honour among ſavage nations ſeems to be dictated by inſtinct, and only reduced to a maxim of policy in more civilized ages. The American, like the fox, proceeds by ſtratagem: if ſurpriſed, he will reſiſt rather than be ſlain: if ſeized, he will be torn to pieces, and expire without a complaint or a groan. But the European, like the lion, boldly faces his enemy, and is not ſo patient under ſufferings which his erect mind has not taught him to fear or foreſee.

This reaſoning may be carried farther. Wrapt in their own wiles, like the animal of prey which they reſemble, the Indians ſeldom obſerve the precautions moſt eſſential to their ſafety. They never ſtation centinels around the place where they reſt at night; and after marching ſome hundred miles to ſurpriſe an enemy, are frequently themſelves ſurpriſed and cut off, while ſunk in as profound a ſleep as if they were not within the reach of danger *. But if, notwithſtanding this negligent ſecurity, which often ruins their moſt artful ſchemes and hopeful enterpriſes, they catch the enemy unprepared, they ruſh upon them with the utmoſt ferocity, and tear off the ſcalps of all thoſe who fall victims to their barbarous rage. Theſe ſtrange trophies they carry home in triumph, and preſerve as monuments not only of their proweſs, but of the vengeance which their arm has inflicted upon the people who were the objects of public reſentment †. They are ſtill more ſolicitous to ſeize priſoners, who are generally reſerved for tortures ſo dreadful, as to make the fate of thoſe that periſh in the field to be envied; and it is in the amazing fortitude with which they endure theſe, that we diſcover that firmneſs of ſpirit for which the North Americans are ſo much diſtinguiſhed. Their paſſive courage exceeds all conception: but patience under perſonal ſuffering, with a view towards which the whole life of an Indian ſeems to be regulated, depends upon a principle in the mind very different from that of valour, the ſpring of illuſtrious actions; and as the Americans are generally deſtitute of the latter, though endowed with the former in ſo eminent a degree, in like manner, ſome Europeans poſſeſſed of every heroic quality, and ſuperior to the impreſſions of fear, have been known to ſink under the ſlow aſſaults of pain. The one may be acquired by a Spartan diſcipline, or an American ſeverity of life; but the other, unleſs the gift of nature, can only be inſpired by the liberal principles of a Roman or an Athenian education.

The Indian captives are commonly treated with ſome degree of humanity, till they reach the enemy's frontier. Then the victors diſpatch ſome of their number to inform their countrymen of the ſucceſs of the expedition, and the priſoners ſoon begin to feel the wretchedneſs of their condition. The women of the village aſſemble, together with the youth who have not yet attained to the age of bearing arms, and forming themſelves into two lines, through which the unhappy captives muſt paſs, beat and bruiſe them, with ſticks and ſtones, in a

* Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III. Lahontan, tom. II. † Lafitau, tom. II.

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cruel manner *; as at leaſt an expreſſion of their hatred of their enemies, and their thirſt of vengeance, if they are not entitled to a ſhare in the honours of war. This firſt gratification of their hoſtile rage, is followed by lamentations for the loſs of ſuch of their countrymen as have fallen in the ſervice, accompanied with words and actions which ſeem to indicate the moſt deep and real ſorrow: but in a moment, by one of thoſe ſingular tranſitions of the human mind which philoſophy would in vain reconcile to ſyſtem, on a ſignal given, their tears ceaſe; and, as if diſciplined in grief, ſuddenly paſſing from the keeneſt exceſs of anguiſh to the moſt extravagant tranſports of joy, they begin to celebrate their victory with all the wild exultation of barbarous triumph †.

Meanwhile the fate of the priſoners remains undecided. That is left to the old men, who meet and deliberate concerning it. Some are deſtined to be tortured to death, in order to ſatiate the revenge of the conquerors, and ſome to replace the members which the community has loſt in the courſe of that or former wars. Such as are reſerved for this milder fate, are led to the huts of thoſe whoſe relations have been ſlain, with certain ceremonies. The women meet them at the door, and if they receive them, their ſufferings are at an end: they are adopted into the family; and according to the phraſe uſual on ſuch occaſions, are ſeated on the mat of the deceaſed. They aſſume his name; they hold the ſame rank; and are treated thenceforth with all the tenderneſs due to a huſband, a father, a brother, or other kinſman. But if from any caprice, or the unrelenting deſire of revenge, the women of any family refuſe to accept of the priſoner who is offered to them, his doom is fixed. No quality or accompliſhment can ſave him from torture and death, nor any arm reſcue him ‡.

The priſoners, while their fate is in ſuſpence, appear altogether unconcerned about what may befal them. They talk, they eat, they ſleep, as if they were perfectly at eaſe in their minds, and under no apprehenſions of impending danger. Even when the fatal ſentence is announced to them, far from ſeeming to decline the conflict, or attempting to avoid it by a voluntary death, they receive the information with an unaltered countenance, raiſe their death-ſong, and prepare to maintain the honour of their nation, by ſuffering like men. Reſolved to put their conſtancy to the moſt ſevere trial, their conquerors aſſemble as to a ſolemn feſtival; and a ſcene enſues, the bare deſcription of which is ſufficient to chill the heart with horror, wherever men have been accuſtomed by milder inſtitutions to reſpect their ſpecies, and to melt into tenderneſs at the ſight of human miſery.

The captives are tied naked to a ſtake, but ſo as to be at liberty to move round it. All who are preſent, men, women, and children, ruſh upon them like furies. Every ſpecies of torture is employed that the rancour of revenge can invent. Some burn their limbs with red hot irons, ſome mangle their bodies with knives; while others tear the fleſh from their bones, pluck out their nails by the roots, and rend, twiſt, and ſnap their ſinews. They vie with each other in refinements of cruelty. Nothing ſets bounds to their rage but the dread of abridging the life

* Lahontan, tom. II. † Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III. Lafitau, II.
‡ Id. ibid.

of

of the ſufferers, with which the exerciſe of their vengeance muſt terminate; and ſuch is their barbarous ingenuity in tormenting, that by avoiding to hurt any vital part, they often prolong this ſcene of anguiſh for ſeveral days. In ſpite of all that they feel, the unhappy victims continue to chant their death-ſong with a firm voice: they boaſt of their own exploits; they inſult their tormentors, and reproach them with want of ſkill in revenging the death of their friends and relations: they warn them of the vengeance which awaits them, in retaliation of their fate, and excite their ferocity by the moſt provoking threats and denunciations *.

The nobleſt triumph of an American warrior is to diſplay undaunted fortitude amid ſuch dreadful ſufferings; and by a ſtrange kind of affection, their tormentors are directed to be moſt cruel where they intend the higheſt reſpect. The coward is put to death by the hands of women; and if any one betrays ſymptoms of timidity, he is often diſpatched at once with contempt, as unworthy of being treated like a man †. But the brave are ſuppoſed to be entitled to all the trials of courage and patience that men can invent. Animated with thoſe ſentiments, they endure without a groan, what ſeems almoſt impoſſible for human nature to ſupport. They appear to be not only inſenſible to pain, but to court it. "Withhold!" ſaid an aged chief of the Iroquois, when his inſults had provoked one of his tormentors to wound him with a weapon which he deemed inglorious; "withhold theſe ſtabs of your knife! let me rather die by fire, that thoſe dogs your allies from beyond the ſea, may learn by my example to ſuffer like men ‡." This awful ſtruggle between conſtancy in ſuffering and obſtinacy in tormenting, is at length terminated by the death of the priſoner, whom ſome chief, either in a tranſport of rage, or out of compaſſion, generally diſpatches with his club or dagger ‖.

Theſe barbarities are often ſucceeded by a ſpectacle no leſs ſhocking. That fell ſpirit of revenge which envenoms the heart of a ſavage, frequently prompts the unfeeling Americans to devour thoſe unhappy perſons, who have been the victims of their fury and cruelty. This practice, which as we have frequently had occaſion to obſerve, prevailed in the ſouthern continent, and in ſeveral of the iſlands, was alſo common in various diſtricts of North America **. Even among thoſe tribes where no ſuch practice has been in uſe ſince the arrival of the Europeans, it appears to have been formerly familiar, as it is incorporated into the very idiom of their language. The phraſe by which the Iroquois expreſs their reſolution of making war againſt an enemy is, "Let us go and eat that nation;"—and if they ſolicit the aid of a neighbouring tribe, they invite it to "eat broth made of the fleſh of their enemies ††." Hence too the cuſtom, al-

* Circumſtances ſimilar to theſe have been related by a variety of authors, but accompanied with ſuch particulars as are altogether horrid and diſguſting. A ſelection was therefore neceſſary to give truth to the deſcription, taken in a general view, as well as to render it bearable to human feelings; and ſuch a ſelection has been made by the abbé Prevot, Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. p. 58, 59, and by Dr. Robertſon, Hiſt. Americ. book IV. from which this account is chiefly copied. † De la Potherie, tom. II. ‡ Colden, vol. I. ‖ Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III. Lafitau, tom. II. Lahont. Voyages, tom. I. ** De la Potherie. †† Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III. De la Potherie, tom. II.

moſt

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moſt univerſal among the natives of North America, when they engage in hoſtilities, of ſuſpending over the fire the war-kettle *, though no longer made ſubſervient to ſuch horrid feaſts.

The amazing ſteadineſs with which the North Americans endure the moſt exquiſite torments has induced ſome authors to ſuppoſe, that colder blood, thicker humours, and a conſtitution rendered more phlegmatic by the dampneſs of the air, may blunt the irritability of the nervous ſyſtem. It has even been affirmed, that they are ſcarce ever convulſed in the agonies of death, and that they endure the moſt ſevere chirurgical operations, the amputation of a leg or an arm, without ſhrinking, or uttering a ſingle groan §. But we can hardly believe that the conſtitution of the Americans is ſo different in its texture from that of the reſt of the human ſpecies, or indeed of the animal creation, as to account for this remarkable diverſity in their behaviour. It muſt flow chiefly from a principle of honour, inſtilled early, and cultivated with ſuch care, as to inſpire man in his rudeſt ſtate with an heroic conſtancy, to which philoſophy has in vain endeavoured to form him, when more highly improved and poliſhed. This invincible firmneſs he has been taught to conſider as the principal diſtinction of his nature, and the higheſt attainment of a warrior: the ideas which influence his conduct, and the paſſions that take poſſeſſion of his heart are few: they operate therefore with more deciſive effect, than when the mind is crowded with a multiplicity of objects, or diſtracted by the variety of its purſuits; and when every motive that operates with force on the mind of a ſavage, prompts an Indian to ſuffer with dignity, he will bear what might ſeem to be impoſſible for human patience to ſuſtain †.

"It gave me joy," ſaid an old man to his captive, "that ſo gallant a youth was allotted to my ſhare. I propoſed to have placed you on the mat of my nephew, who was ſlain by your countrymen; to have transferred all my tenderneſs to you, and to have ſolaced my age in your company; but maimed and mutilated as you now appear, death is better than life: prepare yourſelf therefore to die like a man ‡." He did ſo, and ſet at defiance all the rage of his tormentors for three days; at the end of which he expired, without ſo much as an involuntary motion. But when the fortitude of the Americans is not rouſed to exertion by ſuch ſentiments, their feelings of pain are nearly the ſame with thoſe of the reſt of mankind. Nor is that patience under ſufferings, for which they are ſo juſtly celebrated, an univerſal attainment: the conſtancy of many of the captives is overcome by the burning rage of pain; and their weakneſs and lamentations complete the triumph of their enemies, at the ſame time that they reflect diſgrace upon their country and kindred ‖.

But if nature has not interpoſed, to render the Americans inſenſible to thoſe torments which are ſo frequently their lot, diſcipline has come in aid of principle to enable them to ſupport the keeneſt attacks of anguiſh. As paſſive fortitude

* Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. p. 46. § Ulloa, Notic. American.
† Robertſon, Hiſt. Americ. book IV. ‡ Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III.
‖ Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III. De la Potherie, tom. II.

is the quality in higheſt eſtimation among them, it is the early ſtudy of the Indians to acquire a talent, which will enable them to act like men, when their reſolution ſhall be put to the proof. Accordingly, as the youth of other nations exerciſe themſelves in feats of activity and force, thoſe of North America vie with one another in exhibitions of their patience under ſuffering. They harden their nerves by ſuch voluntary trials, and gradually accuſtom themſelves to endure the ſharpeſt pain without complaining. "I have ſeen," ſays Charlevoix, "a boy and a girl bind their naked arms together, and place a burning coal between them, in order to try who could endure it the longeſt *." All the trials cuſtomary in America, when a youth is admitted into the claſs of warriors, or when a warrior is promoted to the dignity of captain or chief, are accommodated to this idea of fortitude, as we have already had occaſion to obſerve. They are not diſplays of valour, but of patience; they are not exhibitions of the ability of the candidates to offend, but of their capacity to ſuffer. In North America, the previous trial of a warrior is neither ſo formal nor ſo ſevere, as among the tribes on the banks of the Orinoco †. But even here, before a youth is permitted to bear arms, his patience and fortitude are proved by blows, by fire, and by inſults more intolerable to a haughty ſpirit than both ‡.

The perpetual hoſtilities carried on among the North American Indians are productive of the moſt fatal effects. As their imperfect induſtry does not ſupply them with any ſuperfluous ſtore of proviſions, even in ſeaſons of tranquillity, they are reduced to extreme want, when the irruption of an enemy deſolates their cultivated lands, or diſturbs them in their hunting excurſions. All the people of the diſtrict that is invaded are frequently obliged to take refuge in woods or mountains, which can afford them no ſubſiſtence, and where many of them periſh. Nor does their exceſſive caution in conducting their military operations ‖, and the ſolicitude of every leader to preſerve the lives of his followers, as they ſeldom enjoy any interval of peace, prevents the loſs of men, by famine and the ſword, from exceeding the degree of population. Hence all their tribes are now fee-

* Hiſt. N. France, tom. III. † Theſe trials are more peculiarly ſolemn and excruciating among the Caribs or Galibis. See vol. I. book II. chap. v. p. 500, of this work. ‡ Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III.

‖ This caution, which is ſuppoſed by two celebrated writers, (Robertſon and Raynal) to have been dictated by political motives, and to be eſſential to the very exiſtence of a people engaged in perpetual hoſtilities, appears to have no ſuch operation; for where both parties are poſſeſſed of the ſame arts, and both, as in the preſent caſe, more intent upon ſurpriſing their enemies than vigilant in providing againſt being ſurpriſed themſelves; in a word, where their caution conſiſts rather in avoiding battle, than in avoiding danger, the loſs of men will be fully as great as if they had made their attacks by open force. Nay, there is every reaſon to believe it will be greater. The ſurpriſes will be mutual; and the difference between the temper of the lurking villain and the declared foe, is conſpicuous from the proceedings of the highwayman and footpad, up to the authoriſed violences of nations. Stratagem, which in its very nature involves an inſidious purpoſe, is the inſeparable companion of cruelty. Few men eſcape in the ſurpriſes of the Americans, and few priſoners were formerly ſpared; whereas when men meet one another in the field, perſonal oppoſition begets eſteem: thoſe who reſiſt only are ſlain; and an aſcendency is ſoon acquired, by mutual trials of ſtrength, which makes hoſtilities themſelves leſs frequent.

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ble; and many, which were once powerful, have gradually wasted away and disappeared. Nothing now remains of several nations that were once considerable, but the name *.

Reflections arising from this continual decay, first suggested to certain tribes the idea of adopting prisoners taken in war, as an expedient to prevent their total extinction. The practice, however, is by no means yet universal. Resentment operates more powerfully among savages than considerations of policy †: far the greater part of their captives was anciently sacrificed to their vengeance; and it is only since their numbers began to decline fast, that they have embraced milder measures. But such as they do spare, they naturalize in the manner already described; and the new citizens, incorporated into some family, renounce for ever their original connexions, and assimilate themselves so entirely to the people by whom they are adopted, that they immediately join them in hostile enterprises, and even in expeditions against their own countrymen.

A transition so sudden, and so repugnant to one of the most powerful instincts implanted by nature in the heart of man, would appear strange among any people; but among the members of small societies, where national enmity is violent and deep-rooted, and among Americans whose revenge is inextinguishable, while in a state of freedom, it is yet more surprising and unaccountable. It seems, however, to result from the principles upon which war is carried on in the New World. As no exchange of prisoners ever there takes place, the moment a warrior is made captive, his country and his friends consider him as dead. He has incurred such indelible disgrace, by suffering himself to be surprized or taken by an enemy, as would subject him to eternal infamy, were he to return home: he therefore feels little reluctance, since the ties which bound him to his tribe are irreparably broken, in forming a fresh connexion with a people, though formerly enemies, who, as an evidence of their friendly sentiments, not only deliver him from a cruel execution, but offer to admit him to all the rights of a warrior and fellow citizen. That similarity of manners observable in rude nations, and which is peculiarly perfect among the North American tribes, facilitates and completes the union; and induces a captive to transfer not only his allegiance, but his affection, to the community into the bosom of which he is received ‡. This affection is strengthened by his attachment to the family into which he is engrafted, and by which he is treated with the greatest tenderness. Hence, as a celebrated writer very justly remarks, the same fate that loads the savage with chains, and dissolves the ties of former consanguinity, if he escape death, gives him new relations and friends ‖.

* Charlevoix, Hist. N. France, tom. III.

† For this observation the author is indebted to Dr. Robertson; and while he admires its justness, he cannot help lamenting the inconsistencies of the greatest men. Is it possible that political considerations, which could not restrain the Americans from butchering their necessary prisoners in cool blood, should operate so powerfully upon them, while under the influence of hostile passion, as to prevent them from ever voluntarily exposing their persons?

‡ Robertson, Hist. Americ. book IV.

‖ Raynal, Hist. Philos. &c. liv. xv.

But

But though war is the chief occupation of barbarians, and to excel in it their higheſt diſtinction and pride, their inferiority is always manifeſt when they engage in competition with more civilized nations. They are incapable of maintaining in the field the formality of uniform precautions; and are ever leſs vigilant to avoid being ſurprized themſelves, than anxious to ſurpriſe their enemy. By reaſon of theſe diſadvantages, though patient of hardſhip and fatigue, and qualified by their ſtratagem and ferocity to throw terror, into a more regular army; yet, in the courſe of a continued ſtruggle, they muſt always yield to ſuperior diſcipline and addreſs. Hence the Romans were able to over-run the provinces of Gaul, Germany, and Britain; and hence the Europeans have ever maintained a decided ſuperiority over the inhabitants of the New World, even when their arms have been the ſame *. The North Americans however, animated by an unconquerable ſpirit of freedom, ſtill retain part of their original poſſeſſions; and though long encompaſſed by three formidable European powers, continue to exiſt as independent nations. The principal of theſe nations are the Algonquins, who occupy the north ſide of the river St. Lawrence, for an extent of near five hundred miles; the Hurons, Outawaes, and Illinois, ſeated on the lakes and rivers which bear their names; the Abnaquies, who border upon New England; the Iroquois or Mohawks, who border upon the provinces of New York, Penſylvania, and Virginia; and the Cherokees, who border upon Carolina **.

The arts and manufactures of ſavages muſt every where be few and ſimple, but more eſpecially thoſe of a people unacquainted with the uſe of iron, the great inſtrument of human labour and ingenuity †. Nature, however, has directed man, in his leaſt improved ſtate, to provide ſome covering againſt the inclemency of the weather ‖, by day, and ſome hovel or habitation, where he may reſt at night. Thoſe of the North Americans were of the rudeſt kind. The ſhoulders of the men were covered with a ſort of cloak or mantle of the ſkins of wild beaſts, and the loins of the women were ſurrounded with a petticoat of the ſame, reaching below the knee ‡. But though almoſt without dreſs, they were

* Many of the American tribes have ſubſtituted fire-arms in place of their bows and arrows; but they ſtill adhere to their ancient maxims of war, and are unable to contend with an equal number of European troops. The Chileſe are the only exception to this obſervation. As they originally attacked their enemies in the open field, they now advance to the charge not only with courage, but with diſcipline. Ovalle's Relat. of Chili. Their perſonal appearance only could induce us to ſuppoſe the brave and high ſpirited Chileſe to be the ſame race with the reſt of the natives of the New World.

** Adair's Hiſt. of North American Indians. Douglaſs's Summary, part I. ſec. iii. An account of the ancient and preſent ſtate of theſe, as well as of other Indian nations and tribes, ſhall be given when we come to ſpeak of the European ſettlements in their neighbourhood.

† The Americans, as we have more than once had occaſion to obſerve, were all unacquainted with the uſe of iron, and the greater part of the northern tribes were ſtrangers to the uſe of metal of any kind.

‖ In certain mild climates men have been found entirely naked; but theſe cloaths were not neceſſary.

‡ Douglaſs's Summary, part I. ſect. iii. Hutchinſon, Hiſt. Maſſachuſet's Bay, chap. vi. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. p. 39.

not

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not inattentive to ornament. They diſpoſed their hair in many different forms, their ears were hung, and their necks ſurrounded with ſhells in the form of beads; they punctured and ſtained their ſkins with a great variety of figures; and vanity, not ſatisfied with theſe fantaſtic decorations, in which they ſpent much time, and ſubmitted to much pain, diſpoſed them to alter the natural form of their bodies. Their operations for that purpoſe begin as ſoon as an infant is born. By compreſſing the bones of the ſkull, while ſtill ſoft and flexible, they mould the head into a flat, a ſquare, or a conical figure; and by theſe violent and abſurd efforts, to derange the plan of nature, or improve upon her deſigns, they often endanger the lives of their poſterity.

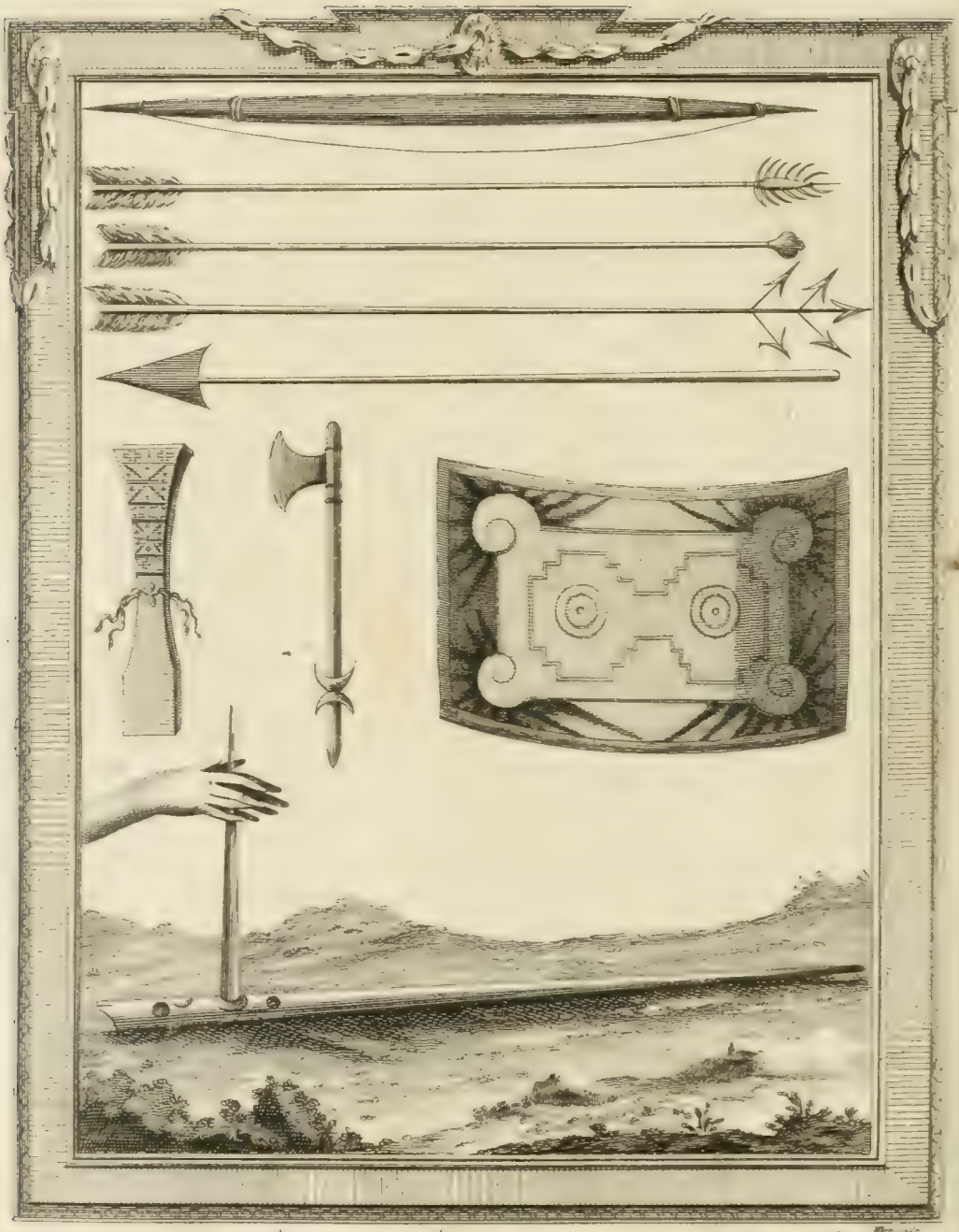
But in all their attempts either to adorn or to new model their perſons, it ſeems to have been leſs the object of the North Americans to pleaſe, or to appear beautiful, than to give an air of dignity or terror to their aſpect. Their attention to dreſs had more reference to war than to gallantry. The difference in rank and eſtimation between the two ſexes was ſo great, as extinguiſhed in ſome meaſure, their ſolicitude to appear mutually amiable. The man deemed it beneath him to adorn his perſon, for the ſake of one on whom he was accuſtomed to look down, as to a ſlave. It was when the warrior had in view to enter the council of his nation, or take the field againſt his enemies, that he aſſumed his choiceſt ornaments, and decked his perſon with the niceſt care *. The decorations of the women were few and ſimple. Whatever was precious or ſplendid was reſerved for the men; and as the women in ſeveral tribes, were obliged to ſpend a conſiderable part of their time, every day, in painting and adorning their huſbands, they could beſtow little attention upon ornamenting themſelves. Hence, among a race of men ſo haughty as to deſpiſe, and ſo cold as to neglect the ſofter ſex, the women naturally became careleſs and ſlovenly; and that love of finery and ſhew, which has been deemed their favourite paſſion, by a very ſingular peculiarity in manners, was confined entirely to the ſavage hunter, and the warrior beſmeared with blood †.

The habitations of the North Americans were ſtill more rude and imperfect than their dreſs. They were wretched huts, ſometimes of an oblong, ſometimes of a circular form, intended merely for ſhelter, without any view to elegance, and with little attention to conveniency. The doors were generally ſo low, that it was neceſſary to bend, or to creep on hands and feet in order to enter them. They were without windows or chimneys; the light being admitted, and the ſmoke conveyed out at a large hole in the middle of the roof ‡. One other circumſtance relative to theſe miſerable dwellings, which diſcovered leſs ingenuity than thoſe of the beaver, only merits attention, as it illuſtrates the character of the people. Some of their houſes were an hundred feet long, had fire-places at certain diſtances, and were built for the reception of different families, who

* Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III.

† Id. ibid. Lafitau, tom. II. Robertſon, Hiſt. Americ. book IV.

‡ Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. p. 43, 44.



Implements of WAR *made use of by the*
AMERICAN INDIANS.

dwelt together under the ſame roof, without ſeparate apartments, or any kind of ſcreen or partition between the ſpaces which they reſpectively occupied **. This ſingular mode of habitation, as Dr. Robertſon ingeniouſly remarks, may be conſidered not only as the effect of that community of goods which ſubſiſted among the North Americans, but as a proof of their inattention and indifference towards their women; for if they had not been accuſtomed to perfect equality, ſuch an arrangement could not have taken place; and if their ſenſibility had been apt to have taken alarm, they would not have truſted the virtue of their women amidſt the temptations and opportunities of ſuch a promiſcuous intercourſe *. The perpetual concord which reigns in habitations, where ſo many families are crowded together, is alſo worthy of notice; as it affords a ſtriking evidence that they muſt be people either of a very gentle, or of a very phlegmatic temper, who, in ſuch a ſituation, are unacquainted with animoſity, brawling, and ſtrife ††.

After ſecuring himſelf againſt the inclemency of the elements, man, in his natural ſtate, will perceive the neceſſity of providing weapons for his defence againſt his brother ſavages of the foreſt, both brute and human; and theſe weapons will, in time, be converted into arms for proſecuting his animoſities or extending the empire of his ambition, as well as employed, by way of implements, in order to procure him the means of ſubſiſtence. The original weapons of the North Americans were bows and arrows; a ſpear, armed with ſharp bones; and a ſhort club of very hard wood, with one cutting edge, and a knob towards the end. This laſt weapon, which is generally known by the name of the tomahawk, has been improved, ſince their acquaintance with the uſe of iron, by the addition of a ſharp pointed hatchet, oppoſite to the knob †. Theſe weapons at once ſerved them for the purpoſes of war and hunting, and even for thoſe of agriculture, ſtakes hardened in the fire, in the manner of their ſpears, being their only implements of huſbandry ‡.

The domeſtic utenſils of the North Americans were both few and rude. Some of the ſouthern and weſtern tribes had diſcovered the art of forming earthen veſſels, and of baking them in ſuch a manner that they could endure the fire ‖; but according to Charlevoix, the inhabitants of Canada had not attained even this humble degree of refinement. They were either unacquainted with any

** Id. ibid

* Hiſt. Americ. book IV. The ſame obſervation had been before made by lord Kaims. "When by ripening ſenſibility," ſays he, "a man puts a value on the affections of his wife, jealouſy commences. Jealouſy accordingly is a ſymptom of an increaſing eſteem for the female ſex; and that paſſion is viſibly creeping in among the natives of Virginia." Sketches on Man, vol. I. ſket. i.

†† Lafitau, tom. II.

† Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. p. 51. Hutchinſon, Hiſt. of Maſſachuſet's Bay, c. vi.

‡ Id. ibid.

‖ Hutchinſon, Hiſt. Maſſachuſet's Bay, chap. vi. "The Narganſets," ſays he, who lived on the bay of the ſame name, "ſupplied the neighbouring nations with earthen veſſels for cookery and other domeſtic uſes." This evidence is poſitive, and the author had every means of information.

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other method of dreſſing their victuals but by roaſting them on the fire, or had recourſe to the troubleſome expedient of hollowing a piece of hard wood into the form of a kettle, and filling it with water, brought it to boil by throwing red hot ſtones into it §.

The Indians diſcovered more ingenuity in the means of procuring their food, than in dreſſing it. The art of cookery is in ſmall repute among ſavages: the queſtion with them is to eat; to ſatisfy the ſtomach, and allay the cravings of hunger, not how to tickle the palate or provoke the appetite. Their bone-hooks, their lines made of wild hemp, their arrows pointed with flint, and their bows ſtrung, and braced in the back with the ſinews of deer, were curious examples of rude art *. But the greateſt effort of their mechanical talent, as well as of their induſtry, was diſplayed in the conſtruction of their canoes. Of theſe they had two ſorts; one made by hollowing the trunk of a large pine or cheſnut-tree, the other formed of the bark or rind of the birch-tree, with knees or ribs, and ſo light that two men can carry them with the greateſt facility, yet tight and ſecure againſt the waves †.

After the perfect enjoyment of civil, or rather natural liberty, the moſt happy circumſtance in the life of a ſavage is his exemption from religious tyranny. The altar has ever been the foot-ſtool to the throne; and the human ſoul has never ſubmitted to the yoke of deſpotiſm, nor man felt abaſement in the preſence of man, till his mind was broken and enſlaved by the ſhadowy terrors of ſuperſtition. The North Americans, who had no kings or permanent civil ſuperiors, had neither prieſts, altars, nor pious ceremonies. But they were not without religion, though their creed was very ſimple. It conſiſted only of two articles, which ought perhaps to limit the creed of every country; the being of a God, and the immortality of the ſoul. The regular return of the ſeaſons, the viciſſitudes of day and night; rain and ſun-ſhine, heat and cold; but more eſpecially thunder and lightning, ſtorms and tempeſts, ſuggeſt to the leaſt cultivated rea-

§ Hiſt. de la N. France, tom. III. Hence Dr. Robertſon concludes that the North Americans had no earthen veſſels. "In North America," ſays he, "they hollow a piece of hard wood," &c. Hiſt. book iv. p. 376.

* Hutchinſon, ubi ſup. Ellis's Voyage to Hudſon's Bay.

† Hutchinſon, chap. vi. Dr. Robertſon admits the ingenuity of the Indians in this particular, but ſays "they will ſpend ſo many years in forming a canoe, that it often begins to rot with age before they can finiſh it;" and he adds a variety of arguments, borrowed from Spaniſh authors, (who think themſelves bound to vilify a people that their countrymen have pillaged, oppreſſed, and maſſacred) to prove, that even ſince the Europeans have communicated to the Americans the knowledge of their inſtruments, and taught them to imitate their arts, that they "diſcover no talents for diſpatch." Roger Williams, a proteſtant miſſionary, quoted by Hutchinſon, ſpeaks a very different language. "I have ſeen," ſays he, "a native go into the woods with his hatchet, carrying only a baſket of corn with him, and ſtones to ſtrike fire. When he had felled his tree (being a cheſnut) he made him a little ſhed or houſe of the bark of it, he puts fire, and follows the burning it with fire in many places: his corn he boils, and hath the brook by him, and ſometimes angles for a little fiſh: but ſo he continues, burning and hewing, until he hath within ten or twelve days, (lying there at his work alone) finiſhed his boat." Hiſt. Maſſachuſet's Bay, chap. vi.

ſon the exiſtence of ſome Intelligence ſuperior to itſelf, which muſt be the Cauſe of ſo many extraordinary appearances; and as fear is a ſtronger paſſion than gratitude, the firſt worſhip in all nations has been paid to the Author of Evil *. The next ſtep of the human mind in its theological progreſs is the recognition of a *good* as well as an *evil* Principle. Some times it aſſigns theſe two qualities to ſeparate Beings; but more commonly reaſoning by analogy from its own diſpoſitions, (for reaſon is the inſtinct of man) it has conſidered both as the different effects of the good will and diſpleaſure of ONE. This Being, whom the North Americans denominted *The Great Spirit*, they regarded as the Cauſe of all things †. He was their God of Peace, as well as of War; the Lord of the Harveſt, as well as the Lord of Hoſts, the God of Vengeance, and the Author of Famine and Deſolation. Their ideas of his nature, however, were very imperfect; and as they had no moral principles, or penal laws, they do not ſeem to have conſidered him as the Puniſher of Vice, or the Rewarder of Virtue ‡. This may appear the more extraordinary, as they had a diſtinct notion of a future ſtate; but men cannot aſcribe to their gods qualities or inſtitutions of which they have no example among themſelves.

The ſecond article in the North American creed was more clearly underſtood than the firſt. That hope of a happy immortality, which ſeveral learned and pious eccleſiaſtics have ſuppoſed to be brought to light only by the Goſpel, appears to be natural to the human mind. The ſoul of man, even when leaſt improved and invigorated by culture, ſhrinks from the thoughts of diſſolution, and looks forward, eſpecially in ſeaſons of calamity and diſtreſs, with an inſtinctive longing, and fond expectation, to a future and better ſtate of exiſtence. Such an expectation was common over all North America. The leaſt enlightened of its ſavage tribes do not regard death as the extinction of being. They all hope for an after-ſtate, where they ſhall be for ever exempt from the evils, which imbitter human life in its preſent condition. This they figure as a delightful country, ſituated towards the ſouth-weſt, whence the wind generally blows during the fineſt weather of ſpring and ſummer ‖; as a region whoſe foreſts abound with game, whoſe rivers ſwarm with fiſh, whoſe meads are covered with flowers, and whoſe fields are fruitful in corn; where curious cabins ſhall be provided for them, where famine is never felt, and where they ſhall enjoy the amuſements of hunting, fowling, and fiſhing, without wearineſs, and without pain §. But who, it will be inquired, were the inhabitants of the North American elyſium?—Not the humble, the meek, and the lowly in ſpirit; the charitable, the merciful, or the juſt, qualities for which their language had no terms, nor their mind any ideas: no! nor thoſe whoſe knees were moſt frequently bent, or whoſe eyes were ofteneſt

* Hence the vulgar notion that the Indians worſhip the Devil.

† Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. de la France, tom. III. Lafitau, tom. I. ‡ Id. ibid.

‖ "In the country whence this pleaſant wind came, they ſuppoſed," ſays R. Williams, "the Divinity would chuſe to reſide." Let. to the Maſſachuſſ. Gov.

§ Hutchinſon, Hiſt Maſſachuſſet's Bay, chap. vi. Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III. De la Potherie, tom. II.

lifted

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lifted up to the Great Spirit. Men can never ſuppoſe their gods to reſpect qualities which they do not reſpect themſelves. Their heaven was reſerved for the ſkilful hauntſman, for the adventurous and ſucceſsful warrior; for ſuch as had ſurpriſed and ſlain the greateſt number of enemies, who had tortured the greateſt number of captives, and devoured their fleſh with the greateſt avidity *. In conſequence of this idea, that the dead may not enter upon their new career unprovided, they bury with them their bows, their arrows, and other weapons, uſed in hunting or war, as well as ſome proviſions, cloathing, and ſuch domeſtic utenſils as are moſt eſſential to their ſimple mode of life in this world †.

Such was, and ſtill is the religion of the original North Americans, for the doctrines of Chriſtianity have made ſmall progreſs among them ‡; a religion calculated, according to their ideas of excellence, to form great, if not good men, as it aſſigns the moſt diſtinguiſhed place in the bleſt abodes to the moſt diſtinguiſhed talents. It has alſo a tendency to make individuals happy during life, and to compoſe their minds in the hour of death, as it denounces no puniſhment againſt guilt in a future ſtate of exiſtence. But this private conveniency was a public evil. By lulling inſtead of rouſing the feelings of remorſe, in a land without penal ſtatutes, and where the principles of morals were not underſtood, it left no curb upon the irregular ſallies of paſſion, nor any barrier againſt the more deliberate acts of violence and injuſtice ‖.

But although the religion of the North Americans left them under few apprehenſions with reſpect to their happineſs after death, as every one had the apportioning of that merit on which he founded his hopes, they were not a little anxious in regard to their future fortune in this life. The human mind, is moſt apt to feel and to diſcover ſuch a vain curioſity, when its own powers are moſt feeble and uninformed. Aſtoniſhed at occurrences of which it is unable to comprehend the cauſe, it naturally fancies that there is ſomething myſterious and wonderful in their origin; and alarmed at events of which it cannot diſcern the iſſue or the conſequences, it has recourſe to other means of diſcovering them than the exerciſe of its own ſagacity. Wherever ſuperſtition is ſo eſtabliſhed as to form a regular ſyſtem, this deſire of penetrating into the ſecrets of futurity is connected with it. Divination becomes a religious act; and prieſts, as the miniſters of Heaven,

* Id. ibid.

† De la Potherie, tom. II. Creuria, Hiſt. Canad. Hutchinſon, ubi ſup.

‡ Roger Williams ſays, that when he had diſcourſed of the creation, the nature of the ſoul, and the neceſſity of ſaving it, the Indians readily aſſented; but when he ſpoke of the reſurrection of the body, they cried out, "We will never believe this!" ubi ſup. The ſucceſs of other miſſionaries has not been greater. The grave temper of the North Americans prevents them from embracing any opinion from novelty.

‖ A people who have no property, cannot perhaps be ſaid to be guilty of injuſtice; but the community of goods among the North Americans, is by no means ſo perfect as to exclude all ideas of this kind. The fur appears always to have belonged to the individual; and except on public huntings, the whole produce of the chace. The fruits of the earth alſo, when carried by private induſtry, are the property of the cultivator, though ſhared with his indigent neighbours. Even the field is held to belong to the perſon who cleared it, as long as he chuſes to occupy it; but he has no right to transfer it. Gid. Hawley, MS. ap. Robertſon.

pretend

pretend to deliver its oracles to men. They are the only ſoothſayers, augurs, and magicians, who poſſeſs the ſacred and important art of diſcloſing what is hid from other eyes. But among rude nations, who pay little veneration to any ſuperintending Power, and who have no eſtabliſhed rites or miniſters of religion, their curioſity to diſcover what is future and unknown is cheriſhed by a different principle, and derives its ſtrength from another alliance.

As the diſeaſes of man in the ſavage ſtate, like thoſe of the brute creation, are few, but extremely violent, their impatience under what they ſuffer, and ſolicitude for the recovery of health, ſoon inſpired them with extraordinary reverence for ſuch as pretended to underſtand the nature of their maladies, or to preſerve them from their ſudden and fatal effects. Theſe ignorant pretenders, however, were ſuch utter ſtrangers to the ſtructure of the human frame as to be equally unacquainted with the cauſes of its diſorders, and the manner in which they will terminate; but enthuſiaſm, mingled frequently with ſome portion of craft, ſupplied what they wanted in ſcience. They imputed the origin of diſeaſes to ſupernatural influence, and preſcribed or performed a variety of myſterious rites which they gave out to be of power ſufficient to remove them *. That credulity and love of the marvellous, natural to uninformed men, favoured the deception, and prepared them to be the dupes of ſuch impoſtors; who, taking advantage of human weakneſs, boaſt that they know what is paſt how far ſoever removed from their obſervation, and can foretell what is to come. Incantations, ſpells, and mummeries of various kinds, no leſs abſurd than frivolus, are the means that they employ to expel the imaginary cauſes of malignity; and relying on theſe, they predict with confidence what will be the fate of the deluded patients †.

Thus, adds Dr. Robertſon, ſuperſtition, in its earlieſt form, flowed from the ſolicitude of man to be delivered from preſent diſtreſs, not from his dread of evils awaiting him in a future life, and was originally ingrafted on medicine, not on religion ‡. Oviedo, one of the firſt, and moſt intelligent hiſtorians of America, was ſtruck with this alliance between the art of divination and that of

* Douglaſs, part I. ſect. iii. He owns, however, that the Indian medicines, which are only ſimple indigenous herbs, whoſe virtues and properties were diſcovered by chance, and handed down from generation to generation, have had a peculiar continued ſucceſs, and that their principal remedy, namely ſweating in huts warmed by heated ſtones, and there upon immediate immerſion in cold water, ſeems to be a rational practice; firſt by relaxing to give a free paſſage to the circulatory juices, and after a free paſſage is ſuppoſed to be obtained, by cold immerſion to brace up again. This practice, and their ignorance of the nature of the diſtemper, occaſioned great mortality when the ſmall-pox firſt appeared in North America. Ubi ſup.

† Robertſon, Hiſt. Americ. book iv. In order to ſupport the reputation of their preſcience, it is conjectured they ſometimes made uſe of poiſon. Hutchinſon, Hiſt. chap. vi.

‡ Robertſon's Hiſt. of Americ. book I. Douglaſs, a man of learning and abilities, in ſpeaking of this original alliance between religion and phyſic draws a very different inference from it. "This," ſays he, "ſeems to be natural. Even among us, a civilized people, our prieſts, or goſpel miniſters, by the ſame aid, are very apt officiouſly to intrude into the office of a phyſician, and to uſe the ſick as their patients as well as their penitents." In both we may diſcover the divine and the phyſician through the philoſopher and the hiſtorian; but the divine is by far the moſt liberal inquirer. His inveſtigation of this ſubject is one of the fineſt pieces of human reaſoning.

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phyſic, in the New World; and through all its various diſtricts, (the comparatively civilized kingdoms of Mexico and Peru excepted,) as well as in Hiſpaniola, where he made his obſervation, whatever was the diſtinguiſhing name of their divines and charmers, they were all the phyſicians of their reſpective tribes. Their general name in North America was *Powows* or *Oquis*; and as their function led them to apply to the human mind when enfeebled by ſickneſs, and prone, in that ſeaſon of dejection to be alarmed by imaginary fears, or amuſed with vain hopes, they eaſily induced it to rely with implicit confidence on the virtue of their ſpells, and the certainty of their predictions *.

Whenever men acknowledge the reality of a ſupernatural power and diſcernment in one inſtance, they have a propenſity to admit it in others. The North Americans did not long ſuppoſe the efficacy of conjuration to be confined to one ſubject: they had recourſe to it in every ſituation of danger or diſtreſs. When the events of war were peculiarly diſaſtrous; when they met with unforeſeen diſappointments in hunting; when inundations or drought threatened their crops with deſtruction, they called upon the conjurors to begin their incantations, in order to diſcover the cauſes of thoſe calamities, or to foretell what would be their iſſue †. Their confidence in this deluſive art gradually increaſed, and manifeſted itſelf in all the occurrences of life. When involved in any difficulty, or about to enter upon any tranſaction of moment, every individual regularly conſulted the Oqui, and depended upon his inſtructions to extricate him from the former, and to direct his conduct to the latter.

Even among the rudeſt tribes in North America, ſuperſtition appears in this form, and divination is an art in high eſteem. Long before man had acquired ſuch knowledge of a Deity as inſpires reverence and leads to adoration, we obſerve him ſtretching out a preſumptuous hand to draw aſide that veil with which Providence kindly conceals its purpoſes from human knowledge ‡. To diſcern and to worſhip a ſuperintending Power, is an evidence of the enlargement and maturity of the human underſtanding; but a vain deſire of prying into futurity is the error of its fancy, and a proof of its weakneſs ‖. From this weakneſs alſo proceeds the faith of the North Americans in dreams, their obſervation of omens, their attention to the chirping of birds and the cries of animals, all which they ſuppoſe to be indications of future events; and if any of theſe prognoſtics is deemed unfavourable, they inſtantly abandon the purſuit of thoſe meaſures on which they are moſt eagerly bent §.

But, as a philoſophic writer obſerves, this is a ſubject on which few nations are entitled to cenſure their neighbours. When we have conſidered the ſuperſtitions

* Charlevoix, N. France, tom. III. Dumont, tom. I. De la Potherie, tom. II. Hutchinſon, chap. vi.

† Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III. Dumont, tom. I.

‡ Robertſon, Hiſt. of Americ. book iv.

‖ Id. ibid.

§ Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III. De la Potherie, tom. III. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV.

of

of one people, we find little variety in thoſe of another: they are but a repetition of ſimilar weakneſſes and abſurdities proceeding from a common ſource; a perplexed apprehenſion of inviſible agents, that are ſuppoſed to guide all precarious events to which human foreſight cannot extend. The mind, on ſuch occaſions, is the dupe of its own perplexities; and inſtead of relying on its prudence or fortitude, has recourſe to divination, and a variety of obſervances, which are only the more revered for being irrational. Meanwhile this weakneſs or folly does not always prevent that watchfulneſs, penetration, and courage, which men are accuſtomed to employ in the management of common affairs; and a Roman ſenator conſulting futurity by the pecking of birds, a king of Sparta inſpecting the entrails of a beaſt, or Mithridates conſulting his women on the interpretation of his dreams, are examples ſufficient to prove, that a childiſh ſuperſtition is conſiſtent with the greateſt military and political conduct *.

As the North Americans have comparatively few diviners, or pious quacks, they ſuffer leſs from this diſeaſe of the human mind than more civilized nations. But nothing can equal the extravagance of their credulity in regard to dreams. Ignorance is naturally prone to connect ſomething myſterious with thoſe nocturnal viſions, and to aſcribe them to the agency of ſome powerful ſpirit, who takes the opportunity, when our faculties are ſuſpended and lulled aſleep, of watching over us during the abſence of our ſenſes. A ſoul, diſtinct from our own, ſeems to glide into us, in order to inform us of events yet in the womb of time; ſome genius, deputed by that Great Being to whom futurity is always preſent, ſeems to advertiſe us of things to come, that we may avoid misfortune or bear it with patience. This is more particularly the caſe in North America, covered with thick and extenſive foreſts, often rendered more awful by darks fogs; where the mournful daſhing of waves along the lakes and rivers that interſect the country, the portentous noiſes which every change of the wind, and every increaſe and diminution of the waters, are apt to raiſe in a lonely region full of echoes, and caverns, and cataracts; the groteſque and ghaſtly appearance of ſuch a landſcape by the light of the moon! objects like theſe diffuſe a gloom over the fancy, which cannot fail to tincture the thoughts in the hour of ſilence and ſolitude. Beſides, men whoſe ſole occupations are hunting, fiſhing, and war, are continually expoſed to fatal accidents, at the ſame time that their nerves are apt to be painfully affected by the inclemency of the weather, fatigue, and long abſtinence. Hence new horrors haunt their lonely moments, and a deeper melancholy overſhadows their imagination, even while awake; and when they ſink into ſleep, they are alarmed with frightful dreams: they imagine they are ſurrounded with enemies: they ſee their village ſurpriſed, and deluged in blood; they receive injuries and wounds: their wives, their children, their friends are carried off; they behold their dying agonies!—When they awake, the impreſſion upon their minds is ſo ſtrong, that they conſider theſe viſions as warnings from the Divinity; and that fear which firſt inſpired them with this idea, augments their natural ferocity by the additional gloom which it throws over their thoughts. In this ſtate of mind

* Ferguſon, Eſſay on the Hiſtory of Civil Society, part II. ſect. ii.

they

they are guilty of the wildeſt extravagancies*. Their dreams, like all other prophecies, operate to their own completion.

From the civil, military, and religious cuſtoms of a people, their arts and induſtry, we paſs naturally to their amuſements, no leſs characteriſtic of their manners. Among ſavages in every quarter of the globe, the love of dancing is a favourite paſſion. As a great part of their time languiſhes away in liſtleſs indolence, without any occupation to rouſe or to intereſt them, they delight univerſally in a paſtime which calls forth the active powers of their nature into exerciſe †. Accordingly the Spaniards, when they firſt viſited the New World, were aſtoniſhed at the fondneſs of the natives for dancing: they beheld with wonder a people, cold and unanimated in moſt reſpects, kindle into life, and exert themſelves with ardour, as often as they had an opportunity of joining in this favourite amuſement ‡.

Among the North Americans, indeed, dancing ought not to be denominated an amuſement. It is a ſerious and important occupation, which mingles in every occurrence of public or private life. If any intercourſe is neceſſary between two Indian tribes, the ambaſſadors of the one approach in a ſolemn dance, and preſent the Calumet or emblem of peace: the Sachems or chiefs of the other, receive it with the ſame ceremony ‖. If war is denounced againſt an enemy, it is by a dance expreſſive of the reſentment which they feel, and the vengeance which they meditate §. If the wrath of Heaven is to be appeaſed, or its beneficence celebrated; if they rejoice at the birth of a ſon, or mourn the death of a friend, they have dances appropriated to each of theſe ſituations, and ſuited to the different ſentiments with which they are animated**. If a perſon is indiſpoſed, a dance is preſcribed, as the moſt effectual means of reſtoring him to health; and if he cannot endure the fatigue of that exerciſe himſelf, the Powow, or phyſical conjurer, performs it in his name, as if the virtues of his activity could be transferred to his patient††.

All theſe dances are imitations of ſome action; and though the muſic by which they are regulated is extremely ſimple and tireſome to the ear by its dull monotony, ſome of the Indian dances appear wonderfully expreſſive and animated. The war dance is perhaps the moſt ſtriking. It is the repreſentation of a complete American campaign, and executed by the perſons who compoſe it, with arms in their hands. The departure of the warriors from their village; their march into

* See Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. p. 31, 32, where a number of theſe extravagancies are related.—What the Indians call dreams, appear to be often waking reveries, ſimilar to thoſe melancholy viſions of the Scotch Highlanders, vulgarly denominated the *Second Sight*; to be produced by ſimilar cauſes, and to be followed by ſimilar conſequences. The perſon from whom danger is apprehended often falls a ſacrifice to the fear which it inſpires, as the dread of death or misfortune ſometimes realizes it in the individual.

† Robertſon, Hiſt. Americ. book IV.

‡ Gomara, Hiſt. Gen. chap. cxcvi.

‖ De la Protherie, tom. II. Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III. La Hontan, tom. I.

§ Lafitau, tom. I. Charlevoix, ubi ſup.

** Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. p. 74. Robertſon, Hiſt. Americ. book IV.

†† Brickell, Hiſt. N. Carolina. De la Potherie, tom. II.

the enemy's country; the caution with which they encamp; the addreſs with which they ſtation ſome of their party in ambuſh; the manner of ſurpriſing the enemy; the noiſe and ferocity of the combat; the ſcalping of thoſe who are ſlain; the ſeizing of priſoners; the triumphant return of the conquerors, and the torture of the captives, are ſucceſſively exhibited; and the performers enter with ſuch enthuſiaſtic ardour into their ſeveral parts—their geſtures, their countenance, their voice, are ſo wild and ſo well adapted to their various ſituations, that an European can hardly believe it to be a mimic ſcene, or view it without emotions of fear and horror. He imagines the ground will in a moment be covered with blood and mangled limbs, and that all preſent will fall a ſacrifice to the fury of the combatants *.

It is ſomewhat remarkable, that among ſavages dancing ſhould be an imitative art, and that it ſhould have loſt this characteriſtic in civilized nations. But the lively imagery of the Indian dances is not their moſt diſtinguiſhing circumſtance. The ſongs, the dances, the amuſements, of other nations, expreſſive of the ſentiments which animate their hearts, are generally adapted to diſplay or excite that ſenſibility which mutually attaches the ſexes. Nay, ſo great is the ardour of this paſſion among ſome people, that love is almoſt the ſole object of feſtivity and joy; and as rude nations are ſtrangers to delicacy, and little accuſtomed to diſguiſe any emotion of their minds, their dances are often extremely wanton and indecent. Such, for the example, is the Calenda, of which the negroes are ſo paſſionately fond, and ſuch the feats of the dancing girls, which the Aſiatics contemplate with ſo much pleaſure: but among the North Americans, more cold and indifferent to their females, from cauſes which have been already explained, this paſſion mingles but little with their feſtivals and paſtimes †. Their ſongs and dances are moſtly ſolemn and martial: they are connected with ſome of the ſerious and important affairs of life; and having no relation to love or gallantry, are ſeldom common to the two ſexes ‡.

An immoderate love of play, eſpecially at games of hazard, which ſeems to be natural to all people unaccuſtomed to the occupations of regular induſtry, is likewiſe univerſal among the North Americans. The ſame cauſes, which ſo often prompt perſons at their eaſe in civilized life, to have recourſe to this paſtime, render it the delight of the ſavage. The former are independent of labour, the latter does not feel the neceſſity of it; and as both are unemployed, they run with tranſport to whatever can ſtir and agitate their minds ‖. Hence the Indians, who at other times are ſo indifferent and phlegmatic; ſo ſilent, and ſo diſintereſted; as ſoon as they engage in play, become rapacious, impatient, noiſy, and almoſt frantic with eagerneſs. Their furs, their domeſtic utenſils, their cloaths, their arms, are ſtaked at the gaming table: they tear their hair and beat their

* Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III. De la Potherie, tom. II. Lafitau, tom. II. Robertſon, Hiſt. Americ. book iv.

† Id. ibid.

‡ Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III. Oſborne, Collect. vol. II.

‖ Robertſon, Hiſt. Americ. book iv.

BOOK IV.

breaſt, while the throw is depending; and when all is loſt, high as their ſenſe of independence is, in a wild emotion of deſpair or of hope, they will often riſk their perſonal liberty, upon a ſingle caſt *.

The North Americans are alſo extremely addicted to drunkenneſs, from cauſes ſimilar to thoſe which make them fond of play. To obtain ſome compoſition of an intoxicating quality, ſeems to have been one of the firſt exertions of human ingenuity; and there is hardly any nation ſo rude, or ſo deſtitute of invention, as not to have ſucceeded in this fatal ſearch. The moſt barbarous of the Indian tribes, have been ſo unfortunate as to attain this art; and even thoſe who were ſo deficient in knowledge, as to be ignorant of the method of giving an inebriating ſtrength to liquors by fermentation, can accompliſh the ſame end by other means. The natives of North America, at the time of its diſcovery, were unacquainted with any intoxicating drink, but uſed for that purpoſe the ſmoke of tobacco, drawn up with a certain inſtrument into the noſtrils, the ſmoke of which aſcending to the brain, they felt all the tranſports and frenzy of intoxication †; and as the Europeans early found it to be their intereſt to ſupply them with ſpirituous liquors, for which they feel ſuch a violent and inſatiable deſire as it is not eaſy either to conceive or deſcribe, drunkenneſs became univerſal among them ‖.

Among poliſhed nations, where a ſucceſſion of various functions and amuſements keep the mind in continual occupation, the deſire for ſtrong drink is regulated, in a great meaſure, by the climate, and increaſes or diminiſhes according to the variations of its temperature. In warm regions, the delicate and ſenſible frame of the inhabitants does not require the ſtimulation of fermented liquors; whereas in colder countries, the conſtitution of the natives, more robuſt and ſluggiſh, ſtands in need of generous liquors to quicken and animate it: but among ſavages, the deſire of ſomething that has power to intoxicate, is in every ſituation the ſame. Hence all the rude tribes in the New World, whether natives of the torrid zone, or inhabitants of its more temperate regions, or placed by a harder fate in the ſevere climates towards its northern and ſouthern extremity, appear to be equally under the dominion of this appetite §.

So great a ſimilarity of taſte, among people in ſuch different ſituations, cannot be conſidered as the effect of any phyſical or conſtitutional want, but muſt be aſcribed to the influence of ſome moral cauſe. While engaged in war or in the chace, the ſavage often finds himſelf in the moſt intereſting ſituations, and all the powers

* Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III. Lafitau, tom. II. † Oviedo, lib. xv.

‖ Hutchinſon, Hiſt. Maſſachuſet's Bay, chap. vi.

§ Robertſon, Hiſt. Americ. Book IV. Guimilla, vol. I. Lozano Deſcrip. de Gran. Chaco. Ulloa, vol. i. Des Marchais, tom. IV. Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III. Douglaſs's Summary, part I. ſect. iii. Hutchinſon, chap. vi. The author was once of opinion, that the exceſſive love of ſtrong liquors among the inhabitants of the warmer regions, who are moſtly ſubjected to the Spaniſh yoke, might proceed from a deſire of obtaining at leaſt a momentary oblivion from the miſeries of their condition. But as, on more mature obſervation, he finds it to prevail equally among the independent tribes in thoſe latitudes, it muſt be aſcribed to ſome other cauſe: he has therefore exceeded the limits of his preſent ſubject to inveſtigate it; and has availed himſelf of the ingenious reaſoning of Dr. Robertſon, on a point ſo intereſting in the hiſtory of human nature.

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of his nature are roused to the most vigorous exertions; but those animating scenes are succeeded by long intervals of repose, during which he meets with nothing that he deems of sufficient dignity or importance to merit his attention. He languishes and mopes in this season of indolence. The posture of his body is an emblem of the state of his mind. In one climate cowering over the fire in his cabin; in another, stretched under the shade of some tree, he dozes away his time in sleep, or in an unthinking, joyless inactivity, not far removed from it. As strong liquors awake him from this torpid state, give a brisker motion to his spirits, and enliven him more thoroughly than either dancing or gaming, while perfectly sober, his love of them is excessive *.

A savage, unless when engaged in action is a melancholy animal; but as soon as he tastes or has a prospect of tasting the intoxicating draught, he becomes gay and frolicsome. Whatever be the occasion or pretext on which the Indians assemble, the meeting always terminates in a debauch. Many of their festivals have no other object, and they welcome the return of them with transports of joy. As they are not accustomed to restrain any appetite they set no bounds to this. The riot often continues without intermission for several days; and whatever be the effect of their excess, they never cease drinking as long as a drop of liquor remains †. The persons of greatest eminence, the most distinguished warriors, and the chiefs most renowned for wisdom, have no more command of themselves than the most obscure member of the community. Their eagerness for present enjoyment renders them blind to its fatal consequences; and those very men, who in some situations seem to possess a force of mind more than human, are in this instance inferior to children in foresight, as well as reflection, and mere slaves to brutal appetite ‡. To be enabled to procure the means of this debauch, is the principal end which the North Americans pursue in all their treaties with the Europeans, and the great spur to their industry; and when intoxicated, they frequently lie exposed on the earth to all the inclemency of the seasons, which wastes them by a train of the most fatal disorders: they perish in rivers and marshes; they tumble into the fire; they quarrel; and in their frantic rage, often murder each other. In a word, the festivity seldom concludes without deeds of violence or bloodshed ‖; and drunkenness, which among civilized nations, is rather debasing than very destructive, among this rude people is a public calamity.

* "The only thing," says Ulloa, "in which they shew a lively sensation and alacrity, is for parties of pleasure, rejoicings, entertainments, and especially dancings; but in all these the liquor must circulate briskly, which seems to be their supreme enjoyment." Voyage, vol. I. book vi. chap. vi.

† Ulloa, ubi sup.

‡ Letter Edif. tom. II. Torquemad. Mond. Ind. vol. I. Ulloa, vol. I. book vi. chap. vi. "It is worth notice," says the last author, "that the women, whether maids or married, and also the young men, entirely abstain from this vice;" but in North America, persons of all ages and sexes indulge without distinction. Hurons, chap. vi.

‖ The debauches of the southern Indians seldom produce quarrels; "but when tired of intemperance, they all lie down together, without minding whether near the wife of another, or their own sister, daughter," &c. Ulloa, ubi sup.

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To enumerate all the detached cuſtoms which have excited the wonder of travellers in North America, would be endleſs; but there is one, no leſs ſingular than general, which muſt not be omitted. When their parents and other relations become old, or labour under any infirmity which their ſlender knowledge of the healing art cannot remove, they cut ſhort their days with a violent hand, in order to be relieved from the burden of ſupporting and tending them. This practice prevails among the ruder tribes in every part of the continent, from Hudſon's Bay to the river De la Plata; and however ſhocking it may be to thoſe ſentiments of tenderneſs and attachment, which, in civilized life we are apt to conſider as congenial with our frame, the condition of man in the ſavage ſtate leads and reconciles him to it. The ſame hardſhips and difficulty of procuring ſubſiſtence, which as already noticed, deter ſavages, in ſome caſes, from rearing their children, prompts them to deſtroy the aged and infirm. The declining ſtate of the one is as helpleſs as the infancy of the other. The former are no leſs unable than the latter to perform the functions of a warrior or hunter, or to endure thoſe various diſtreſſes in which ſavages are ſo often involved by their want of foreſight and induſtry. Their relations feel this; and incapable of attending to the wants or weakneſſes of others, their impatience under an additional burden prompts them to extinguiſh that life which they find it difficult to ſuſtain. This is not regarded as a deed of cruelty, but as an act of mercy. An Indian broken with years and infirmities, conſcious that he can no longer depend upon the aid of thoſe around him, places himſelf contentedly in his grave; and it is by the hands of his children or neareſt relations that the thong is pulled, or the blow inflicted, which releaſes him for ever from the ſorrows of life *.

After contemplating the North Americans under ſo many different views, ariſing from their natural, moral, and political ſituation, it only remains to form a general eſtimate of their character, conſidered as rational beings. Were it to be regulated by the common ſtandard of European manners and ſentiments, the Americans would appear low indeed. But in place of vulgar opinion, we muſt ſubſtitute the canon of univerſal reaſon, and endeavour to do juſtice to the natives of the New World, as well as to human nature †. The earlieſt function of an animal combined with an intellectual nature, is to receive the informations of ſenſe; and one principal qualification of the living agent conſiſts in the force

* Caſſoni, Hiſt. de N. Reyn. de Granad. Guimilla, vol. I. Ellis, Voyage to Hudſon's Bay. Robertſon, Hiſt. Americ. book IV. De l'Eſprit par M. Helvetius.

† Dr. Robertſon, in forming ſuch an eſtimate, has not only made our preſent manners the criterion, but has extended all the peculiarities in the American character to the common nature of man: he has made him originally ſelfiſh, crafty, cruel, and unjuſt; he has ſuppoſed every virtue and every talent to be the effect of culture. In a word, it was only neceſſary for him to have gone one ſtep farther, or to have ſpoke out, and made every virtue the effect of the ſoftering dew of grace. The modern preſbyterians, by employing the arguments of Helvetius, a profeſſed materialiſt, in order to vilify human nature, not only endanger that religion which they mean to ſupport, but ſap the very foundation of morals; whereas by adhering to the antiquated practice of their

force and ſenſibility of his animal organs. On theſe qualities, and the ſtate of ſociety in which he is placed depend, in a great meaſure, the virtues and talents of man. In proportion to the wants which his condition accuſtoms him to feel, and the exertions in which thoſe engage him, his intellectual powers are called forth; and according to the connections which it eſtabliſhes between him and the reſt of his ſpecies, the affections of his heart are awakened.

It is only by attending to theſe two leading principles of organization and condition, allowing ſome ſmall matter for inſtinctive temper, that we can reaſon with any degree of propriety concerning the character of individuals or of nations. Confined within the narrow ſphere of what he deems neceſſary for ſupplying his own wants, the intellectual powers of man in the ſavage ſtate muſt be extremely limited in their operations. But how narrow ſoever the bounds may be within which the knowledge of a ſavage is circumſcribed, he poſſeſſes thoroughly that ſmall portion of it which he has attained. It was not communicated to him by formal inſtruction: he does not attend to it as mere matter of ſpeculation and curioſity; it is the reſult of his own obſervation, the fruit of his own experience, and accommodated to his condition and exigencies. While employed in the active occupations of war and hunting, he often finds himſelf in difficult and perilous ſituations, from which the efforts of his own ſagacity muſt extricate him: he is frequently engaged in meaſures where every ſtep depends upon his own ability to decide; where he muſt rely upon his own penetration to diſcern the dangers to which he is expoſed, and upon his own wiſdom in providing againſt them.

As the talents of individuals are exerciſed and improved by ſuch exertions, a conſiderable ſhare of political diſcernment is diſplayed by ſavages in conducting the affairs of their rude communities. The council of old men in an Indian tribe, deliberating on its intereſts, exhibits no imperfect image of the ſenate of more poliſhed republics; and much addreſs and eloquence are employed by the leaders, who aſpire at acquiring ſuch confidence with their countrymen as to have an aſcendant in theſe aſſemblies *. In reſolving with reſpect to peace and war their powers are more ſpecially called forth; and if their conſultations, on ſuch emergencies, are often more formal than wiſe, and their ſchemes leſs deep than deliberate, it is owing to the peculiar genius of the people, who are phlegmatic and dull beyond all nations, rather than to any circumſtance in their political

their apoſtle Calvin, in puſhing boldly home the ſcripture doctrine of original ſin, they would be equally ſucceſsful in robbing the human ſoul of its virtues, and conſequently regeneration would be no leſs neceſſary, at the ſame time that Chriſtianity and morality would be ſafe.—Dr. Ferguſon, whoſe benevolent heart diffuſes itſelf over all his ſpeculations, has fallen into a contrary error: he has aſcribed to the Americans all the virtues and talents of man in his rude ſtate, without making allowance for their phyſical inſenſibility or intellectual dulneſs. Both are warped by ſyſtem; and though it would be preſumption in the author of this work to place himſelf on a level with writers of ſuch ſuperior reputation, he hopes by ſteering a middle courſe, and occaſionally adopting the reaſonings of each, to draw a more juſt character of the natives of North America, than has been given by either.

* Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III.

BOOK IV. ſituation *. Yet on many occaſions, rouſed by ſuch national objects, they employ a bold and figurative language, little ſuited to their general temper. "We have planted the tree," ſaid one of their orators; "we have buried the axe under its roots: we will henceforth repoſe under its ſhade; we will join to brighten the chain that binds our nations together †."

From the qualities of the head, we naturally proceed to thoſe of the heart. The North Americans, as already obſerved, ſeem to poſſeſs leſs ſenſibility to the charms of beauty, and leſs ardour of deſire than the reſt of mankind. The indifference conſequent on this phyſical defect pervades their whole character. By rendering leſs intimate that union, whence all the charities of father, ſon, and brother firſt were known, the inferior relations are proportionally feeble. The affection of parents to their children is generally in proportion to the love between the parties; and where that is conſtantly languid, the family connexion muſt be imperfect, and the people but little acquainted with the feelings of compaſſion and mutual ſympathy. Such we find to be the caſe among the North Americans; who are in a great meaſure ſtrangers to thoſe good offices which ſtrengthen attachment, mollify the heart, and ſweeten the intercourſe of life, as well as to thoſe which the infirmities of our nature frequently exact. This, however, is not the effect of ſelfiſhneſs, but of a natural harſhneſs of temper, which is ſtill more conſpicuous in their treatment of the brute creation. Prior to their intercourſe with the people of Europe, they had ſome tame dogs, which

* When the North Americans hire themſelves as ſervants, they are obſerved to be leſs capable of improvement than the moſt ignorant Negroes juſt brought from the coaſt of Africa; and the moſt painful inſtruction, in the ſchools inſtituted for their benefit, has never been able to open their minds to ſcience. (Douglaſs. Hutchinſon.) This unaptneſs in the North Americans muſt be imputed chiefly to the bluntneſs of their organs; for their ſituation in early life, though not calculated to awaken the ſtrongeſt curioſity, affords ſufficient exerciſe both to the qualities of the heart and head, to fit their minds for inſtruction. Their firſt phyſical wants, according to Helvetius, the great preceptor of man, are more ſtrongly felt than in an improved ſtate of ſociety. They are obliged to ſtruggle with hunger and thirſt almoſt as ſoon as they have an exiſtence, and to provide for themſelves as ſoon as they can walk; they are obliged to contend with enemies, both brute and human, as ſoon as their arm has acquired ſtrength; and they are excited to ſurprize and entrap both, by the moſt powerful of all motives, ſelf-preſervation, ſeconded by the ſtrongeſt incentive that the human ſoul recognizes independent of its phyſical well-being, the approbation of the community to which they belong, and under whoſe eye they are immediately placed. Yet theſe men are leſs capable of further improvement, and endowed with fewer excellencies of heart and mind than perſons leſs favoured by their moral and political ſituation. What then remains, but to reject the debaſing ſyſtem of Helvetius and his diſciple Robertſon, that "the talents as well as the virtues of man depend entirely upon the ſtate of ſociety in which he is placed!"—(Hiſt. Americ. vol. I. p. 401.) Affection and force of mind muſt either be regarded as the inſpiration of God, and original attributes in the nature of man, or the ſoul itſelf muſt be conſidered as a material ſubſtance, under the dominion of chance; as a machine put in motion by phyſical ſenſibility, which muſt ſtop when that ſenſibility is exhauſted; which is liable to be ſeparated by external accidents, and which muſt diſſolve like the other parts of matter.

† Ferguſon, Eſſay on the Hiſt. of Civil Society, part III. ſect. viii.

accompanied

accompanied them in their hunting excurſions, and ſerved them with all the ardour and fidelity peculiar to their ſpecies; but inſtead of that fond attachment which the hunter commonly feels towards thoſe uſeful companions of his toils, the Indians requite their ſervices with neglect, ſeldom feed, and never careſs them *.

But the North Americans are by no means deſtitute of virtues, though they are not of the gentle kind. It was their favourite maxim, That no man is naturally indebted to another; and therefore is not obliged to bear any impoſition, or unequal treatment †. Thus, in a principle apparently ſullen and unhoſpitable, they have diſcovered the foundation of juſtice, and obſerve its rules with a ſteadineſs and candour which no cultivation has been found to improve ‡. The love of equality and the love of juſtice were originally the ſame; and although by the conſtitution of different ſocieties, unequal privileges are beſtowed upon their members, and although juſtice itſelf requires a proper regard to be paid to ſuch privileges, yet he who has forgotten that men were originally equal eaſily degenerates into a ſlave, or in the capacity of a maſter is not to be truſted with the rights of his fellow-creatures.

That happy principle, which gives to the mind an elevation unknown to the higheſt attendant upon royalty, is the pride of the Indian: he conſiders independency as the unalienable right of man. Incapable of controul, and diſdaining to acknowledge any ſuperior, though limited in his views, he acts upon many occaſions with aſtoniſhing force, and perſeverance, and dignity. This ſentiment is called forth into exertion by war, and directed by the ſpirit of patriotiſm, the ſtrongeſt paſſion in their nature, unleſs we except revenge. The North American tribes are ſmall; and therefore their political union is ſtrong, notwithſtanding their looſe mode of aſſociation. Conſtantly combined againſt their neighbours, in proſecution of ancient enmities, or in avenging recent wrongs, their common intereſts and operations conſpire to increaſe their attachment to their tribe, and to rouſe their reſentment againſt its enemies. Hence the ardour with which individuals undertake the moſt perilous ſervice, when the community deems it neceſſary; and hence that zeal for the honour of their country, which prompts them to brave danger, that it may triumph, and to endure the moſt exquiſite torments without a groan, that it may not be diſgraced.—In a word, though ſtern and inexorable, though regardleſs of the amiable plea of humanity in conducting their military operations, or in the treatment of their priſoners, their ardent affection to their nation; their contempt of ſuffering, and of death in its cauſe; and their manly apprehenſions of perſonal independence, render the North Americans a people worthy of admiration, though mingled with a ſenſation of horror. We will not perhaps withhold from them even a portion of our eſteem, if we reflect that war has not always been carried on with the ſame ſpirit

* Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III. Robertſon, Hiſt Americ. book IV.

† Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III.

‡ Id. ibid. Ferguſon, Eſſay on Civil Society, part II. ſec. ii.

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as in Modern Europe, where glory is more ſucceſsfully obtained by ſaving and protecting, than by deſtroying the vanquiſhed; and that the celebrated Greeks and Romans granted quarter only to enſlave, or like the Americans, to bring the priſoner to a more ſolemn execution.

But whatever may be our opinion of this ſingular people, we will not thereby have the pleaſure of mortifying them. They have at leaſt as great a contempt for our manners, as we can poſſibly have for theirs. There is not perhaps in the whole hiſtory of human nature, a circumſtance more remarkable than this mutual contempt which nations, under a different degree of civilization, beſtow upon each other. Addicted to their own purſuits, and conſidering their own condition as the moſt eligible, all nations pretend to a preference, and in their practice give ſufficient proof of their ſincerity. It was a proverbial imprecation among the hunting tribes on the confines of Siberia, that their enemy might be obliged to live like a Tartar, and be ſeized with the folly of breeding and attending his cattle. The Tartar himſelf, accuſtomed to roam over extenſive plains, and to ſubſiſt on the product of his herds, or by the pillage of more induſtrious nations, imprecates upon his enemy, as the greateſt of all curſes, That he may be condemned to reſide in one place, and to be nouriſhed by the top of a weed *. The North Americans, no leſs ſatisfied with their own lot, far from viewing that of men in a more improved ſtate with admiration or envy, regard themſelves as the ſtandard of excellence; as beings the beſt entitled, as well as beſt qualified to enjoy real happineſs, and give to others conſideration or eminence, in proportion only as they approach to their own condition. They behold with amazement the inequality of rank, and the ſubordination which takes place in civilized ſocieties, and conſider the ſubmiſſion of one man to another, as a renunciation, no leſs baſe than unaccountable, of his native rights. Delighted with that ſtate of indolent ſecurity in which they paſs the greater part of their time, they wonder at the anxious precautions, the unceaſing induſtry, and the complicated arrangements of Europeans, in guarding againſt diſtant evils, or providing for future wants, and execrate their prepoſterous folly, in thus multiplying the troubles and increaſing the labour of life †.

This preference of their own manners is conſpicuous among the North Americans on every occaſion. Even the names by which the various nations wiſh to be diſtinguiſhed, are aſſumed from ſuch an idea of their own pre-eminence. The appellation which the Iroquois or Mohawks give to themſelves, is "the Chief of Men ‡;" and the Cherokees, from an idea of their own ſuperiority call the Europeans *Nothings*, or the *accurſed race*, and congratulate their nation with the name of "the Beloved People ‖." Men thus ſatisfied with their own condition, even the ſavage ſtill leſs than the citizen, can be made to quit that manner of life in which he has been trained: he exults in that freedom of mind

* Abulg. Genealog. Hiſt. of the Tartars.

† Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III. La Hontan, tom. II.

‡ Colden, vol. I.

‖ Adair's Hiſt. of American Indians, p. 32.

which

which will not be bound to any taſk, and which owns no ſuperior. However ſtrongly tempted to mix with civilized nations, and to better his fortune; even where endeavours have been uſed to wean him from his original habits, and to render the accommodations of poliſhed life familiar to him; even where he has been allowed to taſte of thoſe pleaſures, and has been honoured with thoſe diſtinctions, which are the chief objects of our deſire, he ſeizes the firſt opportunity to break free from the reſtraints of law and politeneſs; the firſt moment of liberty brings him back to the woods again *. He droops and he pines in the ſtreets of the populous city; he wanders diſſatisfied over the open and cultivated field; he ſeeks the frontier and the foreſt, where, with a conſtitution prepared to endure the hardſhips and the difficulties of the ſituation, he enjoys a delicious exemption from care, and a ſeducing ſociety, where no rules of behaviour are preſcribed, but the ſimple dictates of the heart †.

Let us not hence however conclude, That the ſavage ſtate is more congenial to the nature of man, than the civilized; or that he poſſeſſes thoſe qualities, either of body or mind, which render him reſpectable or amiable, in the higheſt perfection in that ſtate ‡. Man is a plant that grows in all climates, and thrives in every ſoil, though in ſome more than in others; which is found wild in the foreſt, but which like all other plants, is improved by culture; which puts forth more vigorous ſhoots, and whoſe branches are more verdant and numerous; whoſe leaves and flowers are more beautiful, and thicker ſown; and whoſe fruit is not only more abundant, but of a finer flavour, and impregnated with more

* Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France, tom. III. Prevot, Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. p. 90, 91. Even where Indians have been reared from their cradle with the greateſt attention, and where the greateſt care has been taken by the miſſionaries to conceal from them all knowledge of the cuſtoms of their fathers, we are told by the ſame writers, that the *force of blood* has prevailed over education; that they no ſooner found themſelves at liberty, than they tore their cloaths in pieces, ruſhed into the woods, aſſociated themſelves with the wild Indians, and preferred their manner of life to that which they had formerly led. If this information may be depended upon, they muſt be poſſeſſed of an inſtinct ſimilar to that of other wild animals, which leads them to join their kind, as ſoon as an opportunity offers, though nurſed by a ſimilar ſpecies in domeſtic life.

† Ferguſon, Eſſay on the Hiſt. of Civil Society, part II. ſect. ii. Such are the convivial meetings of the Americans already mentioned; where dancing, drinking, and gaming are mingled, as in our public aſſemblies, and where every one behaves with as much freedom as at a maſquerade.

‡ It is a vulgar miſtake to ſuppoſe, that ſavages are ſtronger or more healthy than men in civilized nations, though they are generally more able to endure the inclemency of the weather. This hardineſs is the effect of their ſevere mode of life; which, after all, waſtes their conſtitutions, even more than regular labour. Their enjoyments and conveniencies are few; and their talents are neceſſarily confined, for want of objects to call forth their ingenuity, or excite their emulation and ambition. Whatever tends to improve the bodily powers of man, or to ſecure him againſt bodily pains, which proper food and cloathing certainly do, muſt contribute to his happineſs, and conſequently be congenial to his nature; and whatever invigorates his higheſt natural powers, that condition which affords the fulleſt exerciſe to reaſon and imagination, and the fineſt play to paſſion, muſt contribute to the perfection of the human character, as well as to the happineſs of the animal being.

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powerful juices, when ſheltered in the garden. It there retains all its native virtues, without the hardneſs of the wild ſtock. But if any attempt is made to make the tree bear above its ſtrength, or to improve the delicacy of the fruit beyond a certain degree, it degenerates: its branches fall off; its leaves and flowers wither, or become more flaunting than ornamental; and its fruit poſſeſſes neither its original pungent virtues, nor the more agreeable qualities communicated to it by culture. It is fair to the eye, but its heart is often corrupted, and its juices poiſonous.

CHAP. II.

The firſt Voyages of the Europeans *to* North America; *ſome abortive Attempts at Settlement, by the* French *and* Spaniards *in* Florida, *and the Eſtabliſhment of the* Engliſh *in* Virginia.

NO ſooner was the diſcovery of the New World by the Spaniards known in Europe, than the glory of Ferdinand and Iſabella became the object of univerſal envy, and other princes and ſtates began to turn their views towards that quarter. Among theſe was Henry VII. of England, whoſe commercial genius, prompted by the naval ſpirit of his people, had diſpoſed him to liſten to the overtures of Columbus *. Enraged at the diſappointment of his well-founded hopes, by an unexpected whirl of fortune, notwithſtanding his political foreſight, and the ready patronage which he had extended towards a needy and neglected adventurer, his thoughts could find no reſt until he diſcovered a competitor to the Genoeſe navigator. Such a competitor, and no unworthy one, he found in John Cabot, a Venetian mariner, who had long been ſettled in England. In conſequence of letters patent granted by Henry, in 1496, for diſcovering a Northweſt Paſſage to India by ſea †, Cabot ſet ſail from the port of Briſtol the ſpring following, in a veſſel fitted out by the king, and accompanied by three or four others, freighted by ſome merchants of that city. On the 24th of June he diſcovered land, to which he gave the name of Prima Viſta, becauſe it was the firſt he had ſeen. It happened to be part of the iſland now called Newfoundland. Cabot proceeded along the north ſhore of America till obſtructed by the ice; then turned towards the ſouth, and ſailed along the coaſt as far as Cape Florida, where his proviſions failing, he returned to Eng-

* Henry not only lent a favourable ear to the propoſals of Columbus, at a time when they were rejected by every other prince, but paid a friendly attention to his brother Bartholomew, by whom they were offered; and who having fallen into the hands of pyrate in his voyage from Spain, could not make ſuch an appearance as is moſt calculated either to inſpire reſpect, or procure confidence. The delay occaſioned by this circumſtance, and that only, deprived England of the honour of diſcovering America. See vol. I. p. 17 of this work.

† This, as we have more than once had occaſion to obſerve, was alſo the original object of Columbus. See vol. I. book I. chap. ii.



DRESS *and* HABITATIONS *of the* FLORIDIANS.

land with the fame of a diſcoverer, but without fulfilling the purpoſe of his voyage ‡.

This diſappointment, and the parſimonious temper of his royal patron, prevented Cabot from making any ſecond attempt to diſcover a northweſt paſſage to the rich countries of the Eaſt, which at that time attracted the avidity of all Europe. Nor did the king manifeſt any inclination to take poſſeſſion of the extenſive regions, which his ſubjects and ſervants had diſcovered. This inattention is ſomewhat ſurpriſing, as Henry was one of the moſt enlightened princes of his age; and it may be regarded as a proof, that men in thoſe days had no idea of deriving advantage from a diſtant uncultivated territory by means of colonization, unleſs where it was ſuppoſed to yield the precious metals. Of theſe the modeſt candour of Cabot ſeems to have given no hope; and the rigid frugality of Henry, which ever narrowed the circle of his politics, diſpoſed him little to projects, the benefit of which was ſo remote and doubtful.

It is leſs extraordinary that no attempt was made to derive advantage from the diſcoveries of Cabot during the three ſucceeding reigns. Henry VIII. in the earlier part of his life, was too intent upon gathering laurels on the continent of Europe to turn his views towards that of America; and during the latter part of it, the affairs of the church, and his own domeſtic uneaſineſſes, his marriages, divorces, and the public trial and execution of his wives, prevented him from attending to any other object *. The reign of Edward VI. was a ſhort and turbulent minority; and the matrimonial alliance of Mary with Philip II. of Spain, who extended his pretenſions over the whole New World, in conjunction with her cruel and bigotted ſpirit, which made England a ſcene of barbarity and horror, prevented her ſubjects from proſecuting diſtant enterpriſes, or herſelf from aſſerting the claims of her crown.

Elizabeth was not influenced by the ſame motives, nor were her ſubjects expoſed to the ſame inconveniences; but that intereſt which ſhe took in the affairs

‡ Hakluyt's Collect. vol. III. p. 4, 5. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XV. p. 91, 92. The compilers of the modern part of the Univerſal Hiſtory, and the celebrated author of the Account of European Settlements in America, repreſent this voyage as performed by Sebaſtian Cabot, a native of England; but though that young mariner, afterwards ſo famous, accompanied his father, he was not of an age to extend the limits of navigation. Could writers ſo generally well-informed be ignorant of a fact ſo well atteſted, or could the pitiful vanity of aſſigning the diſcovery of North America to a youth born in England, but of Venetian extraction, in preference to his father, from whom he derived his knowledge, and who was in the ſervice of the king of England, lead them to diſguiſe the truth?—But John Cabot had not only the honour of diſcovering North America, but of being the firſt man who got ſight of the Terra Firma of the New World, for Columbus did not diſcover any part of it till 1498; ſo that if priority of diſcovery could conſtitute a right to a country, inhabited by men who held their lands by the firſt and beſt of all titles, that of original preoccupancy, the Engliſh might lay claim to the whole American continent; and they are now in poſſeſſion of all that portion of which Cabot traverſed the ſhores.

* It was in this reign, however, and in the ſervice of Henry, that Sebaſtian Cabot, who had been for ſome time grand pilot of Caſtile, doubled the North Cape of Europe, and gave a beginning to the Engliſh Ruſſia trade and Greenland fiſhery. His object, in which he failed, was to diſcover a North-Eaſt Paſſage to India and China; a ſmall variation of his father's plan.

of

BOOK IV. of France, Scotland, and the Low Countries, where the proteſtants were ready to ſink under the bigotry and ambition of the houſe of Auſtria, confined her attention, and that of her people, almoſt entirely to the affairs of Europe. The animoſity, however, which this ſtruggle excited againſt Philip II. the head of that houſe, induced the Engliſh ſeamen to enter on board the Dutch privateers and ſhips of war, and even to commit hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards in their own veſſels, before war broke out between England and Spain, or the Armada, falſely named invincible, threatened the liberties of their country, and rouſed that juſt indignation which every Engliſhman, but more eſpecially every Engliſh ſailor, feels at the very name of Spaniard. The moſt diſtinguiſhed of theſe
A. D. 1514. was Francis Drake, who aſſaulted the Spaniards even in the New World, the place where they deemed themſelves moſt ſecure *. His ſucceſs excited the ambition and avarice of other adventurers; and the knowledge which was by theſe means acquired of the different parts of the American continent, ſuggeſted to the celebrated Walter Raleigh the idea of a ſettlement, within the limits of thoſe coaſts formerly viſited by John Cabot and his ſon Sebaſtian. But before we ſpeak of that ſettlement, we muſt notice the prior attempts of the other European powers to make diſcoveries or plant colonies in North America.

We have already had occaſion to mention the voyage of Ponce de Leon to Florida, in 1512 †. Ignorant that it had been viſited by any former navigator, and veſted with apoſtolic powers, he gave it the name it bears, and took formal poſſeſſion of it for the crown of Spain; but ſo little knowledge did he acquire of the country, though he found means to ſeize one of the natives, that he conſidered it as an iſland ‡. The vigorous oppoſition that he met with from

* Drake, who was a native of the county of Devon, had acquired conſiderable wealth by depredations committed againſt the Spaniards in the Iſthmus of Darien; and having there got a ſight of the Pacific Ocean, he was ſo ſtimulated by the love of riches and glory, that he did not ſcruple to employ his whole fortune in a new adventure, through ſeas at that time but little known to his countrymen, or to any European nation. Having obtained the queen's conſent, he accordingly ſet ſail from Plymouth in 1577, with four ſhips and a pinnace, on board of which were one hundred and ſixty-four able ſailors. He paſſed into the South Sea by the Straits of Magellan; and attacking the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in thoſe quarters, he took many rich prizes, and prepared to return with the booty which he had acquired: but apprehenſive of being intercepted by the people whom he had plundered, if he took the ſame way homewards that he had purſued in going thither, he attempted to find a paſſage by the north of California; and failing in that enterpriſe, he ſet ſail for the Eaſt Indies, and returned by the Cape of Good Hope in 1580. Hakluyt's Collect. vol. III. He was the firſt Engliſhman that ſailed round the globe, and the firſt commander in chief; for Magellan, whoſe ſhip made the ſame circuit, died in his paſſage, as we have already ſeen. Elizabeth conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the veſſel that had performed ſo memorable a voyage; and when the Spaniſh ambaſſador remonſtrated againſt Drake's piracies, ſhe told him, that the Spaniards, by arrogating a right to the whole New World, and excluding thence all other European nations, naturally tempted brave men to make a violent invaſion into thoſe countries. Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth.

† See vol. I. p. 50.

‡ Herrera, dec. I. lib. ix. c. 6.

the

the Indians prevented him from attempting any ſettlement, and as his chief motive for viſiting this country, as well as for ranging through the Bahama Iſlands, was a fond deſire of diſcovering the fabulous *Fountain of Youth* *, he ſeems to have given himſelf no farther concern about Florida. Nor did the Spaniards, who where ſtill unacquainted with every other part of North America, again viſit it before 1525, when Stephen Gomez, a navigator of ſome note, who had coaſted from the iſthmus of Darien, in queſt of the long-ſought paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies, landed towards Cape Florida, and inſidiouſly carried off ſome of the natives, whom he ſold for ſlaves. The ſame year Vaſquez Dayllon landed two hundred men on the coaſt of Florida, with a view to conqueſt as ſhould ſeem; but being a man of no conduct, the greater part of his followers were cut off, and the enterpriſe was abandoned †.

This diſaſter, and the unfavourable account given of the condition of the inhabitants by the Spaniards who eſcaped, made all thoughts of reducing the country be laid aſide. But in 1528, Pamphilo de Narvaez, deſirous of ſignalizing himſelf by ſome memorable achievement, and of wiping off the ſtain which his reputation had ſuffered by his unſucceſsful effort to diſpute with Cortez the conqueſt of Mexico, ſailed from Cuba with four hundred foot and eighty horſe, in four ſtout veſſels, in order to attempt the conqueſt of Florida. His anchoring place was ſo near land, that he could diſcover the huts of the natives from his ſhips: he went on ſhore to obſerve their temper: they fled on his approach, leaving behind them an utenſil made of gold. Concluding that all their utenſils were of the ſame metal, Narvaez diſembarked his troops with tranſport, and took a new poſſeſſion of the country for the crown of Spain. But he met with a melancholy diſappointment, in regard to its riches. After wandering from place to place, in queſt of what ſmall quantity of the precious metals the inhabitants had among them; after being hoſpitably entertained by ſome of the ſavage tribes, and repeatedly attacked on his march by others; after loſing the greater part of his men by hunger, thirſt, or the arrows of the Indians, he himſelf fell a ſacrifice to his credulous rapacity, and only four of his followers eſcaped to Mexico, to relate the diſaſtrous fate of the reſt ‡.

Such a ſucceſſion of unfortunate attempts did not deter Ferdinando Soto from projecting a new the conqueſt of Florida. The high reputation which he had acquired for courage and conduct, in different parts of the New World, induced Charles V. to beſtow on him the government of Cuba, that he might be the better enabled to carry his enterpriſe into execution; and his perſonal character, aided by the enthuſiaſm of the age, procured him a great number of followers of the firſt rank. He accordingly ſet ſail from Old Spain in ten ſhips; and after touching at the Havana, he diſembarked in the bay of Eſpiritu Santo, in 1539, the moſt formidable European army that had ever appeared in North America. It conſiſted of one thouſand foot and three hundred horſe. But in an immenſe country, thinly inhabited, and full of lakes, rivers, and marſhes, pa-

* Id. ibid. † Herrera, dec. III. book ii. chap 6. ‡ Herrara, dec. III. book iv. chap. 4. Hiſt. Conq. de la Florida, par Garcilaſſo de la Vega.

BOOK IV.

tience was almoſt the only military virtue which theſe adventurers had an opportunity of exerting; and their commander, who had been diſtinguiſhed by his humanity and generoſity, among the avaricious and bloody-minded conquerors of Peru, appears to leſs advantage in the wilds of Florida. Continually ſeduced, like Narvaez, by different and contradictory reports, in regard to the place where he ſhould find the precious metals, he wandered from diſtrict to diſtrict, and from tribe to tribe, without ever attempting an eſtabliſhment. In thoſe romantic expeditions, his army was waſted by famine and fatigue, as well as by the occaſional attacks of the Indians. He himſelf ſhared every danger and every toil: he bore more than his proportion in the common ſufferings. Amid theſe he was ſeized with a fever, which, with his life, put a period to his troubles and diſappointments; and the miſerable remnant of his troops arrived in floats, or boats little better, at Panuco on the coaſt of Mexico, in 1543 *. Not a Spaniard was left in Florida †, or at leaſt no ſubject of the crown of Spain.

This exception is made on account of the ſingular deſertion of Diego de Guzman, a gentleman of Seville. Being much addicted to gaming, and having loſt all he had at play, even to his arms, his horſe, and a beautiful Indian captive, of whom he was paſſionately fond, he abandoned his countrymen, in order to preſerve his miſtreſs, after delivering up every thing elſe. He took refuge in the territories of her father, who was a cazique, or Indian chief; and no entreaties could prevail on him to return, though he was promiſed the reſtitution of his horſe and arms, as well as the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of his girl. Enraged at ſuch a behaviour, Soto threatened the cazique with his ſevereſt vengeance, unleſs Guzman was delivered up. "I have done nothing," replied the generous Floridian, "to oblige this man to ſtay, neither ought I to compel him to depart. He has voluntarily attached himſelf to my family, and I will yield him the protection of a ſon. If, on this account, the leader of the ſtrangers ſhall ſee fit to ſlay the four Indian captains, ſent to him as the meſſengers of peace, and lay waſte my territories, he will only, like me, obey the dictates of inclination. He may do as he thinks proper: I cannot doubt of his power ‡." Soto was ſo much ſtruck with this anſwer, that he diſmiſſed the meſſengers, and gave up all thoughts of Guzman.

* Herrera, dec. IV. lib. vi. chap. 1. and lib. x. chap. 1, 2. Garcilaſſo, Conq. Florid. They ſubmitted themſelves to the mercy of the winds and waves, and were uncertain on what ſhore they ſhould land. Herrera, ubi ſup.

† The Spaniards at that time comprehended under the general name of Florida all the country that ſtretches from the bottom of the Gulph of Mexico to the other ſide of the promontary that narrows the channel of Bahama; but the ſcene of Soto's adventures appears to have been the preſent Weſt Florida and Louiſiana: and as a proof of his amazing perſeverance, we are told by Herrera, (who had his information from the account of the expedition tranſmitted to the king) that the Spaniards ſailed five hundred leagues down a great river, which muſt have been the Miſſiſippi, after building the boats in which they made their eſcape. When they arrived at the ſea they knew not were they were; a certain proof that they were unacquainted with the mouth of that river.

‡ Herrara, dec. IV. lib. x. chap. 1. Several of the chiefs in this country were hereditary princes, though their authority was very limited.

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One circumſtance that ought to have facilitated the progreſs of Soto was, the benefit of an intepreter. Soon after he landed, he met with John Ortis, one of Narvaez's followers, who had been taken priſoner, and whoſe ſuperior knowledge and ingenuity had enabled him to conciliate the affections of the Indians, notwithſtanding their hatred of his countrymen. Soto therefore was never ignorant of the ſentiments of the people, with whom he either negociated or contended. But though the natives of Florida and Louiſiana, as we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee, were in a more advanced ſtate of improvement than any other people in North America, their towns were but few and inconſiderable; their cultivated lands were confined to a few fertile ſpots in the neighbourhood of ſuch towns or villages, and their hunting grounds were extenſive and deſolate. The attempt to conquer ſuch a country was abſurd; and a man of Soto's abilities could never have fallen into ſuch an error, had he not hoped to diſcover in that immenſe continent ſo highly favoured by nature, ſome comparatively civilized people, ſuch as the Mexicans and Peruvians, with a large and opulent capital, whence the rude tribes had their gold and ſilver ornaments. Had he endeavoured at firſt to eſtabliſh a ſettlement, he had a force ſufficient to have inſured ſucceſs. The natives would have retired to a diſtance, and he might have taken poſſeſſion of any part of the ſea-coaſt he had thought proper. But the moſt enlightened Spaniard of that age, in invading any region in America, had no other ideas but thoſe of mines, conqueſt, and plunder; of ſubjecting to ſervitude the people whom he had pillaged, and enriching himſelf by their ſweat and their blood.

The next European expedition to Florida was planned with a very different view. Every one is acquainted with the cruel perſecutions which the French proteſtants, under the name of Hugonots, ſuffered during the reign of Charles IX. The admiral de Coligny, who was at once the head and ſoul of the party, and one of the greateſt and beſt men that France ever bred, anxious to diſcover ſome country, where his reformed brethren might find the means of proſperity, and enjoy their religious opinions in tranquillity, turned his eyes towards the New World. After an unſucceſsful attempt in 1556, to form ſuch an eſtabliſhment in Brazil, he fixed upon the fertile but neglected province of Florida, where no Spaniard had ſet his foot ſince the unfortunate expedition of Soto. To this province the French like the Engliſh, had ſome pretenſions, though of an inferior kind, as Verazzani, a Florentine navigator in the ſervice of Francis I. had traverſed in 1524 nearly the ſame ſhores that were formerly viſited by Cabot *. The Spaniards, who though unacquainted with the continent beyond Cape Florida, extended their claims as far as the pole, took offence at this voyage; which gave the facetious Francis occaſion to ſay, "What! ſhall the kings of Spain and Portugal quietly divide the New World between them, without ſuffering me to take a ſhare as a brother?—I ſhould be glad to ſee the article in Adam's will which bequeaths them this vaſt inheritance †."

* Hakluyt, Collect. vol. III. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIII.

† Raynal, liv. xv.

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James Cartier, a ſkilful mariner of St. Malo, reſumed in 1534, the diſcoveries of Verazzani, who was torn to pieces by the ſavages in his ſecond voyage. Cartier proceeded farther north than his predeceſſor, and obſerved the coaſt with more accuracy. He entered the river St. Laurence, and is ſaid to have exchanged ſome European commodities with the Indians on its banks, but returned to France without attempting any ſettlement *: and the religious diſputes which ſoon after diſtracted that kingdom, prevented any advantage from being taken of theſe diſcoveries, till the reign of Charles IX. when Coligny made uſe of them to favour his projected ſettlement in Florida; and the court, glad of any pretext to get quit of ſubjects which it held in abhorrence, readily granted its permiſſion, though it had nothing leſs at heart than the proſperity of ſuch an eſtabliſhment, or of ſupporting its own pretenſions againſt thoſe of the crown of Spain.

Coligny committed the execution of his ſcheme to John Ribaut, an experienced mariner, and a zealous proteſtant; who ſailed from Dieppe on the 18th day of February, 1562, with two veſſels well equipped and manned, and a body of volunteers on board, among whom were ſeveral gentlemen of good repute. Ribaut landed on the eaſt ſide of the promontory of Florida, on the firſt of May, and built a fort to which he gave the name of Charles, in honour of a king whom he hated, but for whom it was neceſſary to preſerve ſome appearance of reſpect. It was ſituated in the midſt of a delightful country, beneath a clear and temperate ſky, and the neighbouring ſavages were gentle and hoſpitable. Having marked out a ſettlement round his ſlender fortification, Ribaut committed the care of the infant colony to one of his officers named Albert, and returned to France towards the end of July. But it ſoon appeared, that he had made a very imprudent choice of a lieutenant. Albert, inſtead of cultivating the ground, and encouraging the breeding of cattle, for the ſubſiſtence of the people under his command, roved about the country in queſt of gold and ſilver mines, with all the improvident avidity of a Spaniard united to the levity of a Frenchman. He was no leſs tyrannical than inconſiderate. Thoſe who complained were ſeverely puniſhed, and ſuch as gave him umbrage were put to death. But all deſpotiſm muſt ſooner or later have a period; Albert, who had rendered himſelf univerſally odious, was aſſaſſinated, and no perſon inquired by what hand the blow was ſtruck. The perſon whom they choſe as his ſucceſſor was a prudent and moderate man: but things were gone too far to admit of a remedy without ſome aſſiſtance from Europe; and Ribaut not returning according to his promiſe, the miſerable ſettlers conſtructed a rude veſſel, and put to ſea. Their neceſſities increaſed; and they were reduced to the frightful expedient of feeding upon one another by caſting lots, when they were taken up by an Engliſh ſhip †.

Coligny, however, did not abandon his project. The delay of Ribaut had been occaſioned by the civil wars, which raged at that time with great violence in France. But theſe being now in ſome meaſure compoſed, and the court ſeemingly reconciled to the admiral, he obtained from the king three ſhips well

* Hakluyt, vol. III. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIII.

† Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV.

manned

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manned and victualled for carrying ſuccours to Fort Charles. Theſe were commanded by René Laudoniere, an officer of known merit, who had accompanied Ribaut to Florida, when the colony was firſt ſettled. On board were a great number of proteſtant mechanics, and gentlemen adventurers, but not one catholic. This precaution was prudently taken by Coligny, in order to prevent diſſentions among the new coloniſts.

Laudoniere ſailed from Havre de Grace on the 22d of April 1564, and arrived at Florida on the 22d of June. There it is conjectured * he was firſt informed of the fate of the former colony; but that is highly improbable from the diſtance of time that intervened between their deſertion and his ſailing. Coligny at leaſt could not be ignorant of it, though from political motives he might perhaps endeavour to conceal it from the court and the public in general, till after the departure of the new adventurers; but to have concealed it from the commander, would have been an inſtance of imprudence and want of confidence unworthy of ſo great a man. However this may have been, it is certain that Laudoniere did not land at Fort Charles, but at the mouth of a river to which Ribaut had given the name of May, and where he had erected a column with an inſcription in commemoration of his taking poſſeſſion of the country for the crown of France. Here he met with an Indian chief named Saturiova, whom he had formerly ſeen, and who received him with the warmeſt expreſſions of affection, mingled with ſorrow for the misfortunes of his friends who had been left in that country.

This friendly reception, together with the beauty and fertility of the neighbouring territory, induced Laudoniere entirely to neglect Fort Charles, and mark out the plan of a fort and ſettlement, to which he gave the name of Caroline, on the banks of the river May, about ſix miles from the ſea. Meanwhile no opportunity was loſt of acquiring information concerning the ſtate of the interior country; and as the ſavages ſoon perceived the avidity of the French for the precious metals, they continually referred them to remote regions and impracticable mountains, in order to get quit of ſuch troubleſome gueſts. Men are eaſily perſuaded to believe what they wiſh. They new coloniſts, ſeized with the general madneſs of ſearching for mines, neglected the labours of agriculture, and expoſed themſelves to incredible hardſhips and fatigues, in the purſuit of a viſionary good, when a real and permanent one was in their power. This inſanity reached even Laudoniere. Having received from Saturiova a ſmall piece of ſilver, he inquired of that chief, whence he received it. Saturiova, whoſe whole conduct exhibits a remarkable example of ſavage ſagacity, and who was well acquainted with the value which the French ſet upon gold and ſilver, replied that his own country yielded no ſuch metal; that it was the produce of a diſtant land, the chief of which, named Timopoa, was his mortal enemy. Laudoniere offered to aſſiſt him in ſubduing this enemy; and Saturiova promiſed, in that

* Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. p. 430

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event, to ſupply his new allies with as much gold and ſilver as they could deſire *.

The French commander fell into the ſnare; but repenting of the agreement which he had made, or willing to diſcover the mines before he engaged in hoſtilities, he ſent ſome friendly parties into the country to gather information. Theſe adventurers were outwitted by the more artful ſavages, who ſoon obtained all their merchandiſe, and repayed them with empty promiſes. One while they were directed towards the Apalachian mountains, where a yellow maſs was found which the French conjectured to be gold; at another, to the beds of certain rivers, where the ſame metal was rolled down in profuſion, but always to regions at a great diſtance from the people of whom they inquired. Meantime Saturiova, diſſatisfied with ſuch pacific meaſures, preſſed Laudoniere to remember his promiſe, to be the friend of his friends, and the enemy of his enemies. That commander excuſed himſelf, on account of the neceſſity of completing his fortification: and hence aroſe new diſcontents. The young gentlemen who had engaged in the expedition, and who had nothing before their eyes but the wealth of the New World, were enraged to find themſelves ſubjected, in a hot climate, to the toils of day-labourers. They mutinied; ſeized the governor's perſon; obliged him to ſign a commiſſion for them to commit depredations againſt the Spaniards; made themſelves maſters of two of his veſſels, and commenced pirates. Their ſucceſs did not correſpond with their expectations; one of their veſſels was taken by the Spaniards, the other returned to Fort Caroline, and part of the crew ſuffered death. Laudoniere ſpent his time in hunting after mines, in which he was perpetually deceived; and being diſappointed in the ſupplies he expected from France, the colony was reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions, as the ſavages were tired of feeding them.

A. D. 1565. In this extremity, when all the elements ſeemed to conſpire againſt the unfortunate coloniſts; when the game diſappeared in the foreſts, and the fiſh in the rivers and lakes †, four ſhips appeared in the mouth of the May. No conjecture was formed, but that they were come from France, and the joy of Laudoniere and his people was exceſſive. They were not, however, ſuffered to continue long in their error: their anxiety ſoon completed their diſappointment. They found them to be Engliſh veſſels, commanded by that celebrated navigator John Hawkins, who had put in there in queſt of water, of which he was in as great want as the French were of bread ‡. Far from taking advantage of the diſtreſſed condition of the colony, he yielded them all the aſſiſtance in his power, eſpecially when informed they were proteſtants. He even offered to convey them to

* Voyage de Laudoniere. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. p. 2 0. From the ineffectual efforts ſince made to diſcover mines in this country, it is probable that the gold and ſilver ornaments found among the Indians had been procured from the wreck of ſome Spaniſh veſſels upon their coaſt, or brought from Mexico.

† Laudoniere, Voyage. It is truly ſurpriſing, ſays this author, that in all our diſtreſs no one ever thought of cultivating the ground; and yet this was what Coligny chiefly recommended to them.

‡ Id. ibid.

France;

France; and diffidence only prevented Laudoniere from gratefully embracing the propoſal. His leſs generous mind could not conceive, that ſo liberal an offer could be made without ſome intereſted deſign. He bargained however with Hawkins for ſome proviſions and one of his ſhips, in which he propoſed to embark for Europe, as ſoon as they had demoliſhed the fort; concluding that they were entirely forgot both by the admiral and the court.

When Laudoniere and his people were ready to put to ſea, they diſcovered ſeveral ſhips approaching the coaſt. They returned to the fort, and endeavoured to put the ruined works in ſome ſtate of defence. But to their inexpreſſible joy, they ſoon perceived that their precautions were unneceſſary. The ſhips belonged to Ribaut, who had been diſpatched from France with a fleet of ſeven veſſels, in order to ſuccour the infant colony. Among the adventurers were many military gentlemen, who had been out of employment, in conſequence of the peace between the two religions; and Coligny had taken the ſame precaution as formerly, to exclude catholics *. But the joy of Laudoniere, on this occaſion, was mixed with anxiety. He did not doubt but his conduct had been miſrepreſented to the admiral and the king; and the firſt interview with Ribaut confirmed his fears. He learned that his behaviour had been painted in the moſt odious colours, and even his fidelity called in queſtion. Ribaut, however, on hearing his ſtory, was ſo fully convinced of his innocence, that he offered to leave him the command of Fort Caroline, and to found a new ſettlement for himſelf; but Laudoniere peremptorily inſiſted on returning to France, and vindicating himſelf to the court †.

While things were in this ſituation, before Fort Caroline was rebuilt, or Laudoniere ready to depart, and while the four largeſt French ſhips lay in the road, as they could not paſs the bar of the river, ſix Spaniſh veſſels appeared in view, and alſo came to an anchor in the mouth of the May. This fleet was commanded by Don Pedro Menendez de Avilez, a knight of the order of St. Jago. His arrival was not occaſioned, like that of Hawkins, by one of the common accidents of navigation: it was of a ſerious and deliberate nature; it was the effect of cauſes, and followed by conſequences of the utmoſt importance in the hiſtory of America and of mankind.

Menendez, whoſe character will more fully appear from his actions, was a brave and able officer, but a wild fanatic in religious matters. Popery and bigotry had extinguiſhed every ſpark of humanity in his breaſt. Thoſe qualities, joined to an extraordinary gravity of behaviour, recommended him to Philip II. who ſent for him at a time when he was in diſgrace with the courtiers, and appointed him to go to Florida, to examine carefully and take an exact chart of the coaſts, in order to prevent the frequent ſhip wrecks in the Channel of Bahama, and parts adjacent. Encouraged by this flattering attention, Menendez took occaſion to recommend a ſettlement in ſo fine a country, ſtill poſſeſſed by idolaters. It would give him pleaſure, he ſaid, to ſpend the laſt drop of his blood in ſpreading the true religion, and extending his majeſty's dominions. Philip caught the

* Laudoniere, Voyages. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. p. 446, 447.
† Id. ibid.

flame.

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flame. Menendez was empowered to plant a colony in Florida, and honoured with the title, as well as veſted with the privileges of Adelantado. He loſt no time in making preparations for his voyage; but before he was ready to ſail, Philip got intelligence of the proteſtant ſettlement. Menendez was called once more into the royal preſence, where, after the matter had been explained to him, the king obſerved that a greater force would be requiſite to expel the heretics from Florida, than was neceſſary for a ſimple ſettlement; that ſuitable preparations ſhould be made, and the expence defrayed out of the treaſury. The zeal of Menendez was roufed: he urged the neceſſity of ſetting ſail, and of deſtroying the heretics before they had time to fortify themſelves; and having publiſhed the purpoſe of his expedition, to which he gave the air of a cruſade, he was ſoon joined by a crowd of adventurers. The king only furniſhed one great galleon, and two hundred and fifty men. Menendez had ten ſhips of his own; and before he paſſed the Canaries, the number of his followers amounted to two thouſand.

This fanatical fleet was ſcattered in a ſtorm. Only ſix veſſels, and theſe much damaged, could be collected when they arrived in the Weſt-Indies. A council of war was held to deliberate on their future proceedings. After obſerving with a groan, that their force was now diminiſhed more than one half, Menendez repreſented to them, that it was neither intereſt nor ambition, but zeal for the glory of God, which had induced him to engage in that enterprize; and as ſuch was the purity of his intention, he thought he might venture to explain the myſtery of the misfortunes that had befallen them. "God," ſaid he, "is not willing that man ſhould divide with him the ſucceſs of the expedition: he will have it viſible, that it is his own work; that it is acquired by the ſtrength of his almighty arm. I therefore recommend that, weak as we are, an immediate attack be made upon the heretics in Florida *." His opinion was unanimouſly agreed to; and after viſiting ſeveral parts on the coaſt, and ſurveying, with a view to a future ſettlement, the mouth of a river, to which he gave the name of St. Auguſtine, he ſailed to the entrance of the May, where the French fleet, as already mentioned, was riding at anchor.

The ſubſequent events are big with horror. The four French ſhips that were without the bar, having cut their cables, found means to eſcape the inſidious ſnares of Menendez, who at firſt pretended to treat them as friends; and the Spaniards ſeeing five ſmaller veſſels at anchor before the fort, and the military drawn up in order, thought proper to decline the attack, and retire to the river St. Auguſtine. The four large ſhips now returned, and the French might have ſet their enemies at defiance, had not Ribaut determined to attack Menendez by ſea. By this imprudent ſtep he divided his ſtrength, and expoſed the colony to that ruin which overtook it. A ſtorm drove him from the mouth of the river St. Auguſtine, when he had a chance of making himſelf maſter of the Spaniſh fleet; and, Menendez by a bold piece of generalſhip, left his ſhips and his new

* Gonzal. Barcia, Hiſt. de la Florid.

ſtation,

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ſtation, and marched over land to Fort Caroline, took it by ſurpriſe, and put all who fell into his hands to the ſword. Men, women, and children periſhed by one undiſtinguiſhed ſlaughter; and ſuch as were afterwards taken, or who ſurrendered themſelves, he ordered to be hanged upon a tree, with this inſcription over them: "Not as Frenchmen, but as heretics, and enemies of God *.

Menendez now finding himſelf maſter of the French ſettlement, gave to Fort Caroline the name of St. Mattheo, and ſubſtituted the arms of Spain in place of thoſe of France, and of the admiral de Coligny, which were placed over the principal gate. In the review which he made of his troops, he found only thirty men fit for active ſervice; ſo great were the hardſhips which they had undergone, while animated by fanaticiſm, in that deſperate expedition! With theſe he marched back to his fleet, leaving the government of St. Mattheo to Gonzalo Villerval, ſerjeant-major, with a garriſon of three hundred men. His return to St. Auguſtine, was the cauſe of the moſt extravagant joy and exultation. All the military, preceded by the clergy, with the croſs exalted, went out to meet the vanquiſher of the heretics, and conducted him into the place in triumph †.

But the happineſs of Menendez was diſturbed by ſeveral untoward accidents. A fire reduced to aſhes almoſt all the buildings at St. Mattheo. Soon after, the garriſon of that place mutinied, and was with difficulty reduced to obedience. Nor were theſe his only misfortunes. The St. Pelage, his largeſt ſhip, on board of which he had embarked ſome French priſoners, taken on his arrival in Florida, in order that they might be tried, or rather tortured by the inquiſition in Hiſpaniola, was carried off by the captives, who had maſtered the crew, and he was joined by none of the ſhips that had been ſeparated from his fleet in the voyage. His apprehenſions of a viſit from Ribaut, which had haſtened his return to St. Auguſtine, gave him farther uneaſineſs. But his fears on that head were ſoon quieted.

The ſtorm which had driven the French commander and his fleet from the intended attack upon the Spaniards, had carried him to the Channel of Bahama, where all his ſhips were ſhattered to pieces upon the rocks. Ribaut however, and the greateſt part of the ſoldiers and ſailors ſaved their lives, but nothing elſe. Deſtitute of arms or proviſions, in an unknown country, and with no other guide but the ſun and ſtars to direct their courſe to Fort Caroline, their miſeries were inexpreſſible; and when they arrived at the river May, where they hoped to join their countrymen, and find ſome conſolation after their unparelled ſufferings, they perceived the Spaniſh colours flying on the fort. How to proceed in this extremity of their fortune, might have been doubtful to men with arms in their hands, and leſs exhauſted by famine and fatigue: they might have attempted to recover the ſettlement, or at leaſt have determined reſolutely to defend themſelves, and maintain their independency till relief ſhould come from Europe.

* Hiſt. Gon. dez Voyages, tom XIV. p. 438. Laudoniere, and a few others, made their eſcape in a ſmall veſſel.

† Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. p. 439.

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But the ſituation of Ribaut and his companions did not admit of ſuch a conduct. He therefore ſent two of his officers to learn the fate of Laudoniere, and demand what terms they might expect. They were carried before the governor, and told, that Laudoniere and his garriſon had been ſent in a good ſhip to France; and that if Ribaut and his party would ſurrender themſelves, they ſhould receive the ſame mild treatment.

On the return of the meſſengers, the French were divided in their opinions: they were ſenſible of the bigotted inveteracy of the Spaniards, and how meritorious they held it to keep no faith with heretics. Another officer was ſent to the governor, or commander in chief, who proved it is ſaid to be Menendez himſelf, and who confirmed his former promiſe with an oath, on the conditions preſcribed. The French heſitated no longer. They agreed to deliver themſelves into the hands of the Spaniards, and boats were ſent to carry them acroſs the river. But no ſooner were they embarked, than they perceived that they were betrayed; and when they landed, they were tied four and four together. Ribaut endeavoured to expoſtulate with the Spaniſh officers on this treatment, and deſired that he might be carried before the governor; but inſtead of receiving any ſatisfaction, a Spaniſh ſoldier came up to him, and aſked if he was the French general. He readily anſwered in the affirmative. "Did you not then," replied the ſoldier, "require that thoſe under your command ſhould punctually obey your orders."—"Without doubt," ſaid Ribaut, who did not comprehend the purport of this converſation. "Be not then ſurpriſed," added the Spaniard, "if I alſo execute the orders of my commander;"—and inſtantly plunged a poignard into his heart. This was a ſignal for the Spaniſh troops, who threw themſelves ſword in hand upon the defenceleſs Frenchmen, and in a moment they were all ſlain *.

From the moſt impartial review of theſe horrible tranſactions, it ſeems demonſtrable, that Menendez took no ſtep but with the occurrence of the court of France, which conſidered the proteſtants in Florida as the worſt of rebels and traitors, though they had been ſettled there under the charter, and by the authority of Charles IX. The character of this prince is well known: the maſſacre at Fort Caroline, ſeems to have been but a prelude to the maſſacre of Paris, and the butchery on the banks of the May to thoſe which followed on the banks of the Seine. Foreign nations, however, were ſurpriſed that Charles did not reſent, at leaſt in appearance, the inſult offered to his crown and dignity; and all that has been urged in his vindication is, that his connexions with Spain at that time did not admit of a different conduct. His connexions with that crown were indeed of the moſt infamous kind: nothing leſs was concerted between him and Philip, than a league for extirpating the whole proteſtant party, both in the Old and New World. But the cauſe of his ſlaughtered ſubjects was not neglected. Vengeance overtook the aſſaſſins; and juſtice, though not veſted with the authority of law, was inflicted by the hand of a catholic on the bloodthirſty

* Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. The Spaniſh account of theſe barbarities differs in ſome trifling particulars, but the cataſtrophe is the ſame.

zealots

zealots of the Romiſh church in America, while Charles was maturing his plot for the deſtruction of the proteſtants in Europe.

The author of this vengeance was Dominique de Gourgues, a gentleman of Gaſcony, who had ſerved with diſtinguiſhed intrepidity againſt the Spaniards in Italy. His fortune, however, was not equal to his valour. Having the command of a detachment of thirty men, he was beſet by a ſuperior force, and taken priſoner; and ſuch was the animoſity of the Spaniards againſt his country or himſelf, on account of the ſlaughter which he had made before he ſurrendered, that, contrary to the laws of war, he was chained to the oar of a galley. As a farther misfortune, that galley was taken by the Turks, and de Gourgues was carried to Conſtantinople: but being afterwards ſent to ſea, ſhe was retaken by the Malteſe, in conſequence of which event he recovered his liberty. From motives which no hiſtorian has pretended to reveal, he afterwards went to the coaſt of Africa, to Brazil, and ſeveral other places, in the character of a naval officer; probably in conſequence of that taſte which he might acquire for the ſea during his ſervitude.

But whatever was the object of thoſe voyages, or whatever advantage De Gourgues might derive from them, it is certain that, on his return to France, he was reputed one of the ableſt and boldeſt navigators of his age. No ſooner was he informed of the maſſacre of the French in Florida, than the remembrance of his former injuries ruſhed up in his mind; and theſe mingled with an ardent zeal for the honour of his country, made him determine to employ his whole fortune, and hazard the laſt drop of his blood, in order to inflict vengeance upon the Spaniards. In conſequence of this reſolution, he converted his whole ſubſtance into ready money, and likewiſe took up large ſums upon credit. By theſe means he was enabled to build three frigates, on board of which he embarked one hundred and fifty ſoldiers and military adventurers, moſt of whom were gentlemen, and eighty ſailors. His ſhips drew very little water, and were ſo conſtructed that they could be worked by oars in a calm; ſo that they were proper for entering the mouths of rivers, and every way fitted for his purpoſe.

With this ſmall armament, De Gourgues ſailed from Bourdeaux on the ſecond of Auguſt 1567, but did not get clear of the coaſt of France till towards the end of the month. Hitherto his deſtination had been a ſecret to all the world, and was ſtill ſo even to his own followers, though they believed that he had in view ſome object of very great importance. In order to conceal his real intentions, he had obtained a commiſſion from the king's lieutenant of Guienne, to trade to the coaſt of Africa for ſlaves; but no ſooner did he reach Cape de Verd, than he turned ſuddenly off towards America. After weathering a variety of ſtorms, he happily arrived at Cape St. Anthony, the weſtern extremity of the iſland of Cuba. Here he unboſomed himſelf to his people. He began with painting in the ſtrongeſt colours, the cruelties which the Spaniards had exerciſed againſt the French in Florida. "Companions," ſaid he, "you know the crime of our enemies: how great will be ours, if we longer defer to vindicate the honour of the French nation!—It is with this view that I have diſpoſed of all my property, and

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and have even emptied the purſes of my friends. I have placed my confidence in you; I have ſuppoſed you ſufficiently jealous of the glory of your country, to ſacrifice for it even your lives. Am I deceived? I will engage to ſet you an example; to be continually at your head; to be firſt where danger calls. Is there any one that will refuſe to follow me *?"

The boldneſs of this propoſal at firſt occaſioned ſome aſtoniſhment; but the military ardour of the young officers breaking ſuddenly forth into tranſports of joy, the whole company declared, that they were determined to live or die with their commander. De Gourgues did not permit that ardour which he had excited to cool. He took the opportunity of the firſt fair wind to paſs through the Channel of Bahama, and found the Spaniards in ſuch profound ſecurity in Florida, that they did not ſo much as ſuſpect that any but their own ſhips could viſit that coaſt. They ſaluted him as he paſſed the mouth of the river May, to which they give the name of St. Juan †; a civility which he took care to return. He landed about fifteen leagues to the eaſt of that river, and was joyfully received by Saturiova, the ancient ally of the French, and other Indian chiefs, who were violently incenſed againſt the Spaniards. By their aſſiſtance, and the valour of his own people, he took St. Mattheo, though ſtrengthened with additional works, guarded by two new forts, and garriſoned with four hundred men, the greater part of whom were put to the ſword; and the reſt were only ſpared, that they might fall more deliberately by the hand of the executioner. He led them to the place where the French had been maſſacred, reproached them with their cruelty and perfidy, and by way of retaliation, ordered them to be hanged upon a tree, with this inſcription over them, in anſwer to that formerly uſed by Menendez:---" Not as Spaniards, or as the ſpawn of Infidels, but as traitors, robbers, and murderers ‡.

After this terrible example of retributive juſtice, De Gourgues prepared to return to Europe. He was ſenſible that he had not ſufficient force to defend himſelf againſt the power of Spain in the New World: he was uncertain when he ſhould receive any ſuccours, or even proviſions; and though the Indians, filled with admiration of his valour, and delighted with a mode of proceeding ſo ſimilar to their own, loaded him with careſſes, he was afraid to truſt to their friendſhip. When he arrived in France, his conduct was ſo generally applauded by people of all ranks, catholics as well as proteſtants, that the court durſt not inflict on him that puniſhment to which it was ſo much inclined. But the civil wars in which that kingdom was long involved, and the awful fate that overtook Coligny and moſt of the diſtinguiſhed leaders of the proteſtant party, in the general maſſacre of their religious brethren, prevented the French from aſſerting their claims to Florida, or attempting any ſettlement there. It is even doubted, whe-

* Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. p. 449.

† This practice of changing the names of rivers and ſettlements has been very common among the European nations in America, and occaſions great confuſion in hiſtory as well as geography.

‡ Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. X.



Engraved by J. & J. Sutton

ther the Spaniards had yet eſtabliſhed themſelves at St. Auguſtine, though they had for ſome time made it a military ſtation, and it is at leaſt certain, as we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee, that it was long no more than a fort, to prevent other nations from ſettling in the country. In the meantime we muſt ſpeak of ſettlements eſtabliſhed with a very different view, and in whoſe exiſtence mankind are more intereſted.

The Engliſh, during the courſe of their depredations againſt the Spaniards, become more fully ſenſible, as already obſerved, of the wealth of the New World, as well as more perfectly acquainted with the coaſts of thoſe countries to which they had a claim, began to turn their eyes towards that quarter. Their attention was farther awakened by the hoſtilities between the French and Spaniards in Florida. A territory which had occaſioned the ſhedding of ſo much blood, it was thought muſt be of extraordinary value; and it was not doubted, but the neighbouring countries were equally rich: for every part of America was ſuppoſed to abound in mines of gold and ſilver. Mr. Raleigh, afterwards the famous Sir Walter, willing that England ſhould ſhare in thoſe treaſures, projected a ſettlement on the eaſtern coaſt of the North American continent. That talent which he poſſeſſed in ſo eminent a degree of bringing others over to his own opinion, by repreſenting every object in a ſtriking light, ſoon procured him aſſociates both at court and among the merchants. The company that was formed in conſequence of his magnificent promiſes, obtained from queen Elizabeth, in 1584, a patent* conformable to their views; and the ſame year they ſent out two ſhips, commanded by Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, who came to an anchor in the Bay of Roanoke, in North Carolina. Theſe two commanders took formal poſſeſſion of the country for the crown of England; and worthy of the truſt repoſed in them, behaved with much affability and generoſity to the natives, allowing them to make their own terms in what little commerce they carried on with them. The Indians did not fail to expreſs their ſenſe of ſuch civilities by a correſponding behaviour. The adventurers were treated with great kindneſs, and returned to England highly pleaſed with their reception, but without attempting any ſettlement †.

The account which thoſe ſucceſsful navigators gave of the country that they had viſited was highly favourable; and Raleigh took care no doubt to embelliſh the deſcription. They had not indeed ſeen any gold, but the ſoil was ſo

* In this patent the queen reſerves to herſelf a fifth of all the gold and ſilver, that ſhould be diſcovered; a certain proof that mines were the chief object of the adventurers. Yet Raleigh is ſaid, by the celebrated author of the Account of the European Settlements, to have looked beyond his age, and to have foreſeen all the future advantages of England from her colonies; but this, conjoined with the account which he gave of the country, is poſitive evidence, that he was only the dupe of its prejudices. His temper was too fervid, and his mind too romantic, to found any project upon the ſlow but ſure advantages of patient induſtry. Such advantages were never indeed perfectly underſtood, till thoſe who fled from civil and religious tyranny had worked out their ſalvation and independency amid the wilds of nature. We ſhall afterwards have occaſion to elucidate this ſubject.

† Purchas, Pilg. vol. IV. Hakluyt, vol. III.

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fertile, the climate ſo mild, and the inhabitants ſo gentle, that every thing was to be hoped from ſo fortunate a diſcovery. The nation was all on fire at the proſpect which was offered to its avidity. Even the queen herſelf was ſo much delighted with it, that, notwithſtanding the hoſtilities in which ſhe was engaged againſt Spain, ſhe promiſed powerfully to ſupport the adventurers; and in order to encourage them, by a flattering mark of her favour and protection, ſhe knighted Raleigh, and conſented that the country ſhould be called VIRGINIA, in honour of one of her moſt ſuſpected qualities *.

A D. 1585. The Spring following Sir Richard Grenville, Raleigh's principal aſſociate, ſailed from Plymouth with a fleet of ſeven ſhips, well provided with victuals, arms, ſtores, and a conſiderable number of volunteers, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a ſettlement. Grenville after touching at different parts, upon the coaſt of North America, landed at the iſland of Roanoke; where, after making ſome experiments upon the ſoil, he left an hundred and eight men, under the command of Ralph Lane, and returned to England. This officer, though unfortunate, was not unworthy of the charge committed to him. He was equally diligent and enterpriſing. Had he poſſeſſed leſs of the latter talent, perhaps it would have fared better with the colony. But we ought not to regulate our judgments by the ſucceſs of events, ſo much as by the apparent expediency of the meaſures, and the ability with which they are executed.

Soon after the departure of Sir Richard Grenville, captain Lane prepared to make diſcoveries on the continent. With this view he proceeded in a boat along the coaſt to Cape Henry, at the entrance of the Bay of Cheſapeak, without the leaſt obſtruction or moleſtation from the natives. His ſucceſs encouraged him to extend his obſervations towards the weſt, but there he was leſs fortunate. The inhabitants, on his approach, ſet fire to their fields of maize, and retired with their families from the banks of the river Morotuc. It was evident that they were become jealous of the Engliſh, and ſuſpected their deſign of ſettling in the country. Lane however was not diſcouraged by theſe threatening appearances. He relied on the advice and influence of Wingina, an Indian chief who profeſſed great friendſhip for the Engliſh. This artful barbarian perſuaded him, that near the ſource of the river Morotuc, now called Roanoke, he would meet with great quantities of gold, and find a paſſage to a vaſt ocean, on the ſhores of which pearls were found in profuſion. Flattered with this fallacious hope, Lane purſued his courſe in boats up that river; and imagining he ſhould be ſupplied with proviſions by the natives on its banks, neglected to take a ſufficient quantity along with him; in conſequence of which want of precaution, he was reduced to the greateſt extremity by famine. After rowing four days againſt a ſtrong current, he found the country wholly deſerted and laid waſte by the inhabitants; but impelled by the thirſt of gold, he purſued his voyage under the auſpices of the guides furniſhed by the treacherous Wingina, until his crew, worn out with hunger and fatigue, obliged him to return.

* Id. ibid.

When

CHAP. II.
A. D. 1586.

When captain Lane arrived at the iſland of Roanoke, the inſidious Wingina pretended great ſorrow for his diſappointment; and counterfeited ſo well, that he was again received into favour, and thereby furniſhed with the opportunity of ſetting on foot freſh machinations. He entered into private confederacies with the other Indian chiefs, and ſecretly prohibited his own ſubjects from ſupplying the Engliſh with proviſions. He hoped, by this conduct, to oblige them to divide into ſmall parties in ſearch of ſubſiſtence, and in that ſtraggling form to cut them off. Happily the conſpiracy was diſcovered, and Wingina taken priſoner. But the iſſue muſt nevertheleſs have proved fatal to the coloniſts, as they were now involved in open war with the natives, had not Sir Francis Drake ſeaſonably arrived on the coaſt. This gallant ſeaman had been intruſted with the command of a fleet to diſtreſs the Spaniards in the New World, in which ſervice he ſucceeded even beyond his higheſt hopes, or thoſe of the nation. He took ſucceſſively St. Jago, Carthagena, St. Domingo, and burnt the two Spaniſh ſettlements, or forts, on the coaſt of Florida. He had been ordered to afford the colony at Roanoke all the aſſiſtance their ſituation might require. But he had no idea of their wretched ſtate, which filled him at once with aſtoniſhment and compaſſion. He furniſhed them, at the deſire of captain Lane, with proviſions for four months, and a ſmall veſſel, well manned and equipped, in order to make diſcoveries upon the continent, or in caſe of neceſſity, to tranſport them to England. A ſtorm, however, ſuddenly aroſe, and that veſſel was wrecked upon the coaſt. This accident they conſidered as a declaration of Heaven againſt their eſtabliſhment. In vain did Drake offer another ſhip to men worn out with fatigues and diſappointments, and labouring under that infirmity of mind, which is their common attendant: they entreated him to take them on board his fleet; and the readineſs with which he humanely complied, made a ſettlement be abandoned which at firſt had a proſperous aſpect *.

Meanwhile the aſſociates, zealous for the ſupport of the new colony, on which they reſted great expectations both of wealth and fame, had fitted out four ſhips to tranſport men and proviſions to Virginia; for ſo all the country was then called, from the borders of Florida to the river St. Laurence. Sir Walter Raleigh took the reſolution of viſiting this country in perſon †; and the ſhip which he was to command being firſt ready, his impatience to viſit his favourite

* Hakluyt, Collect. vol. III. Purchas, Pilg. vol. IV. Captain Lane and his people brought over ſome tobacco with them, which Camden conjectures to have been the firſt ſeen in England. But it is highly improbable that the Engliſh could be ignorant of a plant, the uſe of which, in various ways, had ſo long been conſidered as an indulgence by the Spaniards. The intercourſe of nations, at that time, was not ſo imperfect as to admit of ſuch a ſuppoſition. It is certain, however, that the example of Sir Walter Raleigh, whoſe accompliſhments as a gentleman and a ſcholar were alike ſplendid, firſt made the habit of ſmoking faſhionable in this iſland; and many humorous anecdotes are told of the ſurpriſe which it occaſioned among the vulgar. Vid. Life of Raleigh by Oldys.

† It is aſſerted by ſome writers that Raleigh never viſited this country; but it would be offering the higheſt inſult to the labours of Hakluyt, De Bry, and Prevot, to ſuppoſe they could ſervilely repeat the ſame blunder.

ſettle-

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ſettlement made him immediately ſet ſail. He touched at Cape Hatteras, a little to the ſouth of Roanoke; but after ſearching in different places along the coaſt, without being able to diſcover one Engliſhman, he left in chagrine a country which had proved ſo unpropitious to his ſanguine hopes. Sir Richard Grenville, who had ſailed about a fortnight later, arrived at the iſland of Roanoke with the other three ſhips, but could hear nothing of the colony which he had planted there the year before. Unwilling, however, to loſe poſſeſſion of the country, he ventured to leave fifty men on that iſland, in order to give a beginning to a new ſettlement; and having furniſhed them with proviſions for two years, and arms for their protection, he returned to England, little more ſatisfied with his expedition than Raleigh.

Early in the year 1587, captain John White was diſpatched with three ſhips, laden not only with proviſions and ſtores, but carrying a conſiderable number both of male and female adventurers, in order to give a regular form to the colony. He had orders to remain at the ſettlement, in the character of governor, and to employ all his endeavours to conciliate the affections of the Indians: but on his arrival at Roanoke, he had the mortification to find only the bones of one of his countrymen, as he conjectured, near the fort, which was defaced; and the houſes were overgrown with weeds. The fifty men left there by Grenville had been all ſlaughtered by the natives. But White, who was a man of a firm character, far from being diſcouraged by this freſh diſaſter, took up his habitation on the ſame ſpot; and his example was followed by the other coloniſts. Moneto, a friendly Indian, who had accompanied Amidas and Barlow to England, was baptized, and ſtiled Lord of Daſſamonpeake, the name of the nation to which he belonged: and this meaſure proved the means of conciliating the neighbouring tribes, with whom alliances were formed. The coloniſts, in conſequence of a charter from the company, now formed themſelves into a corporation, under the name of the "Governor and Aſſiſtants of the City of Raleigh in Virginia*." Union was eſtabliſhed; and every thing ſeemed to promiſe proſperity to the ſettlement, when the want of ſupplies made it neceſſary for the governor to return to England.

When Mr. White arrived in London, he found the mother country in a ſituation by no means favourable to his commiſſion. The nation was under the utmoſt alarm on account of the Spaniſh Armada, which threatened the kingdom with a terrible invaſion. Even when that ſtorm was blown over, he found it difficult to procure any effectual ſupplies. Sir Walter Raleigh's fortune was exhauſted, and his credit on the decline. At length, after an interval of almoſt three years, a ſlender reinforcement was procured, with which the governor ſet ſail for Roanoke: but before his arrival, the colony had thought proper to abandon that iſland, as he learned from certain inſcriptions on the bark of trees, and had retired to Croatan, an Indian town about fifty miles diſtant, on the ſouth

A. D. 1587.

* Smith's Hiſt. of Virginia. There are two hiſtories of this ſettlement written by gentlemen of the name of Smith, and both of equal authenticity.

CHAP. II.

A. D. 1590.

ſide of Cape Look-out. As Mr. White was propoſing to ſteer for that place, his ſhips were aſſailed with a violent ſtorm, which drove them out to ſea, and ſhattered them in ſuch a manner, that he judged it prudent to return to England, and abandon the coloniſts to their fate *. Nor was any other attempt made for their relief: ſo that they all periſhed either by famine or the arrows of the Indians; and the country which took its name from the maiden virtue of Elizabeth, was as completely forgot as if it had never excited public curioſity.

No Engliſhman appears to have viſited any part of the extenſive region then diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Virginia, from the inhuman return of governor White, until the year 1602, when Bartholomew Goſnold, one of his original aſſociates, equipped a ſmall veſſel at his own expence, and ſailed from Dartmouth, with thirty-two men. Inſtead of taking the route of the Antilles, like former navigators, he reſolved to hold a direct courſe. The attempt ſucceeded; but on reaching the coaſt of America, he found himſelf a great way to the north of the diſtricts formerly viſited by his countrymen with a view to an eſtabliſhment. He landed in the country now known by the name of New England, and towards the promontory called Cape Cod, in conſequence of the great plenty of that fiſh which he found there. From the neighbouring hills, he perceived it to be part of the continent, almoſt environed with iſlands. To one of theſe he gave the name of Martha's Vineyard, becauſe he found it overgrown with wild vines, and to ſome others that of Elizabeth's Iſlands, in honour of the queen. In one of the latter he made ſome experiments of Engliſh grain, which he found to anſwer remarkably well, and the climate proved no leſs favourable to the health of his people. After continuing here a month, during which he took occaſion to viſit the continent, and traded to conſiderable advantage with the natives for furs, he returned to England, with a very high idea of the beauty and fertility of the country which he had diſcovered †.

The fame of ſo ſucceſsful a voyage revived the ardour of the Engliſh merchants; and thoſe of Briſtol, early in the following year, fitted out two ſmall veſſels under the command of Martin Pring, who held the ſame courſe with Goſnold, touched at the ſame places, and was no leſs fortunate ‡. Two years after, George Weymouth ſailed from London, in a veſſel equipped for the purpoſe of diſcovery, by the earls of Southampton and Arundel. On what part of the American continent he firſt landed is not exactly known; but he entered a river, ſuppoſed to be that of Connecticut, which was upwards of a mile wide, eight leagues from its mouth, had a bold channel from ſix to ten fathom deep, and every half mile beautiful coves and harbours, ſome of them fit to contain an hundred ſail of ſhips. The land was very rich, tending all along to an equal

A. D. 1603.

A. D. 1605.

* The prudence of Mr. White, on this occaſion, is ſuppoſed to have been partly directed by an inclination to carry home a large booty which he had acquired from the Spaniards in his paſſage. Smith.

† Smith. Douglaſs. Hutchinſon.

‡ This voyage was undertaken by the advice of Mr. Richard Hakluyt, ſo juſtly celebrated for his judicious Collection of Voyages.

BOOK IV.

plain, and the ſkirts of the woods were adorned with a green border of graſs. The trees were large and tall, and the country delightfully watered with ſprings and rivulets. The natives, at firſt, behaved with great civility, which Weymouth took care to return: but mutual ſuſpicions ariſing, he ſeized ſome of their principal men for his ſecurity, and ungenerouſly carried them to England *.

Meanwhile Sir Walter Raleigh's patent having become void, in conſequence of his attainder for a ſuppoſed plot againſt James I. a body of noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants reſolved to ſolicit his majeſty, to impower them to raiſe a joint ſtock for planting colonies in Virginia. A grant was accordingly made to two companies, under one charter, of all the coaſt of America from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude. The one company conſiſted of adventurers of the city of London, who were deſirous of ſettling towards the ſouth, or in what is properly called Virginia; the other of adventurers of Plymouth, Briſtol, and Exeter, who choſe the country more to the north, or what is now named New England. Both companies were, however, enabled to eſtabliſh ſettlements within any part of the above limits; but in ſuch manner that the colonies of each company ſhould be diſtant an hundred miles from thoſe of the other †.

April 10, A. D. 1606.

In conſequence of this grant, the London company immediately fitted out three veſſels, under the command of Chriſtopher Newport, an able and experienced mariner, with an hundred and ten adventurers on board, and all manner of implements for building and agriculture, as well as the neceſſary arms for their defence. After a tedious voyage, and many diſcontents among the adventurers, their little ſquadron reached the Bay of Cheſapeak, into which it was driven by a ſtorm. The future coloniſts landed on Cape Henry, where they were ſuddenly attacked by the Indians. But the firſt diſcharge of the fire-arms diſperſed thoſe ſavages; who came next day in a friendly manner, and throwing down their bows and arrows as a token of their pacific diſpoſition, invited the Engliſh to their town, and entertained them with the utmoſt hoſpitality ‡.

The firſt buſineſs of the new colony was to open their inſtructions; on which it appeared that Bartholomew Goſnold, Edward Wingfield, Chriſtopher Newport, John Smith, John Radcliff, John Martin, and George Kendal, were appointed of the council. Wingfield was elected preſident, and Smith entirely left out of the council by his aſſociates, who appear to have been jealous of his ſuperior merit, and the confidence repoſed in his abilities by the company ‖. One of the members was immediately appointed to treat with the Indian chiefs, from whom he obtained leave to plant a colony on a convenient ſpot, about fifty miles from the mouth of the river Powhatan, by the Engliſh called James River. Here they erected a ſlight fort, barricadoed with trunks of trees, and ſurrounded by a number of little huts, to which they gave the name of James Town, in honour of the king. This fort was ſituated on the point of a peninſula, ſecured on each ſide by navigable ſtreams, and in the rainy ſeaſon formed

* Smith.

† Smith's Hiſt. of Virginia, Append. No. I.

‡ Purchas, Pilg. vol. IV.

‖ Id. ibid.

into

CHAP. II.

A. D. 1606.

into a perfect island. But notwithstanding these natural advantages, it was soon found that stronger fortifications were required for the protection of the colony. The natives of Virginia, like all the North American Indians, were entirely under the dominion of caprice; given to suspicion; and apt to pass, on the slightest injury, either real or imaginary, from the most perfect cordiality to the most rancorous hate. They surrounded the English settlement in the night; but finding the colonists on their guard, they retired according to their custom when discovered, without attempting any thing. This shew of hostilities, however, put the English on their guard: the plan of the fort was amended and enlarged; and by the 15th of June, it was finished of a triangular form, with three bastions, each mounting five pieces of cannon.

After this was effected captain Newport returned to England; and the settlement through the misconduct of the president and council, was soon exposed to all the miseries of famine and disease. In this extremity, recourse was had to the sagacity of John Smith, who first took upon him the direction, and was afterwards honoured with the administration of the colony. In endeavouring to procure provisions by traffic, he was taken prisoner by the Indians, and ready to be sacrificed to the vengeance of Powhatan, the most powerful chief in the neighbouring country, when Pocahontas, the daughter of that chief, interposed. She clasped his head in her arms, and laid her own upon the block, where his brains were to have been beaten out, to shew how much she desired his life. Powhatan was mollified, and Smith recovered his liberty. Nor did the kindness of this fair Indian stop here. Pocahontas supplied her favourite so plentifully with provisions, that he was enabled to save the lives of many, who must otherwise have perished for want *.

The arrival of captain Newport from England with supplies, removed those inconveniencies for a time. But the passion of searching for mines, and that contempt for every other object, but more especially for the labours of agriculture, which is its inseparable attendant, exposed the colony to new necessities. These the activity and sagacity of Smith enabled him in some measure to supply, by trafficking with the Indians, and occasionally raising contributions upon them, as well as by encouraging the culture of the earth. But no sooner did he depart for England, than every thing fell into confusion, and the greatest distress and misery ensued. His return was occasioned, partly by the turbulent jealousy of the people under his command, and partly by intelligence which he had received, that he was deprived of his authority. The company, grasping at present gain rather than future security, were dissatisfied with their returns. They made interest therefore with the king to grant them a new charter, containing larger powers and more ample privileges, than the former. Such a charter they obtained in May 1609.

A. D. 1609.

By this second charter, the power and authority of the president and council of Virginia were expressly abrogated; and they were commanded, on their alle-

* Smith's Hist. of Virginia.

BOOK VI. A. D. 1609.

giance, to pay obedience to ſuch officers as ſhould be appointed by the company *. Lord Delawar was prevailed upon to accept of the government of the new colony, and he appointed Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and captain Newport, his deputies, to take into their hands the adminiſtration, until his arrival. They accordingly ſet ſail with a ſquadron of eight ſhips, and a reinforcement of near five hundred men. Seven of theſe arrived ſafe at James Town; but their own ſhip was unfortunately wrecked upon the Bermudas, where they were detained about nine months. During this interval, the colony was in the utmoſt confuſion; every one being ambitious to command, and none willing to obey. Captain Smith left them in the middle of theſe diſorders; and thoſe miſeries, already mentioned, were the conſequence of his departure. The ſtores were waſted in thoughtleſs prodigality by the new coloniſts, and the cattle ſlaughtered that ought to have renewed their ſtock. The Indians took advantage of their irregularities, and cut off great numbers of them. Faction was ſo violent, that the very meaſures neceſſary for ſelf-defence were neglected; and the famine became ſo exceſſive, that they even pulled out of the graves the bodies of the Indians whom they had ſlain, and made uſe of their fleſh, along with roots, as the means of preſerving life †.

May 24, A. D. 1610.

In this calamitous ſituation was the colony, when Sir Thomas Gates, and his aſſociates arrived at James Town; where, out of between five and ſix hundred men left by captain Smith, about ſix months before, not above ſixty perſons of both ſexes remained alive, and theſe more reſembled ſpectres than human beings. But ill provided themſelves, and ſtrangers to the affairs of the ſettlement, the deputy governors ſaw no hope of eſtabliſhing order among a ſet of men, whoſe hearts, even in their miſery, were boiling with mutual hate, or of affording relief to thoſe whom hunger itſelf had not been able to inſpire with any laudable effort to procure food. It was therefore determined to abandon the ſettlement, and to ſet ſail for England, as the only means of ſaving the wretched remnant of the colony. They accordingly embarked; but as they were falling down the river, they were met by the Lord Delawar, with three ſhips, well furniſhed with all neceſſaries. He perſuaded them to return to James Town, which the prudence of Sir Thomas Gates had with difficulty ſaved from the flames, to which it was devoted by the voice of the unfortunate adventurers ‡.

The firſt act of the new governor was to aſſemble the coloniſts, to whom he made a ſhort but pathetic ſpeech. He reproached them for their idleneſs, diſſoluteneſs, and diſcord, as well as on account of their want of reſolution and public ſpirit; and he recommended a change of manners, in order to prevent the neceſſity of exerting that power with which he was veſted, by drawing the ſword of juſtice, to correct and puniſh the vices of thoſe, whom he would much rather protect at the expence of the laſt drop of his blood. As an encouragement to their endeavours, he ſaid, that he had brought ſuch ſtore of proviſions as could not fail to be ſufficient for their maintenance, if they were not wanting to themſelves in

* Smith's Hiſt. Virginia, No. II. † Smith's Hiſt. Virginia, Book III.
‡ W. Smith, Hiſt. Virg. Append. III. Douglaſs's Summary, part II. ſec. xvi.

cultivating

cultivating the earth, and otherwiſe providing for their future ſubſiſtence. He at the ſame time conſtituted proper officers, and appointed every man his ſtation and employment. Unity, order, and induſtry, took place of anarchy, idleneſs, and licentiouſneſs. Such, in a word, was the vigour and activity of his lordſhip's adminiſtration, that he ſoon reſtored the affairs of the colony; and by a few well-timed examples of ſeverity, mingled with a mild and paternal adminiſtration, he made himſelf feared by the neighbouring Indians, as well as loved and reſpected by his own people *.

While lord Delawar was employed in theſe patriotic toils, to which he had no other inducement but the ſervice of his country and of mankind, he diſpatched Sir Thomas Gates, his lieutenant, with part of the fleet to England, in order to lay before the company the ſtate of the ſettlement. But whatever ſatisfaction they might derive from this, the commodities which he brought were ſo inconſiderable, that a ſolemn conſultation was held, whether they ſhould make a new contribution, or finally abandon all thoughts of eſtabliſhing a colony in Virginia. The report of Sir Thomas Gates however, given upon oath, in regard to it, revived their expiring hopes. He affirmed that the ſoil was exceedingly fruitful, and produced in the greateſt profuſion graſs, corn, fruits, and roots of all kinds; that European cattle multiplied there exceedingly, and that the vaſt abundance of fiſh, fowl, and veniſon, with which the country was ſtored, muſt always preſerve the colony in the utmoſt plenty, as ſoon as they were properly furniſhed with the materials of hunting, fiſhing, and huſbandry, under their preſent able governor; that if perſons ſkilful in extracting pitch and tar, and in cultivating vines, hemp, flax, and ſilk, were ſent over, they might eaſily ſupply Great Britain with the articles of a moſt valuable commerce; and that the ſettlement, inſtead of being a charge to the company, would ſoon yield returns beyond their moſt ſanguine expectations.

Flattered with this proſpect, the company reſolved not to let an ill-timed parſimony obſtruct ſuch valuable ends. They accordingly diſpatched three ſhips with a ſupply of proviſions, live cattle, arms, ammunition, and all the neceſſary implements of induſtry. But the return of lord Delawar filled them with new fears. A bad ſtate of health, occaſioned by the change of climate, and the indefatigable diligence and activity which he had exerted to promote the intereſts of the colony, obliged him to quit a ſcene where he appeared to ſo much advantage, and acquired a reputation that has juſtly entitled him to the eſteem of poſterity; which, after the pleaſure that the generous mind feels in doing good, is perhaps the ſtrongeſt incentive to public or private virtue. His lordſhip, however, at his firſt interview, removed their uneaſy apprehenſions. He declared that he would venture his whole fortune on the ſucceſs of the colony; and rather than ſo laudable an undertaking ſhould be abandoned, he would return in perſon, feeble as he was, if they would only ſecond his endeavours †.

* Id. ibid.

† Smith's Hiſt. of Virginia, book III.

B. C. 11
A. D. 16[illegible]

In consequence of their reiterated assurances, Sir Thomas Gates was dispatched to Virginia, with six ships carrying three hundred men, one hundred head of cattle, two hundred hogs, and every thing needful to give prosperity to the colony, of which he was instructed to take upon him the government, in quality of deputy to lord Delaware. He immediately entered upon his administration, which was equally distinguished by its wisdom and vigour. He planted and fortified Henrico county, to the westward of the settlement; drawing lines, and securing them with palisades in order to prevent the irruption of the Indians, who lost every opportunity of carrying off the English cattle. But what contributed more

A. D. 1613. especially to the safety as well as advancement of the colony, was the marriage of John Rolfe, a young gentleman of great merit, to the princess Pocahontas, who had formerly shewn such a predilection for captain Smith. In consequence of this marriage, which was entirely the effect of a mutual passion, the great chief Powhatan, who could never before be brought to a cordial amity with the English, was so much pleased with the respect paid to his daughter at James Town,

A. D. 1614. that he concluded a sincere alliance with the colony, which ever after enjoyed a friendly intercourse and free trade, as well with himself as with all his subjects *.

The example of this prince extended even beyond his own dominions. The Chickahominies, a stout, brave, and free people, who had no single ruler, but whole councils, like those of most of the North American nations, were directed by their old men, sent ambassadors to sir Thomas Dale, who had succeeded Sir

A. D. 1614. Thomas Gates in the government of the colony, exculing all former injuries, and promising for ever to be the friends of the English. Their alliance was readily accepted, and the articles were ratified with the loudest acclamations of joy. They were jealous of their liberty, and of the power of the neighbouring chiefs; especially of Powhatan, whose connexion with the strangers, they were afraid, might be employed to oppress them. Nor was the new governor void of apprehensions in regard to this chief. He was desirous of another pledge of his fidelity. For this purpose, he dispatched Ralph Hamer, a person of distinction in the colony, to tell Powhatan, that his brother Dale having heard of the fame of his youngest daughter, intended to marry her to some worthy Englishman; an alliance which would be highly pleasing to her sister, who was very desirous of her company.

The sagacious savage penetrated the governor's design, and replied with much composure and dignity: "I gladly accept of my brother's salute of love and peace; which, whilst I live, I will punctually and exactly keep. I likewise receive his presents, as tokens thereof, with no less thankfulness; but as to my other daughter—I hold it no brotherly part in him to endeavour to bereave me of my two children at once. For my own part, I desire no farther assurance of his friendship, than the promise he has given. From me he has already had a pledge—one daughter, which as long as she lives will be sufficient; and should she hap-

* Id. ibid. This is a striking example of the benefit of intermarriges with the Indians; which if more generally practised, would have effectually prevented the many massacres to which our colonies have been exposed.

pen to die, I promiſe to give him another. Tell [illegible], "that al- CHAP. II.
though he had no pledge, he need not be [illegible] from me or
my people. There hath been enough [illegible] have been ſlain
on both ſides; but through my [illegible]. I who have
the power to perform it, have ſaid it. I am grown old, and would gladly end
my days in peace and quietneſs. Even though I ſhould have juſt cauſe of re-
ſentment, I will not lift the hatchet. My country is large enough: I can go
from you. This anſwer, I hope, will ſatisfy [illegible]."

The governor was indeed not only ſatisfied, but aſtonished to be inſtructed by a ſavage in the confidence due to the faith of treaties. His ſuſpicious caution, however, was not the effect of an ungenerous temper, but of zeal for the ſafety of the colony. This principle diſplayed itſelf with ſtill more activity in another quarter. Underſtanding that the French had eſtabliſhed a ſettlement in North America, within the limits of the company's charter, he ſent thither captain Argol, who ſurpriſed Port Royal and St. Croix, two towns lying on each ſide of the Bay of Fundi, in Acadia, or what is now called Nova Scotia, and acquired a conſiderable booty in proviſions and wearing apparel. In his return he alſo viſited a Dutch ſettlement on Hudſon's river; aſſerting that captain Hudſon, in whoſe right, as we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee, they claimed that country, being an Engliſhman, and acting under a licence from the king, could not alienate his diſcoveries from the Engliſh crown, and ſtill leſs the diſcoveries of former navigators, or what lay within the limits of the royal grants. He therefore demanded poſſeſſion in his majeſty's name; and the Dutch governor being unable to reſiſt, peaceably ſubmitted both himſelf and his colony to the king of England, and, under him, to the governor of Virginia †.

It was during the government of Sir Thomas Dale, that the colony firſt began to cultivate the tobacco plant, which has ever ſince been the ſtaple commodity of the country. He took care, however, that it ſhould not interfere with the more neceſſary cultures, by ordaining, that no tobacco ſhould be ſet, till a certain proportion of corn ground, according to the number of each family, had been firſt prepared and planted. But after his departure, which was occaſioned by the exigency of his affairs in England, both this regulation and his example were forgot; and the new governor, together with all the people, tempted by the proſpect of preſent gain, applied themſelves ſo eagerly to the planting of tobacco, that the colony was again reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs by famine. A. D. 1615. A. D. 1616.

Nor was this the only evil which that riſing eſtabliſhment was doomed to feel. Captain Argol, who had been raiſed to the government of the colony, through the influence of lord Rich, one of the heads of the company, ſeemed to conſider his appointment only as the means of acquiring wealth by oppreſſion and extortion. The company ſuffered no leſs than individuals by his rapacity. Theſe diſorders induced lord Delawar, whoſe commiſſion was ſupreme, and ſuperſeded every other, to reſolve once more to aſſume the government. He accordingly

* Relat. of Ralph Hamer. ap. Purchas. † Smith's Hiſt. of Virginia, Book iii.

ſet

BOOK IV. A. D. 1618.

ſet ſail with two ſhips, and two hundred men, but unfortunately fell ſick, and died in his paſſage; and Argol, in conſequence of that event, continued to exerciſe his tyrannies a year longer.

He was at laſt ſuperſeded by Sir George Yardly, who purſued the wiſe maxims of Sir Thomas Dale, in reſtraining the culture of tobacco, that the colony might be furniſhed with bread. This gentleman alſo convoked, ſoon after his arrival, the

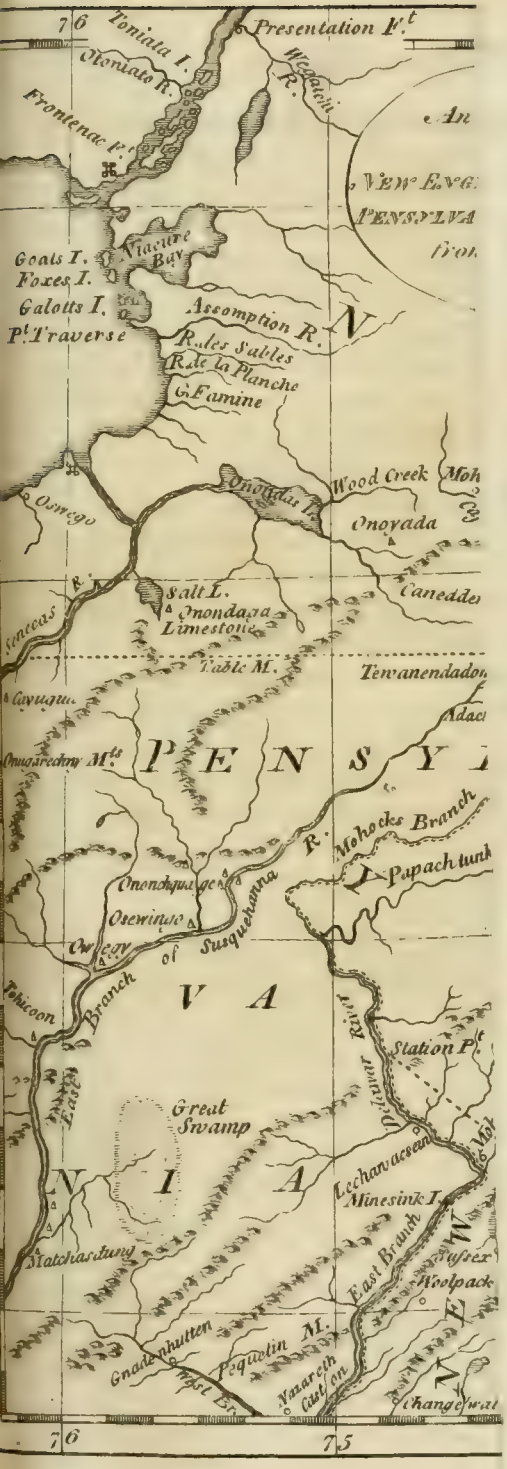
A. D. 1620. firſt general aſſembly that ever was held in Virginia. Deſirous that the government ſhould reſemble the Britiſh conſtitution, compoſed of two houſes of parliament and a ſovereign, he increaſed the number of the council, and ſummoned repreſentatives from all the plantations and towns. Regular courts of juſtice were eſtabliſhed for the trial of civil cauſes; and property, which had hitherto been in a great meaſure precarious, was diſtinctly aſcertained. Negroes, ſo ſerviceable in the cultivation of tobacco, were introduced, and the number of the coloniſts was ſoon doubled. Every thing tended rapidly towards proſperity; when the inexperience and miſconduct of Sir Thomas Wyat, who had ſucceeded to the government of the ſettlement in 1621, threw every thing into confuſion. Diſorders multiplied upon diſorders. The colony, torn by domeſtic feuds, was twice almoſt cut off by the Indians. In conſequence of theſe, and other misfortunes and miſmanagements, both at home and abroad, it ſunk into ſuch a ſtate of languor and unimportance, that Charles I. diſſolved the company, and took the government into his own hands, in 1626. From this æra we muſt date the true proſperity of Virginia. The remedy, though violent, was efficacious and ſalutary. But before we trace its beneficial effects, we muſt look back to the ſettlement of the other colonies.

CHAP. III.

The Settlement of New England, *and the Progreſs of that Colony to the Year* 1691, *when the* New Charter *was granted by King* William III.

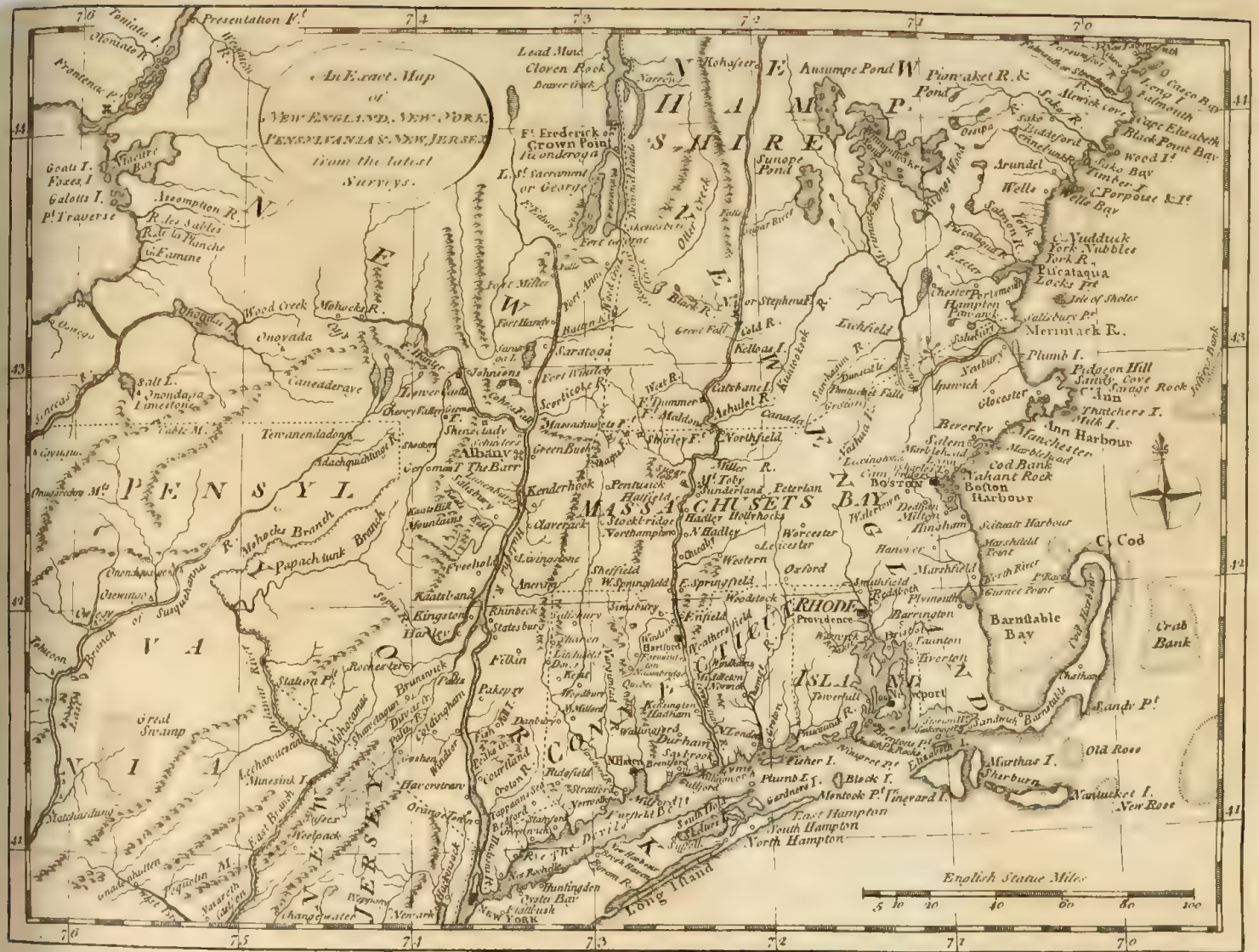
WHILE the London company, ſupported by a ſet of public ſpirited noblemen and gentlemen, were eſtabliſhing a colony in ſpite of every obſtacle, in what was then called South Virginia, North Virginia or New England, was almoſt entirely neglected by the aſſociated company of Plymouth, Briſtol, and Exeter. A ſettlement was indeed attempted in 607, by ſome of the patentees, at Sagahadoc, near the mouth of Quenebec river; but George Popham, the preſident, dying the firſt winter, which was extremely ſevere, and his brother, lord chief juſtice Popham, the principal promoter of the deſign, about the ſame time in Europe, the adventurers abandoned what they denominated a cold, barren, and inhoſpitable deſert, and all thoughts of eſtabliſhing a colony in ſuch a country were laid aſide. It was the fate of New, like Old England, to thrive amid national convulſions; to riſe into conſequence during the horrors of perſecution, and to owe its civil and religious privileges to a noble

A. D. 1608.



mark of that odious beaſt *."

* Burnet. Hey'en. Keith.


A Exact Map
of
New England, New York
Pensylvania & New Jersey
from the latest
Surveys.
Presentation R.
Lead Mine
Cloven Rock
Beaver Creek
Kohasset
Ausumpe Pond
Pennakeet R. & Pond
Fort Frederick or Crown Point
Ticonderoga
L. St Sacrament or George
Junope Pond
Goats I.
Foxes I.
Galotts I.
Pt Traverse
Assumption R.
R. des Sables
R. la Planche
St Famine
Onondaga
Wood Creek
Mohocks R.
Onoyada
Oneyda
Saratoga
Fort Hunter
Johnsons
Canadarague
Salt L.
Onondaga Limestone
Tewanendadons
Adaschquehlinge R.
Albany
The Barr
Kenderhook
Pentuck
Hatfield
Stockbridge
Northampton
Hadley
Holyoke
Worcester
Leicester
Oxford
Western
Springfield
Woodstock
Enfield
Windsor
Hartford
Weathersfield
Providence
Rhode Island
Newport
Barnstable Bay
Crab Bank
C. Cod
Boston
Boston Harbour
Nahant Rock
Cod Bank
Beverley
Salem
Manchester
Ann Harbour
Marblehead
Cambridge
Dedham
Milton
Hingham
Scituate Harbour
Marshfield
Plymouth
Barrington
Bridgewater
Taunton
Tiverton
Sandwich
Barnstable
Martha's I.
Sharburn
Old Rose
Nantucket I.
New Rose
Block I.
Fisher I.
Plumb I.
Montock Pt
Vineyard I.
East Hampton
South Hampton
North Hampton
Long Island
Sandy Pt
Thatcher I.
Milk I.
Pidgeon Hill
Sandy Cove
Savage Rock
Gloucester
Ipswich
Newbury
Salisbury
Merrimack R.
Plumb I.
Portsmouth
Hampton
Exeter
Dover
Piscataqua
Locks Pt
Isle of Shoals
Wells
Porpoise Rk
Yorke
Yorke R.
Nubbles
Yudduck
Arundel
Kennebunk
Sake Bay
Wood Is
Timber I.
Black Point Bay
Cape Elizabeth
Falmouth
Casco Bay
Long I.
Sheepscut R.
Sake R.
Berwick
Piscataqua R.
Fort Edward
Fort Miller
Fort Hunter
Fort Ann
Hudsons R.
Batten Kill
Black R.
Otter Creek
Grove Fall
Cold R.
Kellogs I.
Litchfield
Stephens R.
Merrimack R.
Pemmecook R.
Pemmecook Falls
Contoocook R.
Winnipiseogee Lake
Winnipiseogee R.
Pemigewasset R.
Winnipiseogee Pond
Saco R.
Saco Pond
Ossipe
Ossipe Pond
Amoskeag Falls
Hooksett
Concord
Pennacook
Suncook R.
Suncook
Nutfield
Londonderry
Haverhill
Connecticut R.
Coos
Upper Coos
Lower Coos
Connecticut Lake
Upper Ammonoosuck
Lower Ammonoosuck
Ammonoosuck R.
Passumpsic R.
Passumpsic
Waterford
Peacham
Barnet
Ryegate
Newbury
Haverhill
Orford
Lyme
Hanover
Dartmouth College
Lebanon
Enfield
Cornish
Claremont
Charlestown
Walpole
Westmoreland
Keene
Winchester
Hinsdale
Chesterfield
Northfield
Deerfield
Greenfield
Shelburne
Colrain
Hawley
Charlemont
Buckland
Ashfield
Conway
Deerfield R.
Green R.
Green Bush
Shenectady
Schoharie
Schoharie Creek
Schoharie Kill
Scorticoke
Scorticoke R.
Massachusetts
Canada Cr.
Canada
Shirley
Miller R.
Mt Toby
Sunderland
Peterham
Hadley
Holyoke
Mohocks Branch
Papachtunk Branch
Susquehanna R.
Tioga R.
Tioga
Owego
Chemung
Chemung R.
Seneca R.
Seneca Lake
Cayuga
Cayuga Lake
Cayuga Marsh
Onondaga
Onondaga Lake
Onondaga Salt Springs
Onondaga Creek
Oswego
Oswego R.
Oswego Falls
Oswego Creek
Salmon R.
Salmon Creek
Little Salmon R.
Little Salmon Creek
Lake Ontario
Great Sodus Bay
Little Sodus Bay
Irondequoit Bay
Irondequoit Creek
Genesee R.
Genesee Falls
Genesee
Genesee Flats
Canawagus
Canawagus Lake
Canawagus R.
Canawagus Creek
Canawagus Falls
Canawagus Flats
Canawagus Mts
Canawagus Valley
Canawagus Hills
Canawagus Plains
Canawagus Woods
Canawagus Swamp
Canawagus Meadows
Canawagus Pond
Canawagus Brook
Canawagus Bridge
Canawagus Ferry
Canawagus Road
Canawagus Path
Canawagus Trail
Canawagus Creek
Canawagus R.

noble diſdain of regal and eccleſiaſtical tyranny, not to the plans of legiſlators or the generoſity of princes.

We have already traced the civil commotions of the mother-country, as far as they are connected with her colonies; let us now conſider thoſe excited by religion. Every one knows the motives that induced Henry VIII. to throw off the authority of the pope; and few are unacquainted with the enormities of the Romiſh ſuperſtition. Roused by his paſſions and his caprices, and encouraged by the prevalence of the reformed opinions among his ſubjects, that great monarch, no leſs vigorous than violent, ventured to aboliſh whatever he thought amiſs in the ancient religion, and to aſſume the ſupremacy over his own clergy.

This open ſchiſm was followed by another alteration in the reign of Edward VI. the ſon and ſucceſſor of Henry. The religious opinions which were then changing the face of Europe, were freely diſcuſſed. Something was taken from every one; and out of theſe ſeveral ſyſtems or tenets aroſe a new communion, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Church of England*. Rage and animoſity againſt the catholic religion, was as little indulged as could be ſuppoſed in ſuch a revolution: the fabric of the ſecular hierarchy was maintained entire; the ancient liturgy was preſerved, ſo far as was thought conſiſtent with the new principles; many ceremonies, become venerable from age and preceding uſe, were retained; and the diſtinctive habits of the clergy, according to their different ranks, were continued. No innovation was admitted merely from ſpite and oppoſition to former uſage. The new religion, in a word, while it changed the genius of the ancient ſuperſtition, and rendered it more compatible with the peace and the intereſts of ſociety, (by a happy moderation) cautiouſly avoided every rite that rendered it liable to the imputation of fanaticiſm. The eſtabliſhment of the church of England was a work of reaſon.

But though ſuch in general was the ſpirit of the reformation in this country, many of our reformers being men of more ardent tempers, indulged themſelves in the moſt violent contrariety and antipathy to all former practices. Among theſe Hooper, who afterwards ſuffered for his religion with ſuch extraordinary conſtancy, was particularly diſtinguiſhed. This clergyman was appointed, during the reign of Edward, to the ſee of Glouceſter, and made no ſcruple of accepting the epiſcopal office; but he refuſed to be conſecrated in the epiſcopal habit, the cymar and rochet, which had formerly, he ſaid, been abuſed to ſuperſtition, and were thereby rendered unbecoming a true Chriſtian. The ſame objection was moved againſt the rayment of the inferior clergy. The ſurplice, in particular, with the tippet and corner cap, was a great object of abhorrence to many popular zealots. "What has Chriſt," ſaid they, "to do with Belial? What has darkneſs to do with light? If ſurplices, corner-caps, and tippets, have been the badges of idolaters in the very act of their idolatry, why ſhould the preacher of Chriſtian liberty, and the open rebuker of all ſuperſtition, partake of the dregs of the Romiſh beaſt?—Yea, who is there that ſhould not rather be afraid of taking in his hand, or placing on his forehead, the print and mark of that odious beaſt *."

* Burnet. Heylen. Keith.

BOOK IV.

Theſe diſputes, which had been ſtarted during the reign of Edward VI. were carried abroad by the proteſtants who fled from the perſecutions of Mary; and as the zeal of thoſe men had been whetted by the atrocious cruelty of their enemies, they were generally inclined to carry their oppoſition againſt the practices of the ancient religion to the utmoſt extremity. Their communication with Calvin and other reformers, who followed the diſcipline and worſhip of Geneva, confirmed them farther in this averſion; and though ſome of the refugees continued to adhere to king Edward's liturgy, the prevailing ſpirit carried them to ſeek a ſtill farther reformation. On the acceſſion of Elizabeth they returned to England; and being regarded with a general veneration, on account of their zeal and ſufferings, they ventured to inſiſt on the eſtabliſhment of their projected model. Nor did they want countenance from many conſiderable perſons in the queen's council; but that princeſs herſelf, ſo far from being willing to deſpoil religion of the few ornaments and ceremonies which were left it, was rather inclined to bring the public worſhip ſtill nearer to the Romiſh ritual. She thought that the reformation had already gone too far, in ſhaking off thoſe forms and obſervances, which, without ſtriking men of more refined apprehenſions, tend in a very innocent manner to allure, and amuſe, and engage the vulgar *. She accordingly took care to have a law for uniformity ſtrictly enacted: ſhe was impowered by the parliament to add ſuch new ceremonies as ſhe ſhould think proper; and though ſhe was ſparing in the exertion of this prerogative, ſhe continued rigid in exacting an obſervance of the eſtabliſhed laws, and in puniſhing all nonconformity. But the flame was reſtrained, not extinguiſhed; and burning fiercer from confinement, it burſt out in the ſucceeding reigns to the deſtruction of the church and monarchy.

The ſame bold and daring ſpirit, that accompanied theſe innovators in their addreſſes to the Divinity, which were free and rapturous, which made them diſdain all rites and ceremonies, appeared in their political ſpeculations. The principles of civil liberty, which during ſome late reigns had been little avowed in the nation, were ſtrongly adopted by this new ſect, who were denominated *Puritans*, on account of their pretending to a ſuperior purity of worſhip and diſcipline. Elizabeth therefore, who little reliſhed the doctrine of reſiſting or reſtraining princes, kept down the Puritans during her whole reign, with an uniform and inflexible ſeverity. The party however, though depreſſed, was by no means deſtroyed; and the merit of their ſufferings, the affected plainneſs of their dreſs, the gravity of their deportment, the uſe of Scripture phraſes upon the moſt ordinary occaſions, and even their names, which had ſomething ſtriking and venerable, by being borrowed from the Old Teſtament, or having an alluſion to religious matters, gained them general eſteem among ſober people of ordinary underſtandings.

When James I. aſcended the throne, he had a fair opportunity of accommodating matters. No leſs than ſeven hundred and fifty clergymen of the puri-

* Heylin. Strype.

tanical party ſigned a petition to this prince on his arrival in England; and many more ſeemed willing to adhere to it. They all hoped that James, having received his education in Scotland, and even profeſſed an attachment to the church there eſtabliſhed, would at leaſt abate the rigour of the laws againſt men holding the ſame principles, if he did not ſhew them particular favour and encouragement. But this king's diſpoſition had ſtrongly taken another bias. The more he knew of the puritanical clergy, the leſs favour he bore them. He had remarked in their Scottiſh brethren a violent turn towards republican maxims, and a zealous attachment to civil liberty. Theſe could ſcarcely have recommended them to any ſovereign, and made them peculiarly obnoxious to James, whoſe mind was filled with lofty notions of kingſhip and high prerogative. He dreaded the popularity which this ſet of men had acquired in both kingdoms; and ſtrongly inclined himſelf to mirth, and wine, and ſports of all kinds, he apprehended the cenſure of their auſterity, on account of his free and diſengaged manner of life. Thus averſe, from temper as well as policy, againſt the ſect of Puritans, James reſolved not only to prevent its further growth in England, but to introduce the Engliſh liturgy into Scotland.

Fortunately this prince wanted vigour to carry his deſigns into execution. The Puritans were haraſſed, but not extirpated, when his ſon Charles I. ſucceeded to his crown, as well as to the inheritance of his civil and religious opinions; and what was ſtill more dangerous for thoſe innovators, Charles was ſincere. His piety, which had a mixture of ſuperſtition in it, led him to give himſelf entirely to the church and churchmen: and to complete his weakneſs and indiſcretion, in this reſpect, he conferred the firſt eccleſiaſtical dignity in the kingdom, and a great ſway in temporal affairs, upon Dr. Laud, who led him by the facility of his temper into a conduct that proved his ruin. This man, naturally weak, though not devoid of theological learning, was rendered blind to every rational conſideration, by a bigotted zeal for the exaltation of the prieſthood. He multiplied the eccleſiaſtical ceremonies without end, under pretence of their being of apoſtolical inſtitution; and in order to enforce their obſervance, he had recourſe to acts of arbitrary power exerciſed, through his inſtigation, by the king. He imprudently ſheltered his innovations, which gave to the church of England all the pomp and pageantry of the Romiſh worſhip, beneath the ſhadow of the royal prerogative, at a time when the nation was under the moſt alarming apprehenſions on account of the intrigues of a preſumptuous queen, who brought with her from France an immoderate paſſion for popery and arbitrary power; and when the people were rather diſpoſed to rob religion of its remaining ceremonies, and to retrench the power of the crown, than to indulge an extenſion of the one, or an addition to the other.

A ſpirit of reſiſtance ſoon diſcovered itſelf in the debates of the commons. "If a man meet a dog alone," ſaid one Rouſe, a puritanical member, "the dog is fearful, though ever ſo fierce by nature; but if the dog have his maſter with him, he will ſet upon that man, from whom he fled before. This ſhews, that lower natures being backed by higher, increaſe in courage and ſtrength: and certainly,

BOOK III.

tainly man, being backed with Omnipotence, is a kind of omnipotent creature. All things are possible to him that believes; and where all things are possible, there is a kind of omnipotency. Wherefore, let it be the unanimous consent and resolution of us all, to make a vow and covenant, henceforth to hold fast our God and our religion: and then shall we forever experience with certainty, happiness in this world *." But before this spirit of resistance was roused, or had acquired sufficient strength to protect those who were desirous of worshipping God in their own way, many of the Puritans had left the kingdom; and even after the commencement of the Grand Rebellion, many who were divided between submission and opposition, turned their views towards North America, where they hoped to enjoy in peace, amid the wilderness, as they termed it, that civil and religious liberty which their ungrateful country denied them.

As early as the year 1608, and soon after the accession of James I. one Mr. Robinson and his church, in order to avoid the rage of persecution, had sought refuge in Holland. But though Holland is a country of the greatest religious freedom of any in the world, they did not find themselves better satisfied there than in England. They were tolerated indeed, but watched: their zeal began to have dangerous languors for want of opposition; and being without power or consequence, they grew tired of the indolent security of their sanctuary. They were desirous of removing to a country, where they should see no superior. Other motives conspired with these to make them solicitous of a change of situation. Though they laid great stress on their particular tenents, which led them to expect an heavenly inheritance without any merit of their own, they were not wanting in their regard to morality. The manners of the Dutch were too licentious for them. Their children left them; some to become sailors, others soldiers in the Dutch service. Their posterity, in a few years, would have been Dutch, and their church at an end.

In order to avoid evils which they so much dreaded, as well as in hopes of attaining privileges which were denied them among foreigners, they applied to
A. D. 1618. the Plymouth or North Virginia company, for a patent of part of the country included in their grant; and to render it probable, that their attempt at settlement would not, like all former undertakings of the same kind, prove abortive, they gave among others the following substantial reasons. "We are well weaned," said they, "from the delicate milk of our mother-country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land: we are knit together in a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which we hold ourselves bound to take care of the good of each other, and of the whole; nor is it with us as with other men, whom small obstacles may discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves home again. We have properly no home; and will therefore struggle hard to find one †." The Plymouth company was much pleased with this application, and some of the chief members addressed the king to grant the petitioners liberty in religion, un-

* Prince's Chron. vol. I. Purch. Pilg. vol. VIII.

† Hutchinson, Hist. Massachusett's Bay, chap. i. These people were of the sect since called Independents.

der

CHAP. III.

A. D. 1619.

der the great ſeal. This James refuſed: he promiſed, however, not to moleſt them; and though the petitioners heſitated for a time, they at laſt reſolved to venture, without a ſpecial grant for liberty of conſcience. They hoped that their remote ſituation would put them out of danger from the eccleſiaſtical courts.

As ſoon as theſe pious adventurers had obtained a patent from the Plymouth company, they therefore made the neceſſary preparations for their voyage, and embarked in one ſhip, to the number of an hundred and twenty perſons. Their purpoſe was to have ſettled on Hudſon's river, or the country near it; but the Dutch, as already noticed, having formed a ſettlement there, bribed their pilot to carry them farther to the north, ſo that they fell in with the land about Cape Cod, and took ſhelter in that harbour. The harbour is good, but the country is ſandy and barren. This was diſcouraging, but it was too late in the ſeaſon to put to ſea again. They coaſted about in their boat, till they found a place more proper for a plantation. Thither they brought their ſhip, and determined to take up their abode, though the harbour was not ſo good as the former. They gave to this place the name of New Plymouth, and choſe as their governor one John Carver *.

A. D. 1620.

Nov 11.

The approach of winter, in a country entirely covered with wood, and at a diſtance from any human aid, afforded but a melancholy proſpect to the new coloniſts; and the cold proved ſo extremely ſevere, that near one half of their number died of diſtempers occaſioned by the hardſhips to which they were expoſed. Fortunately none of the natives moleſted them, and hope in the protection of Heaven ſupported the ſurvivors under their ſufferings. The ſpring arrived, when they expected ſupplies from England, and the firſt Indian they ſaw was the meſſenger of peace. About the middle of March, a Sagamore or petty chief, who had been ſo much converſant with the Engliſh on thoſe coaſts as to be able to underderſtand a little of their language, came in a friendly manner to viſit the ſettlement at New Plymouth. He was ſo well pleaſed with his reception, that he brought ſeveral others of his countrymen to the colony, and among the reſt the great Sachem or lord, Maſſaſſoit, with his brother and ſixty attendants. He was received by the governor with all poſſible ſtate; and in return for the civilities which he received, he not only beſtowed upon the coloniſts, and their heirs for ever, all the lands in the neighbourhood of their city, but left one of his attendants to teach them how to plant maize, and to catch fiſh upon thoſe coaſts †.

Encouraged by this kindneſs, the new coloniſts applied themſelves vigorouſly to the cultivation of the earth; and though they received no ſupplies from England for almoſt two years, their induſtry procured them a comfortable ſubſiſtence. In the meantime the project of ſettling this part of America revived in England,

* Douglaſs. Hutchinſon. Winſlow, ap. Purchas.

† Winſlow, ap. Purchas. The reaſon why the ſettlers requeſted ſuch a grant may be conſtrued in two ways. New Plymouth was without the limits of the grant which they had obtained from the company; and they might, independent of ſuch conſideration, be deſirous either of ſatisfying their conſciences with a legal right, or of flattering the pride of the Indians.

BOOK IV. and a new patent was granted, incorporating the adventurers to the northern colony, by the name of the Council for the Affairs of New England. The limits of this co-
Nov. 3, A. D. 1620. lony were confined between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude*. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and captain John Mafon were two of the moft active members of this council. The firft grant, within the bounds of the province of Maffachufet's Bay, was obtained by Mr. Weſton, one of the original Plymouth adventurers, who ſent out two ſhips, in 1622, with fifty or ſixty men, to begin a plantation at Weſſagueſſet, ſince called Weymouth. Being ſickly when they arrived, theſe people received neceſſaries and refreſhments from their neighbours at New Plymouth. They were a diſſolute crew; ſoon expended all their ſtock; then robbed the natives, and offered other abuſes to them. The Indians made their complaint to the colony of New Plymouth; but the abuſes continuing, notwithſtanding every exhortation of their exemplary neighbours, a plot was laid by the ſavages for the deſtruction of Weſton's company. The plot was
A. D. 1623. diſcovered to the New Plymouth ſettlers, who generouſly ſent ſome of their people to defeat the execution of it. This fortunate circumſtance did not, however, prevent the ruin of Weſton's plantation, which continued only a year.

The fate of New Plymouth was very different. In 1624, Mr. Winſlow, their faithful agent, arrived with a new grant; a conſiderable ſupply of neceſſaries, and three cows and a bull, the firſt ever ſeen in that country; together with hogs, goats, and all other kinds of domeſtic animals, which multiplied ſurpriſingly. The colony at this time conſiſted only of two hundred and eight perſons, living in thirty-two houſes. Each family had its ſeparate portion of land; but the whole produce was laid into one common ſtore, whence it was dealt out to the different families, in proportion to the number of their members †. So inconſiderable was the beginning, not an hundred and ſixty years ago, of that colony which now ſets the mother-country at defiance, and threatens the whole New World with ſubjection!

But no ſociety, however ſmall or well regulated, is exempt from diſſention. As the colony of New England was firſt peopled in conſequence of the diſſentions in the parent ſtate, its different ſettlements were chiefly eſtabliſhed in conſequence of diſputes and diviſions among the coloniſts themſelves. Lyford, the miniſter, or religious teacher at New Plymouth, and one John Oldham, having ſtirred up a
A. D. 1625. faction there, were baniſhed the colony. They began a ſettlement at Nantaſket; and Roger Conant, one of their aſſociates, ſupported by ſome adventurers from Dorcheſter, attempted another at Cape Ann, which was afterwards removed to a neck of land upon Naumkeag river. About the ſame time, one captain Wollaſton, with ſome gentlemen of fortune from England, began a plantation near the place now called Weymouth, to which they gave the name of Mount Wollaſton, ſince changed into that of Braintree.

It does not appear that Wollaſton had any patent. Diſſatisfied with his ſituation, he ſoon removed to Virginia; probably with a view not only of ſettling to

* Hutchinſon, chap. i. † Winſlow, ap. Purch.

more

CHAP. III.
A. D. 1526.

more advantage, but of carrying his people thither. In the meantime one Morton, a gentleman from one of the Inns of Court, contrived to make himſelf chief of the company; changed the name of Mount Wollaſton to Merry Mount; ſet all the ſervants free; and erected a May-pole, round which he and his people danced in contempt of the Puritans in their neighbourhood, who abhorred ſuch ungodly ſports, and lived a life of diſſipation, until all the ſtock intended for trade was conſumed. Afraid of the contagion of ſuch licentiouſneſs, which of itſelf they conſidered as ſufficient to draw down a judgment upon the land, as well as of other harms, the pious colony of New Plymouth charged Morton with furniſhing the Indians with fire-arms, and teaching them the uſe of them. This accuſation, whether true or falſe, rouſed all the neighbouring planters: Morton was ſeized, confined, and ſent to England by the firſt ſhips that ſailed for the mother-country *.

Theſe are all the ſettlements, or attempts at ſettlement in New England, of which we have any account, until the year 1627; when Mr. White, the Puritan A. D. 162-. miniſter at Dorcheſter, who had encouraged Conant and his company to perſevere, negociated a treaty between the original patentees and Sir Richard Saltonſtall, Matthew Cradock, and John Venn, eſquires, and ſeveral others in and about London, for all that part of New England three miles to the ſouth of Charles river, and three miles north of Merrymack river, from the Atlantic to the South Sea. A purchaſe was accordingly made, and the ſame ſummer Mr. Endicot, one of the original patentees, to whom the affairs of the colony were committed, was ſent over to Naumkeag with planters, ſervants, and all other things requiſite for the proſperity of a ſettlement.

The patent from the council of Plymouth or New England gave a good right to the ſoil, but no powers of government. A royal charter was therefore neceſſary. This paſſed the ſeals March 4, 1628, and is to the following purport:— A. D. 1628. "Whereas king James I. Anno Regni XVIII. Nov. 3. granted by patent to a council at Plymouth in Devon, and their aſſociates and aſſigns for ever, the property and juriſdiction of certain lands in America called New England, extending from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude, and eaſt and weſt from ſea to ſea, if not poſſeſſed by any Chriſtian ſtate, nor within the limits of a ſouthern colony lately granted, the quit-rent to be the fifth part of all their gold and ſilver ore; and whereas this company, by a deed granted and ſold, March 19, 3 Reg. Car. a part of their patent lands to ſix gentlemen, [*whoſe names are here enumerated*] their heirs, aſſigns, and aſſociates for ever, viz. all lands from three miles northward of any and every part of Merrymack river, to three miles ſouthward of any and every part of Charles river, and of Maſſachuſets Bay, eaſt and weſt, from ſea to ſea, with all iſlands on the eaſtern or weſtern coaſts, and that grant is confirmed to the ſaid ſix gentlemen and their aſſociates, by Royal Charter, bearing date this 4th day of March, 1628: and the ſaid grantees and their aſſociates, with all ſuch others as ſhall hereafter be admitted

* Neal. Mather. Hutchinſon.

BOOK IV. A. D. 1628

mitted and made free of the company, ſhall for ever be one body corporate and politic, by the name of the GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF THE MASSACHUSETS BAY IN NEW ENGLAND; the corporation to conſiſt of one governor, one deputy governor, and eighteen aſſiſtants, to be annually elected out of the freemen of the company. The governor may call an aſſembly at pleaſure; and the governor and aſſiſtants, not under ſeven, may once a-month meet to do buſineſs. There ſhall be four great and general courts or aſſemblies of the freemen annually, on the laſt Wedneſday of Hilary, Eaſter, Trinity, and Michaelmas terms; to admit freemen, conſtitute officers, and to make laws, but not repugnant to the ſtatutes of England; and annually upon the laſt Wedneſday in Eaſter term ſhall be an election, in general aſſembly then convened, of a governor, deputy governor, eighteen aſſiſtants, and all other officers: and the ſaid company of Maſſachuſets Bay ſhall have liberty to tranſport from England any people, effects, and merchandiſe free of cuſtoms, both outward and inward, for the firſt ſeven years; and alſo for the firſt ſeven years, and for fourteen years more, excepting the five per cent. duty in England upon all merchandiſe imported: and all perſons born in that country, or in the paſſages to and from the colony, ſhall be deemed natural born ſubjects of England. The general court may make orders and laws, conſtitute officers, and impoſe fines, impriſonment, or other lawful correction, according to the courſe of other corporations in England *; and they may encounter and reſiſt by force of arms, by ſea or land, any who ſhall, in an hoſtile manner, invade the ſaid plantation; but if any of the ſaid colony ſhall injure any ſubject of princes in amity with us, they ſhall, by proclamation made in England, be required to give ſatisfaction, and make reſtitution; which, if not complied with, the ſaid perſons ſhall be put out of our allegiance and protection, and the ſaid princes ſhall be allowed to proſecute the ſaid offenders with hoſtility. Be it further provided, that none of our ſubjects ſhall be debarred fiſhing upon the coaſt of New England, nor from ſetting up ſtages and work-houſes on ſhore, and cutting requiſite timber and wood †."

The company met on the laſt Wedneſday in Eaſter term, the day for the annual election of officers by their charter, when Mr. Cradoc was choſen governor, and one Mr. Goffe deputy-governor. At this court it was determined, that every one of the company who had ſubſcribed fifty pounds, ſhould have two hundred acres of land aſſigned him, and in proportion for a greater or ſmaller ſum, as the firſt dividend; and the names of all the adventurers, and the ſums ſubſcribed, were ſent to Mr. Endicot, who was appointed their governor in the plantation. He appears to have been a weak fanatic, and in the height of his zeal to give to every thing the air of religion, he changed the name of Naumkeag to that of Salem; a place, as we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to

* Capital crimes do not here ſeem to be included.

† The colony-ſeal was an Indian erect, naked; an arrow in his right hand, and a bow in his left, with theſe words in a ſcroll from his mouth: "Come over and help us!"—and in a circle, *Sigillum Gub. et Societatis de* MASSACHUSETS BAY IN NOVA ANGLIA. Douglaſs's Summary, part II. ſec. viii.

ſee,

ſee, where fanaticiſm flouriſhed more, and put forth wilder ſhoots, than in any other ſpot perhaps on the face of the earth. It now conſiſted only of a ſmall number of houſes; but the old and new planters together, made about three hundred. One hundred of theſe removed to the mouth of Charles River, farther up the Bay, and founded a ſettlement, to which they gave the name of Charles Town *.

Now it was that the colony of Maſſachuſſets Bay proceeded to the formation of their church. After faſting and prayer, one Mr. Higgenſon was elected the firſt teacher, and one Mr. Skelton paſtor; each of them, together with three or four grave members, laying their hands on the other, with ſolemn prayer. Elders and deacons alſo were ordained, and a covenant entered into for the ſupport of the new hierarchy †. Here another diſquiſition becomes neceſſary.

Few ſubjects are leſs underſtood than the civil and religious inſtitutions of New England. One party, with ſome appearance of juſtice, has repreſented the founders of that colony as a ſet of wrong-headed enthuſiaſts, who had no diſtinct ideas either of religion or laws, but were entirely guided in regard to both by their own wild and capricious fancies, which led them to torture, miſapply, and miſinterpret ſcripture, to the confuſion of all civil and moral order. Another party has conſidered thoſe men as apoſtles and legiſlators, under the immediate inſpiration of God, and all their inſtitutions as the dictates of the Holy Spirit. Both parties ſeem to be wide of the truth, though with different degrees of veriſimilitude; and it will be difficult to find the proper medium. The firſt hiſtorians of New England ‡ were either enthuſiaſts themſelves, or men entirely devoted to its inſtitutions: they were beſides religious teachers; and thoſe who have written ſince ‖, though of a more liberal way of thinking, were ſtrongly induced by the capacity in which they acted, to be partial to the people. From a diligent compariſon of theſe authorities however, combined with collateral evidence, with which the Author is amply furniſhed, he hopes to be enabled to elucidate a ſubject, which has long been involved in obſcurity, and which the preſent diſputes between Great Britain and her colonies have rendered of the utmoſt importance.

The old non-conformiſts § and good old Puritans **, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, though deſirous of the reformation of certain corruptions, as they thought, which had crept into the church, either before or after its reformed ſtate, were by no means for diſſolving the whole frame of eccleſiaſtical government. But towards the end of the former reign, appeared a ſet of enthuſiaſts called Browniſts, from one Robert Brown, their apoſtle, who maintained

* Hutchinſon, chap. i. Douglaſs, part II. ſect. viii.

† Hubbard. M. S. ap. Hutchinſon.

‡ Mather, Neal, &c.

‖ Douglaſs and Hutchinſon; the firſt a phyſician in Boſton, the latter lieutenant-governor of the province of Maſſachuſets Bay.

§ They were chiefly Preſbyterians, and ſought only toleration to follow the mode of worſhip eſtabliſhed by the church of Scotland.

** Many of the Puritans had received epiſcopal ordination, and conformed, though with reluctance, to the ceremonies of the church of England.

BOOK IV. A. D. 1628.

the neceſſity of new-moulding the church. Theſe ſectaries, who multiplied exceedingly in a few years, were alſo called Separatiſts, in order to diſtinguiſh them from the ancient non-conformiſts; and Independents, becauſe every congregation was held to be complete in itſelf, and independent of the other churches or congregations of the ſame perſuaſion. Of this perſuaſion were the people who ſettled at New Plymouth, though ſomewhat moderated in their extravagancies; and whatever might be the theological principles, or the mode of worſhip eſtabliſhed among thoſe who ſettled at Salem, before they left England, their mode of ordination, as ſoon as they arrived in America, appears to have been the ſame with that in uſe among the Browniſts, and their hierarchy took the ſame independent form. We are beſides told, that meſſengers or delegates from the church of Plymouth, were expected to join with them on this occaſion, but that contrary winds obſtructed them in their paſſage; ſo that they did not arrive till the afternoon, which was ſoon enough to give the right-hand of fellowſhip *.

It is truly ſurpriſing that the Company did not agree upon ſome form of worſhip for their officers and ſervants, and ſome ſcheme of church government for the colony. It was however neglected, and though the adventurers, on their arrival in New England, formed themſelves into diſtinct churches, they ſeem to have had no ſettled plan of eccleſiaſtical polity, until Mr. Cotton came over in 1633. In the meantime, the great body of the coloniſts were of one opinion in regard to that matter. But two of thoſe who ſettled at Salem, John and Samuel Brown; the one a lawyer, the other a merchant; both men of property, original patentees, and members of the council, were diſſatisfied that the Common Prayer and ſervice of the church of England ſhould be wholly laid aſide, and therefore drew off from the reſt, with as many as were of their ſentiments, and ſet up a ſeparate ſociety. Mr. Endicot, the governor, offended at this behaviour, ordered theſe two gentlemen to be brought before him; and finding them determined to maintain principles which he deemed erroneous, he ſent them back to England under pretence of ſedition †.

While theſe things were tranſacting in the colony, a much larger embarkation was projected in the mother-country, and the transfer of the corporation itſelf from Old to New England. Iſaac Johnſon, John Winthorp, Thomas Dudley,

* Hutchinſon, chap. i.

† They applied to the Company, on their return, for redreſs; but it does not appear, by the Maſſachuſets Records how the diſpute was finally determined. On this occaſion, Hutchinſon quotes the maxim of Monteſquieu, that "every religion which is perſecuted becomes itſelf perſecuting; for, as ſoon as by ſome accidental turn, it emerges from perſecution, it attacks the religion which perſecuted it." It ſeems at leaſt to be certain, that all religioniſts, who are ſo tenacious of their opinions as to ſuffer martyrdom, rather than renounce them, will inflict martyrdom on thoſe who differ from themſelves, when in power. Of this we have many inſtances. But enthuſiaſtical as Endicot was, he ſeems rather to have been guided in the preſent inſtance, by maxims of policy than pious zeal. He was afraid of a diviſion of ſentiments alſo in political matters; for from their firſt eſtabliſhment, as we ſhall frequently have occaſion to obſerve, the religious *independents* appear to have aimed at *independency* in civil matters.

and ſeveral other gentlemen of family and fortune, diſſatisfied with the arbitrary proceedings both in church and ſtate, and allured by the proſpect of enjoying perfect liberty of conſcience in America, as well as civil freedom, propoſed to the governor and company at London, for the affairs of Maſſachuſets Bay, to remove thither with their families; but on this condition only, that the patent and charter ſhould remove with them. A committee was appointed to deliberate on this propoſal, and to adviſe with perſons learned in the law, in regard to it. The company had been at great expence; no returns had been made to them; nor had they any rational hope of profit from the colony in its preſent form. The principal objection to ſuch a transfer, ſeems therefore to have been a doubt of its legality. The report of the committee is not recorded; but the opinion of Mr. White, a counſellor at law, and one of the patentees, had great weight with the governor and council; and it was reſolved, with the general conſent of the company, "That the government and patent ſhall be ſettled in New England *."

CHAP. III. A. D. 1629.

In conſequence of this reſolution, and an agreement entered into at the ſame time, that the members of the corporation who remained in England, were to retain a ſhare in the trading ſtock and profits of it, for the term of ſeven years, Mr. Winthorp was choſen governor, and Mr. Dudley deputy-governor. Theſe gentlemen, and a number of others of good condition, adventurers, aſſiſtants, ſettlers, and ſervants, in all fifteen hundred, with proviſions and ſtores, embarked from the different ports of the mother-country, in ſeventeen ſhips, and landed in New England during the courſe of the ſummer 1630. When the Arabella, on board of which were the governors and aſſiſtants, arrived at Salem, the common people immediately went on ſhore, and regaled themſelves with ſtrawberries, which are very fine in North America, and were then in perfection. Theſe might give them a favourable idea of the country, but the gentlemen adventurers found enough to fill them with concern. The firſt information that they received, was of a general conſpiracy of all the Indians, as far as Naraganſet, to extirpate the Engliſh; that eighty perſons, out of about three hundred, had died in the colony the winter before; and that many of thoſe who remained, were in a weak and ſickly condition. There was not corn to have laſted a fortnight, and all other proviſions were ſhort. They were obliged to give liberty † to all the ſervants they had ſent over, that they might ſhift for themſelves, although they had coſt from fifteen to twenty pounds a head; and they had not above three or four months to look out for proper ſettlements, and provide ſhelter againſt the ſeverity of the winter.

A. D. 1630. June 12.

Men who had come from a land of pleaſure and plenty into a wilderneſs of wants, to uſe the language of Mr. Hubbard ‡, were not able to ſtruggle with ſo many difficulties: ſickneſs broke out among them: about one hundred returned with the ſhips; and twice that number died before the firſt of Decem-

* Hutchinſon from the Maſſachuſets Records.

† It is ſomewhat ſurpriſing that men, who were ſo jealous of liberty, both civil and religious, ſhould have thought of employing bond ſervants. ‡ M. S. Hiſt. ap. Hutchinſon.

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BOOK IV. A. D. 1631.

ber. Meanwhile the governor and aſſiſtants had travelled through the woods from Salem to Charles Town, in order to look out for a proper place for their capital, which they had determined ſhould be in ſome part of the bay or harbour, between Nantaſket and Cambridge. At firſt they pitched upon the north ſide of Charles river; but a number of the principal gentlemen having fixed their temporary habitations on the other ſide of the river, the governor, and moſt of the aſſiſtants, removed to them in November. They were ſtill, however, undetermined where to build in the ſpring; for although they were already ſenſible of the ſuperior advantages of the ſpot where Boſton is now built, called Shawmut or Trimontaine, one Mr. Blaxton, a good old puritan, claimed the whole peninſula, becauſe he had firſt ſlept upon it, and refuſed to aſſociate with them. This gentleman had built a ſmall fort for his defence, which mounted four pieces of cannon: but his diſguſt of ſuch fanatical neighbours prompted him to remove; and a viſit from Chicketawbut, the chief of the Indians near that place, with profeſſions of friendſhip, diſpelled the apprehenſions of danger, and induced the governor to remove to Boſton, which ſoon became a flouriſhing city, and the capital of the colony *.

Lyn, Dorcheſter, Watertown, Roxbury, and other ſettlements had been founded in the beginning of the preceding winter, when the firſt general court was alſo held; not by repreſentatives, but by every one who was free of the corporation in perſon. As none had been admited freemen ſince leaving England, the governor and aſſiſtants had great influence over the court. It was ordered, that for the future, the freemen ſhould chuſe the aſſiſtants; and the aſſiſtants, from among themſelves, the governor and deputy-governor. The court of aſſiſtants were alſo to have the power of making laws and appointing officers. This was a departure from the charter. One hundred and nine freemen were admitted at this court, ſeveral of whom were not members of any of the congregations or churches. But at the next general court, which was that of election for 1631, the ſcale was turned. The freemen reſolved, notwithſtanding the former vote, to chuſe both governor and deputy as well as aſſiſtants; and they made an order, that for the time to come, none ſhould be admitted to the freedom of the body politic, but ſuch as were church members †.

This was a moſt extraordinary order or law; and yet it continued in force until the diſſolution of the government in 1686, it being repealed in appearance only ‡, after the reſtoration of Charles II. Had the Puritans been deprived of

* Hutchinſon. Douglaſs. † Hutchinſon, chap. i. from the Maſſachuſets Records.

‡ The miniſter of the church, to which the candidates for freedom belonged, was to certify, that they were of orthodox principles, and of good lives and converſations. On the laſt article they were no leſs difficult than on the firſt, which we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to explain, as will appear by the following puniſhments, decreed between the year 1630 and 1634. "Daniel Clark, found to be an immoderate drinker, was fined forty ſhillings.—John Wedgewood, for being in the company of drunkards, to be put in the ſtocks.—Robert Stortcloſe, for ſwearing by the blood of God, was ſentenced to have his tongue put into a cleft ſtick, and to ſtand ſo for the ſpace of half an hour." Hutchinſon, from the Maſſ. Rec. Great numbers of a like kind might be added.

their

their civil privileges in Old England by an act of parliament, unleſs they would join in communion with the eſtabliſhed church, it might well have been the firſt in the roll of their grievances; but ſuch were the requiſites to qualify for church-membership in New England, that the grievance was abundantly greater *. CHAP. III. A. D. 1631.

While the coloniſts were making theſe rigid regulations, a man of a very different character appeared among them. One Sir Chriſtopher Gardiner, having run out his fortune in a life of diſſipation and pleaſure, had come over with the emigrants in 1630, under pretence of ſeparating himſelf from the world, and leading a life of retirement and devotion. That he meant to lead a life of retirement, at leaſt for a time, can hardly be doubted; but it would perhaps be going too far, to rank devotion among the number of his motives for ſuch a choice. Be that however as it may, he offered, we are told, to join ſeveral of the churches, but was not received, as he was ſuſpected to be an immoral man. This ſuſpicion aroſe from his having a comely young woman, who travelled with him, and whom he called his couſin. For certain levities with this lady, ſimilar to thoſe between Abram and Sara, which made an eaſtern prince exclaim, "Why didſt thou ſay ſhe was thy ſiſter?" Gardiner was perſecuted by the magiſtrates of Maſſachuſets colony. He took refuge among the Indians, whom his amorous dalliances would not have offended, and among whom he would likely have become conſiderable; but Mr. Bradford, governor of New Plymouth, unwilling that ſuch a libertine ſhould be tolerated in his ſenſuality, or as the phraſe was *uncleanneſs*, even among infidels, promiſed them a reward, if they could take him alive. This they effected; though not till after a gallant reſiſtance, in which Gardiner was wounded. They carried him to Plymouth, where his wounds were dreſſed. He was afterwards tranſported to Boſton, and ſent home under confinement †.

Before the return of this gentleman, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Maſon, two of the council of Plymouth, who with a view to the advancement of their fortunes, had expended large ſums to little purpoſe in attempts to ſettle colonies in New England, were become envious of the Maſſachuſets colony. They intended for themſelves all that part of the province which lies to the eaſt of Naumkeag. Gardiner and Morton, in order to revenge the affronts they had ſuffered, joined with them in a complaint to the king againſt the coloniſts: But in this they failed of ſucceſs; and an order was made in council, declaring, (in conſequence of the promiſing appearances and great hopes entertained that the plantation would prove beneficial to the kingdom, as well as profitable A. D. 1632.

* It was neceſſary that the religious candidates ſhould be "ſaints by *calling*;" ſuch as are not only acquainted with the principles of Chriſtianity, and who profeſs their faith therein, but who can give an account of "the manner how they were *brought to the knowledge of God* by faith in Chriſt;"—and this either *viva voce*, before the congregation, which was the original form, or by a public declaration thereof made by the elders, as it had been delivered to them in private. Douglaſs, Hutchinſon.

† Mather. Neal. Hutchinſon.

BOOK IV.
A. D. 1632.

to the particular perſons concerned) that the adventurers might be aſſured, provided things were carried on as was pretended when the patents were granted, and according as by the charter is appointed, his majeſty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges heretofore granted, but ſupply any thing farther which might tend to the good government, proſperity, and comfort of the people of New England *.

The government of the colony was continued in the ſame hands during the year 1633, and the number of the ſettlers increaſed aſtoniſhingly. Freſh ſupplies of inhabitants had been brought from England, from time to time, in the courſe of the two foregoing years; but many, who turned their eyes towards America, were willing to learn the ſucceſs of the firſt adventurers before they embarked
A. D. 1633. themſelves. The reports carried over were very favourable; ſo that this year ſhips were continually arriving, and in ſuch quantity during the ſummer, as thirteen or fourteen in a month. An emigration ſo rapid, and of ſuch kind of people, produced the following order from the king in council. "Whereas the board is given to underſtand of the frequent tranſportation of great numbers of his majeſty's ſubjects out of this kingdom to the plantation of New England, among whom divers perſons known to be ill-affected, diſcontented not only with the civil but eccleſiaſtical government here, are obſerved to reſort thither; whereby ſuch confuſion and diſtraction is already grown there, eſpecially in point of religion, as beſide the ruin of the ſaid plantation, cannot but highly tend to the ſcandal both of church and ſtate here: and whereas it was informed in particular, that there are, at this preſent, divers ſhips in the river of Thames ready to ſet ſail thither, freighted with paſſengers and proviſions, it is thought fit and ordered, That ſtay ſhall be forthwith made of the ſaid ſhips, until further order from this board; that the ſeveral maſters and freighters of the ſame, ſhall attend this board, with a liſt of the paſſengers and proviſions in each ſhip; and that Mr. Cradock, a chief adventurer in that plantation, now before the board, be required to cauſe the letters patent for the ſaid plantation to be brought to this board."

* Hubbard, M. S. Hiſt. ap. Hutchinſon. Morton, as appears by a letter to one Jefferies in New England, had the moſt ſanguine expectation of a very different order. "The Maſſachuſets patent," ſays he, "by an order of council was brought in review; the privileges therein granted well ſcanned; and at the council board, it was declared, for manifold abuſes therein diſcovered, to be void. The king hath re-aſſumed the whole buſineſs into his own hands, and given order for a general governor for the whole territory, to be ſent over. The commiſſion is paſſed the privy ſeal: I ſaw it; and the ſame was ſent to my lord-keeper, to have it paſs the great ſeal: and I ſtay only to return with the governor, by whom all complaints ſhall have relief. So that now Jonas being a ſhore, may ſafely cry, *Repent! ye cruel ſchiſmatics; repent! there are yet but forty days.* If Jove vouchſafe to thunder, the charter and the kingdom of the ſeparatiſts will fall aſunder.—I have ſtayed long, yet have not loſt my labour. The brethren have found themſelves fruſtrated, and I ſhall ſee my deſire upon mine enemies. As for Ratcliff, he was comforted by their lordſhips with the cropping of Winthorp's ears; which ſhews what opinion is held among them of king Winthorp with all his inventions, and his Amſterdam and fanatical ordinances, which exemplify his deteſtation of the church of England, and contempt of his majeſty's authority and wholeſome laws."

This

CHAP. III.
A. D. 1633.

This order, we are told, was the effect of a new complaint preferred by Gardiner, Morton, and others, of their hardſhips and ſufferings from the ſeverity of the colony government; that ſuch of the company as were in England, were called before the committee of council, and delivered in an anſwer in writing; that, upon reading this anſwer, it pleaſed God ſo to work with the lords of the council, and afterwards with the king's majeſty, that when the whole matter was reported to him by Sir Thomas Jermayne, the king ſaid he would have ſuch ſeverely puniſhed as ſhould abuſe his governor and the plantation; and the defendants were diſmiſſed with a favourable intimation for their encouragement, being aſſured by ſome of the council, that his majeſty did not intend to impoſe the ceremonies of the church of England upon the coloniſts, as it was conſidered that it was for the ſake of freedom from ſuch things that they went over to America *. It is certain that a ſtop was not put to the emigration †.

During the courſe of this year, came over ſeveral perſons of diſtinction; particularly Mr. Haynes, an eminent civilian, and Mr. Cotton, a famous Puritan divine. The latter is ſaid to have been chiefly inſtrumental in ſettling both the civil and eccleſiaſtical polity of the colony. Of theſe it will be proper here to give ſome account. "A CONGREGATIONAL ‡ church," ſays Mr. Hubbard, who appears to have been one of their moſt intelligent teachers, "is a part of the inviſible church, conſiſting of a company of *ſaints by calling*, united into one body by an holy covenant, for the public worſhip of God, and the natural edification of one another, in the fellowſhip of the Lord Jeſus; the matter of which, as to its qualification, ought to conſiſt of ſuch perſons as have attained the knowledge of the principles of religion, who are free from groſs ſcandal, and with the profeſſion of their faith and repentance, walk in blameleſs obedience to the word of God: as to its quantity, it ought not to be of greater number, than may ordinarily meet together conveniently in one place, nor fewer than may conveniently carry on church work. The form of ſuch a church is an agreement, conſent, and viſible covenant, whereby they give themſelves unto the Lord, to the obſerving the ordinances of Chriſt together in the ſame ſociety.

"The fraternity or brotherhood of ſuch a church, is the firſt ſubject of all ordinary church power; which is either a power of office or of privilege: but the power of privilege is in the brethren, formally and immediately; the other is in them no otherwiſe, than that they deſign the perſons unto office, who only are to act and exerciſe that power.

"The ordinary officers of the church are ſuch as concern their ſpiritual and moral, or temporal and natural good. Of the firſt of which are paſtors, teachers, and ruling elders.

* Hubbard, M. S. Hiſt. † Hutchinſon, chap. i.

‡ This denomination was choſen inſtead of *independent*, to which an odious ſenſe had been affixed, in conſequence of the rigid Browniſts, or orignal independents, affirming, that no prince or ſtate upon earth hath any legiſlative power; that God alone is the lawgiver; and that the greateſt magiſtrate hath no other power but to execute the laws of God ſet down in Scripture." Bailey.

"It

BOOK IV. A. D. 16[illegible]

"It is in the power of the churches to call their own officers, and to remove them from their office again, if there fall out juſt cauſe; yet ſo as the advice of neighbouring churches, where it may conveniently be done, be firſt had. They who are to officiate ought to be tried and proved, before they be elected.

"The power of government, in a congregational church, ought to proceed after the manner of a mixed adminiſtration: for in an organic church, no act can be conſummate without the conſent both of the elders and brethren; ſo as the power of government or rule in the elders prejudice not the power of privilege in the brethren, nor the power of privilege in them prejudice the power of rule ſeated in the elders, ſeeing both may ſweetly agree together.

"For the maintenance of the miniſters of the church, all that are taught are to communicate to him that teacheth, in all good things; and in caſe of neglect, the magiſtrate ought to ſee that the miniſtry be duly provided for.

"Particular churches, although they are diſtinct, and have not power one over another, yet becauſe they are united unto Chriſt, not as a myſtical but as a political head, they ought to have communion one with another, by way of mutual care, conſultation, admonition, and a participation in the ſame ordinances."

Theſe conſtitutions are admirably calculated for preventing the eccleſiaſtical, from interfering with the civil power: and the following ordinance is particularly directed to promote the harmony of church and ſtate. "It is the duty of the magiſtrate to take care of matters of religion, and to improve his civil authority for obſerving the duties commanded in the firſt, as well as the ſecond table; ſeeing the end of their office is not only the quiet and peaceable life of the ſubject in matters of righteouſneſs and *honeſty*, but alſo in matters of *godlineſs* *.

This attention to godlineſs pervaded their whole ſyſtem of juriſprudence. Hence their puniſhments were leſs calculated to repreſs the diſorders incident to ſociety, than adapted to their own ideas of criminality, either in word or action, and to inflict vengeance on the guilty. Their magiſtrates, in all criminal caſes, conſidered themſelves as the miniſters of an offended God; not as the ſervants of the ſtate, appointed to correct the errors of individuals, as well as of the community, by exemplary chaſtiſements, and to cut off infected members of the political body, from a principle of moral neceſſity, that the whole might enjoy health. They were led into this error by regarding themſelves as *the Lord's people*, and immediately under the juriſdiction of Heaven; a vain conceit, which gave birth to a multitude of crimes and abſurdities. It induced them to imitate the Jewiſh polity in almoſt all reſpects, and to adopt the books of Moſes as the law of the land, with little attention to the difference of times or circumſtances. They were accuſed of holding it to be the duty of the magiſtrate to kill all idolaters and heretics; even whole cities, men, women, and children, from the command of the Iſraelites to root out the Canaanites †. But without

* Hubbard. This ſenſible divine made a figure in the colony ſoon after the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution was eſtabliſhed.

† Bailey.

charging them with this atrocious ſentiment, we have ſufficient proofs, in their laws, of their judicial fanaticiſm and Judaical juriſprudence. Witchcraft, idolatry, blaſphemy, and adultery were puniſhed with death, while high-treaſon was entirely omitted, and burglary a compoundable offence. But burglary and theft, in a houſe or fields, on the *Lord's Day*, were capital upon a third conviction. Fornication was puniſhed by fine, whipping, and diſfranchiſement. Moſt other offences, except rape and murder, which were capital under certain circumſtances, might be compounded, or were tolerated under certain penalties. The penalty for drunkenneſs was ten ſhillings; for exceſſive drinking, three ſhillings and four-pence; for tippling above half an hour, half a crown; profane curſing and ſwearing, ten ſhillings; for Sabbath-breaking ten ſhillings *; for obſerving any ſuch day as Chriſtmas, five ſhillings; for playing at cards or dice, five ſhillings; and for drinking healths on board veſſels, twenty ſhillings every health †. What an unſociable ſet of people muſt theſe have been!—Conſtables were ordered to preſent unprofitable fowlers and *tobacco-takers* to the next magiſtrate, in order that they might be committed to hard labour ‡. A. D. 1633.

The judicial power, both in civil and criminal matters, was originally exerciſed, in Maſſachuſets Bay, by the court of aſſiſtants, except in caſes cognizable by a juſtice of peace. But in divers caſes of violent death, juries were impanelled by the governor, and a jury was alſo impanelled for trial of any perſons charged by the jury of inqueſt. One inſtance, however, only occurs, and that was in an action of aſſault and battery, of trial by jury in any caſe except murder, until November 1633; when it was ordered, that proceſs ſhould be directed by the ſecretary to the beadle, to warn twenty-four jurors, who were to be named by the ſecretary, to attend the court. In 1634, an order or law was made, That no trial ſhould be held upon any perſon for life or death without a jury regularly choſen by the freemen. Grand juries were eſtabliſhed the following year; and at the firſt court afterwards, an hundred offences were preſented ‖.

While the colony was regulating its civil and eccleſiaſtical polity, its conſtitution, in conſequence of theſe ordinances, was approaching to maturity. The governor and aſſiſtants had kept both the legiſlative and executive powers very much in their own hands, during the three firſt years of the charter. But the number of freemen being now greatly multiplied, the people began to grow uneaſy, and an alteration of the conſtitution ſeems to have been agreed on by a convention of the towns: for at a general court for elections in 1634, twenty-four of the principal inhabitants appeared as repreſentatives of the body of freemen; and A. D. 1634.

* When exception was made to the laws of New England, during the reign of Charles II. that relative to reſtraining people from walking in the ſtreets or fields on Sunday was one; but although their charter was in danger, the brethren refuſed to make any alteration in the law. Hutchinſon.

† Hutchinſon. Douglaſs. It ſhould ſeem that there was no danger of healths being drank on ſhore.

‡ Hutchinſon, chap. v. This laſt regulation, tho' equally ludicrous with ſome of the former, is not equally abſurd, as it has a tendency to promote induſtry.

‖ Hutchinſon, chap. v. This is a ſtriking proof that juſtice was not thought to be properly adminiſtered before.

BOOK IV. A. D. 1634.

the people, before they proceeded to the election of magiſtrates, aſſerted their right to a greater ſhare in the government than had hitherto been allowed them, and reſolved, "That none but the general court hath power to make and eſtabliſh laws, or to elect and appoint officers; as governor, deputy-governor, aſſiſtants, treaſurer, ſecretary, captains, lieutenants, enſigns, or any of like moment; or to remove ſuch officers upon miſdemeanour, or to ſet out their duties and powers; and that none but the general court hath power to raiſe monies and taxes, or to diſpoſe of lands." After theſe reſolutions, they proceeded to the election of magiſtrates; then they further determined, "That there ſhall be four general courts held yearly, to be ſummoned by the governor for the time being, and not to be diſſolved without the conſent of the major part of the court; that it ſhall be lawful for the freemen of each plantation to chuſe two or three of their number before every general court, in order to confer of, and prepare ſuch buſineſs, as by them ſhall be thought fit to conſider of at the next court; and that ſuch perſons as ſhall be hereafter ſo deputed, by the freemen of the ſeveral plantations, to deal in their behalf in the affairs of the commonwealth, ſhall have the full power and voice of all the ſaid freemen derived to them for the making and eſtabliſhing of laws, granting of lands, &c. and to deal in all other affairs of the commonwealth wherein the freemen have to do; the matter of election of magiſtrates and other officers only excepted, wherein every freeman is to give his own voice:" and to ſhew their reſentment, they impoſed a fine upon the court of aſſiſtants, for going contrary to an order of the general court *.

The freemen were by this time ſo much increaſed, that it was become impracticable to debate and determine in a body. It was beſides unſafe on account of the Indians, and prejudicial to the private affairs of the planters, to be ſo long abſent from their families and buſineſs, ſo that this repreſentative body was a thing of neceſſity; and though no proviſion had been made for it in their charter, they very juſtly ſuppoſed, that the natural rights of Engliſhmen reſerved to them, implied it †. Thus was ſettled the conſtitution of the colony; which, except an alteration in the number of general courts, that were ſoon reduced to two only in a year, and other not very material circumſtances, continued the ſame as long as the charter laſted ‡.

A co-

* Maſſachuſets Records.

† In Virginia the houſe of burgeſſes firſt met, as we have already ſeen, in 1620. In a word the government in every colony, may be conſidered as the *effigies parva* of the parent ſtate.

‡ As no mention was made of a houſe of repreſentatives in the charter, a general court being to conſiſt of the magiſtrates and freemen, no regulation conſequently could be there found in regard to it: a diſpute therefore aroſe, whether there was a negative voice in each part of the legiſlative body; but at length it was agreed, that, in matters of legiſlation, they ſhould act diſtinct and ſeparate, and that no legiſlative act ſhould be valid that was not approved by the major part of each houſe. Hutchinſon, chap. v. Before this diſpute was ſettled ||, the magiſtrates or aſſiſtants, and the deputies or repreſentatives of the people, ſat in one room, and voted

|| In 1644, if we judge by the Records.

together,

CHAP. III.

A. D. 1634.

A colony eſtabliſhed in conſequence of religious ſcruples, muſt naturally be agitated with religious diſputes. Theſe diſputes ſeem to have attained their height in New England ſoon after the civil conſtitution was ſettled, and the eccleſiaſtical platform laid. One Roger Williams, miniſter at Salem, a man of piety, virtue, and abilities, but mad for a time with fanaticiſm, advanced ſeveral wild opinions, which occaſioned great diſturbance among the brethren; ſuch as, "that it is not lawful for godly men to have communion in family prayer, or in an oath, with ſuch as they judge unregenerate; that it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray; and that the magiſtrate has nothing to do in matters of the firſt table." He would admit no church to be pure but that of Salem, and perſuaded his congregation to ſend letters of admonition to the church at Boſton, and to ſeveral others, accuſing the magiſtrates, who were members of them, of divers heinous offences; and he influenced Mr. Endicot, one of the magiſtrates of Salem, and a member of his own church, to cut the croſs out of the king's colours, as being a relique of antichriſtian ſuperſtition *. But what more enraged the people of Boſton, than all his other errors, or even this inſult upon majeſty, was his maintaining, "that to puniſh a man for matters of conſcience is perſecution." Endeavours were uſed to reclaim him, but to no purpoſe: he continued obſtinate, was excommunicated, and at length baniſhed the juriſdiction of the colony of Maſſachuſets Bay, as a diſturber of the peace of the church and commonwealth †.

After this ſentence, Mr. Williams and his diſciples removed to Seaconck, now called Rehoboth, and procured a grant of lands from Maſſaſoit, ſachem of the Pakanokat Indians; but Seaconck being within the juriſdiction of Plymouth, the magiſtrates of that colony obliged him to ſeek a new habitation. He travelled ſouthward, in order to look out for a ſettlement among the natives, and fixed upon a place called by them Moſhawſick, but by him Providence, lying A. D. 1635. oppoſite to Rhode Iſland, and in the country of the Naraganſets. Here Williams and his followers, to the number of about forty perſons, having obtained grants of land from the ſachem, formed a ſettlement, which ſoon became flouriſhing, and eſtabliſhed a kind of civil government, correſponding to their own ideas. Far from harbouring revenge againſt his perſecutors, this truly Chriſtian refugee, extended towards them many acts of kindneſs and benevolence; giving them notice, from time to time, not only of every motion of the Indians, over whom he had great influence, but alſo of the unjuſt deſigns of the Engliſh within the new colony of which he himſelf had been the founder and governor, and continued the patron ‡.

About the ſame time that Mr. Williams and his wild but charitable enthuſiaſts ſettled themſelves at Providence, Mr. Hooker, a reſpectable clergy-

together, without any diſtinction, the majority of the whole number of voices determining every reſolution. Id. ibid.

* Hubbard. This ſcruple afterwards prevailed, and the croſs was left out of the colours, and generally condemned as unlawful. Hutchinſon, chap. i.

† Hutchinſon, chap. i. Douglaſs, part ii. ſect. x.

‡ Hutchinſon, chap. i. Mr. Williams went to England, as agent for the colony, in 1643, and

BOOK IV. A. D. 1635.

man, with ſome perſons too moderate for the bigots of Maſſachuſets Bay, eſtabliſhed a colony on the banks of Connecticut river. In this undertaking they encountered incredible difficulties, by reaſon of their unacquaintance with the roads, and the ſudden approach of a ſevere winter. But the beauty and fertility of the country was a ſufficient recompenſe for all their ſufferings, and encouraged them to ſupport themſelves againſt the Indians on one hand, and the Dutch on the other. They gave to their firſt ſettlement the name of Hertford, and agreed upon a plan of government among themſelves, formed after the model of that of Maſſachuſets Bay, though without any charter, or even grant of the lands. This laſt, however, they ſoon obtained, and many new towns were built.

While the ſtruggle between Charles I. and his parliament remained doubtful, New England was conſidered as the common aſylum of the patriots as well as of the puritans, and ſeveral perſons of diſtinction had entertained thoughts of removing thither. Among theſe were the lord Say and Brooke. The earl of Warwick, who was alſo a puritan, had obtained a grant from the crown of the ſea-coaſt for forty leagues to the ſouth-weſt of Naraganſet river, and of the country as far eaſt as the Pacific Ocean. This grant he aſſigned to lord Say, lord Brooke, and others, among whom were the celebrated patriots John Pym and John Hambden. But the friends of the conſtitution having ſecretly united themſelves about this time, and received aſſurances of ſupport from the preſbyterian party in Scotland, reſolved not to deſert their country while any probability of ſaving it remained: and they ſoon found at home a ſcene ſufficiently active to occupy all their attention. Succeſs opened new proſpects to their view; new ſchemes of colonization engaged their fancy; and New England, as we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee, though now regarded as a paradiſe, was conſidered as a ſpot too little fertile to be the habitation of men ſo highly favoured of Heaven. In the mean time young Winthrop, the governor's ſon, returned from London with a commiſſion from lord Say and the other patentees, to be governor of a colony which they propoſed to eſtabliſh on Connecticut river. For this purpoſe he was furniſhed with men, money, arms, ammunition, and ſtores. He did not, however, offer to diſturb Mr. Hooker and his company; but built a fortification at the mouth of the river, known by the name of Saybrook Fort. This fortreſs ſtruck terror into the Indians, and quieted the minds of the Engliſh colony at Hertford. They choſe for their governor Mr. Winthrop, who had ſhewn ſo much lenity towards them; and through his means they obtained, by purchaſe, from the patentees, their grant of the country, when the patriots and puritans obtained the aſcendancy in Old England †.

and obtained from the earl of Warwick, governor and admiral of all the Engliſh plantations for the parliament, a charter of incorporation of "Providence plantation in Naraganſet Bay in New England;" with power for the freemen to ſettle themſelves into any form of government the majority ſhould agree on, and to make laws not contrary to the laws of England. Douglaſs, part II. ſect x.

† Douglaſs, part II. ſect. xi. Hutchinſon, chap. i. As a proof of Mr. Hooker's moderation, it was not required that the freemen of Connecticut ſhould be members of any church; and Williams, ſtill more liberal, made Providence the ſanctuary of perſecuted ſectaries of every denomination. This was found policy as well as true Chriſtianity.

Along with Mr. Winthrop came over to America Sir Henry Vane the younger, one of the moſt extraordinary characters that any age or nation ever produced. All things conſpired to raiſe him to eminence in New England. He was the particular friend of lord Say, who was held in the higheſt eſteem in the colony. Though not twenty-five years old, his deportment was grave and ſolemn. He made great profeſſion of religion, and conformed to the peculiar ſcruples of the times. Before his departure from England, and immediately on his return from France, he had rounded his hair by the ears, and urged a complete reformation in that reſpect, by every one bringing what nature had furniſhed him with to the primitive length and form. His father was one of the privy council, and bore no great affection to the religion or policy of New England: ſo that it was with difficulty that he could obtain leave of abſence for three years; but the king, it is ſaid, being acquainted with his turbulent and dangerous diſpoſition, commanded his father to gratify him. However this may have been, it was believed in America to be true, and ſtrongly recommended young Vane to the notice of the brethren. He was admitted, on his arrival, to the freedom of the Maſſachuſets colony, and choſen governor at the firſt election. In this office he had great reſpect ſhewn him at firſt; and he took more ſtate upon him than any former chief magiſtrate: four ſerjeants walked before him when he went either to the court or the church. For ſeveral months his adminiſtration met with great applauſe; but towards the end of the year, the people became cool and diſcontented. He perceived it, and grew weary of the government. CHAP. III. A. D. 1635. A. D. 1635

In conſequence of this diſguſt, Vane communicated to the council ſome letters from London urging his return, and then called the general court, in order to aſk their conſent to his quitting the adminiſtration. He declared to them the neceſſity of his departure; and ſuch of the council as had ſeen the letters affirmed, that the reaſons were very urgent, but not fit to be communicated to the whole court. The court deliberated on the matter till morning, when one of the aſſiſtants lamenting the loſs of ſuch a governor, at a time of ſuch danger both from the French and Indians, that arch hypocrite burſt into tears, and profeſſed, that although the cauſes propounded for his departure did concern the utter ruin of his outward eſtate, yet he would rather have hazarded all than have gone from them at ſuch a ſeaſon, if ſomething elſe had not preſſed him more; namely, the inevitable danger of God's judgments, which he feared were coming upon them for the ſpiritual differences and diſſenſions which he ſaw among them, and the ſcandalous imputation brought againſt himſelf, as if he had been the cauſe of all. He therefore thought it beſt to give place for a time. But the court did not think fit to conſent to his going for ſuch reaſons. He found that he had overacted his part, and recollecting himſelf, ſaid, that the reaſons which concerned his own eſtate were ſufficiently urgent, and deſired that he might have leave to reſign. On this the court agreed, that it was neceſſary to conſent to his departure, and appointed another meeting of the general court, in order to make choice of a governor; but ſeveral pious brethren, members of the church of Boſton, loth to part with a chief magiſtrate, whoſe enthuſiaſtic

BOOK IV. A. D. 1636.

character was so conformable to their own, met together, and agreed, That it was not necessary for the reasons alledged, that the governor should depart:—and they sent some of their number to intimate this opinion to the court.

The governor, who was deep in the art of dissimulation, and who only wanted the countenance of the clergy to be able to dictate in civil matters, pretended to be overpowered; and professed himself such an obedient son of the church, that, notwithstanding the licence of the court, and his urgent business, he durst not go without the consent of the godly. Many of the people, when informed of this transaction, declared their resolution still to continue him; and it was thought adviseable, in order to prevent such a choice, to adjourn the court to

A. D. 1637. the day of the annual election *. When that day came, Sir Henry was set aside though the people of Boston in general were in his favour, and Mr. Winthrop was replaced in the government. Mortified at this disappointment, the young fanatic set sail for England, where a more illustrious field was opened for his talents, both religious and political. The share which he had in the grand rebellion, and his unhappy fate on the restoration of Charles II. are sufficiently known, and beyond the limits of this work. It is only necessary here to observe, that his scheme of government, in regard to matters of religion, was entirely different from that of the ruling party in New England. They, most inconsistently with their own conduct, demanded a rigorous conformity; whereas he, a liberal but wild enthusiast †, was for tolerating the anabaptists, and all the other sectaries who dissented from the church of England ‡.

But though the people of New England got thus happily free of this dangerous man, his opinions, or those which he had fostered, remained behind him, and

* Massachusets Records. Hubbard.

† He has left some religious tracts behind him, which are absolutely unintelligible. They are alike devoid of eloquence and common sense; and may be regarded as a striking proof, that where men of genius relinquish through principle the use of their reason, they are only enabled by their vigour of mind, to work themselves the deeper into error and absurdity.

‡ Vane, who in eloquence, address, capacity, as well as art and dissimulation, was not surpassed by any man, even during that age so famous for active talents, seems always to have retained this tolerating spirit; for when by his persuasion was framed at Edinburgh, in 1643, that famous *Solemn League and Covenant*, which effaced all former protestations and vows taken in both the British kingdoms, and in which the subscribers bound themselves to endeavour, without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness, and to "preserve the reformed religion established in the church of Scotland," he took care that no declaration more explicit should be made with regard to England and Ireland, than that these kingdoms should be "reformed according to the word of God, and the example of the purest churches." The Scottish zealots, when prelacy was abolished, deemed this form of expression quite free from ambiguity, and regarded their own model as the only one which corresponded in any degree with the description: but Vane had other views; and while he employed his great talents in over-reaching the presbyterians, and secretly laughed at their simplicity, he had blindly devoted himself to the maintenance of systems still more absurd and dangerous, though not equally intolerant. The heads of the New England brethren, however, no less deep in spiritual policy than himself, early saw through his character; and, in rejecting his services, may be said to have played off, though without design, this terrible engine, to break in pieces the constitution of the mother-country.

had

CHAP. III.
A. D. 1637.

had almoſt proved the ruin of the colony. Not that theſe opinions contained any thing peculiarly pernicious in themſelves; but by claſhing with thoſe eſtabliſhed, they produced the utmoſt confuſion both in church and ſtate, and inflamed the minds of individuals with all the rancour of party-rage. They were propagated by a woman. One Mr. Hutchinſon, a gentleman of fortune and character, had come over with Mr. Cotton, now head of the church of Boſton, and his wife, to uſe the language of that devoute teacher, "was well beloved, and all the faithful embraced her conference, and bleſſed God for her fruitful diſcourſes *." On her arrival in New England, ſhe was treated with great reſpect by the principal perſons in the colony. Her huſband was ſeveral times choſen one of the repreſentatives for the capital, and ſhe herſelf particularly drew the attention of governor Vane, while in office. Mr. Wheelwright, her brother-in-law, a man of piety and learning, and Mr. Cotton were her two ſpiritual counſellors; though the latter, when her opinions were canvaſſed, pretended to differ from her in ſome dangerous points. Countenanced and encouraged by men of ſuch conſequence, ſhe freely inculcated her favourite doctrines; and ſo great was her ſucceſs, that the whole church of Boſton, a few members excepted, became her converts †.

This matter will require ſome illuſtration. Beſides the meetings for public worſhip on the Lord's day, a ſtated lecture every Thurſday in Boſton, and weekly lectures in other towns, there were then frequent private meetings of the brethren of the different churches, for religious exerciſes. Mrs. Hutchinſon thought fit alſo to ſet up a meeting of ſiſters; at which ſhe repeated the ſermons preached the Sunday before, adding her own remarks and expoſitions. At length ſhe foreſook the public aſſemblies, and ſet up what ſhe called a purer worſhip, in her own family. Her lectures made much noiſe, and were at firſt generally approved of. About fourſcore principal women attended them. The contagion ſoon communicated itſelf to their huſbands; and it ſoon appeared, that this female apoſtle had diſtinguiſhed into claſſes the chief miniſters and members of every congregation through the country; a ſmall part of them under a *Covenant of Grace*, and the reſt under a *Covenant of Works*. The whole colony was divided into two factions; diſunited in opinion, but ſtill more ſo in affection. Unfortunately for Mrs. Hutchinſon and her friends, ſhe had placed the principal magiſtrates under a covenant of works. A ſenate was convened through the influence of Mr. Winthrop, who preſided there like another Conſtantine, to uſe the language of that age, in order to try them for their errors. The principal of theſe are ſaid to have been, "That the Holy Ghoſt dwells *perſonally* in a juſtified perſon; that nothing of *ſanctification* can evince to believers their *juſtification*; and that *aſſurance* is by immediate revelation only." The ſpiritual court entered deeply into the *nature of the covenant*; the qualifications preceding it; the uſe of it; the *ſeal of the Spirit*, and other myſtical and incomprehenſible doctrines, on which they concluded nothing. Before it broke up, however, theſe fanatical inquiſitors furniſhed the civil magiſtrate with ſuffi-

* Cotton, Anſ. to Bailey.

† Hutchinſon, chap. i.

BOOK IV. A. D. 1637.

cient matter to profecute the new ſectaries; who under the name of Antinomians, were diſfranchiſed and baniſhed, for no other crime than being a ſet of wrongheaded enthuſiaſts, who thought they had a right to liberty of conſcience;—and toleration was preached againſt, as a ſin in rulers, which would bring down the judgments of God upon the land *.

While theſe ridiculous diſputes diſturbed the internal peace of New England, the Pequods, the moſt warlike of all the Indian tribes in the neighbourhood, threatened it with deſtruction from abroad. They had early manifeſted their hatred of the Engliſh, whom they conſidered as the uſurpers of their country, and had ſeized an opportunity to ſurpriſe and cut off one Capt. Stone and his company, beſides ſeveral individuals on Connecticut river. Peace was, however, offered them, if they would deliver up the murderers. With this demand they did not chuſe to comply; and in order to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt the enemy, they attempted an union with the Naraganſets. There had been a fixed and inveterate enmity between the two tribes; but on this occaſion the Pequods were willing to ſmother it, from a ſenſe of common danger. Their reaſoning on this ſubject was ingenious: they repreſented to their ancient enemies, that the Engliſh were come to diſpoſſeſs them of their lands, and that all the Naraganſets could hope for from their friendſhip, was the favour of being the laſt expelled; whereas if all the natives would unite, they might eaſily deſtroy the Engliſh, or force them to abandon the country without expoſing themſelves to any hazard. They had no occaſion, it was urged, to come to open fight: firing the houſes of the ſtrangers, killing their cattle, and lying in wait for them as they went about their ordinary buſineſs, would ſoon deprive them of all means of ſubſiſtence, and oblige them to depart.

The Naraganſets, however, preferred the preſent pleaſure of revenge upon their mortal enemies, to any conſiderations of future advantage. They are indeed ſaid to have wavered at firſt; but at length Myantinomo, their chief ſachem, with twenty attendants, went to Boſton, where all the magiſtrates and miniſters were called together to receive him. He propoſed to join in war againſt the Pequods; and that neither the Engliſh nor Naraganſets ſhould henceforth make peace with them, but utterly deſtroy them. The governor for the ſake of form, demanded time to conſider of it till next morning, when the following articles were agreed to, viz. That there ſhall be a firm and perpetual peace between the

* Mather. Neal. Hutchinſon. Mr. Dudley, deputy-governor at this time, died with a copy of verſes in his pocket, written with his own hand; of which the following two lines make part:

"Let men of God, in court and churches, watch
"O'er ſuch as do a toleration hatch"

Such was the prevailing doctrine in New England for many years! and until the eyes of its fanatical rulers were opened by the danger of a perſecution coming on themſelves, from king James II. This made his declaration of general liberty of conſcience welcome afterwards; and they thanked him for allowing to them, what they before thought themſelves bound in conſcience to deny to others. Hutchinſon, chap. i.

Engliſh

English and the Naraganſets; that neither party ſhall make peace with the Pequods without the conſent of the other; that the Naraganſets ſhall not harbour any Pequods; that they ſhall put to death or deliver up any murderers of Engliſhmen, and return all fugitive ſervants ‡. Cutſhamaquin, a ſachem of the Maſſachuſets Indians, alſo became a party to the treaty.

Meantime the Pequods continued their hoſtilities; and the Engliſh though ſtill engaged in theological ſquabbles, did not neglect the proper means of defence. Captain Underhill, a bold enthuſiaſt, was ſent with a detachment to ſtrengthen the garriſon of Saybrook Fort, which the Indians beſieged in vain for ſeveral weeks. This impotent effort roufed the indignation of the Engliſh; and the three colonies, Maſſachuſets, Plymouth, and Connecticut, agreed to enter with their joint forces into the Indian country, and attempt the entire deſtruction of the Pequods. They accordingly formed a ſmall army, under the captains Stoughton, Patrick, Maſon, and Underhill. A. D. 1637.

The chief body of the Pequods was collected in two forts or incloſures which they had rendered as ſtrong as poſſible by paliſadoes, their ſkill in fortification reaching no farther. In one of theſe was Saſſacus, their chief ſachem, a renowned warrior, who was alike the admiration of his own people, and the terror of his enemies. Towards the fort where this chief reſided, captain Maſon began his march at the head of the Connecticut men, accompanied by captain Underhill with a detachment from Saybrook Fort, one hundred River Indians *, and two hundred Naraganſets. They would gladly have waited for captain Patrick, who commanded a company of the Maſſachuſets men: but being afraid that the friendly Indians would impute the delay to want of courage, they continued to advance towards the ſcene of their enterprize, to the no ſmall aſtoniſhment of the Naraganſets, who were filled with confuſion and diſmay at the very name of Saſſacus. They endeavoured to diſſuade captain Maſon from his undertaking; but finding him determined, many of them left him. Soon after this deſertion, one of Underhill's men fell lame, and the reſt of the company being fatigued with travelling, loaded with arms, ammunition, and proviſions, it was agreed to attack the neareſt of the enemy's forts. This fort called Miſtick, was eight miles diſtant from that where Saſſacus commanded in perſon. One Wequash, a Pequod by birth, but who had lived for ſome time among the Naraganſets, acted on this occaſion as guide to the deſtruction of his own countrymen, and near relations †. He was ſent forward to reconnoitre the enemy, and returned with intelligence that the Pequods were in high feſtivity, ſinging, dancing, and congratulating themſelves on the departure of the Engliſh. They had ſeen the veſſels paſs by their river from Saybrook towards Naraganſet, and ſuppoſed

‡ Hutchinſon. chap. i.

* Connecticut river.

† This villain, who had violated every natural and moral obligation, became a Chriſtian, and an apoſtle among the Indians, travelling up and down to make converts: and at his death, he reſigned his ſoul to Chriſt, and his only child to the Engliſh, "hoping that it would bleſs the name of Chriſt more than its poor father ever did." Shepard's Let. to Lord.

BOOK III. A. D. 1637.

they were gone off. Some of the party advanced, and heard the Indians at their revels until midnight.

Next morning, about break of day, the Engliſh, after a march of between three and four miles, from the place where they had halted the night before, came within ſight of Miſtick Fort, which ſtood upon a hill. Wequaſh piloted them to the gate: the centinel happened to be gone into one of the wigwams, or cabins, to light his pipe; and the warriors were all ſunk in a profound ſleep. But one of their dogs barking on the approach of the Engliſh, the alarm was ſoon given. The Indians within the fort began their frightful yell, or war-hoop, than which imagination can conceive nothing more horrid; and thoſe without, who being afraid to come up, were in the Engliſh rear, returned the ſhout. Not intimidated, however, by this tremendious ſound, the Engliſh fired upon the enemy through the palliſadoes, and afterwards opened a paſſage into the fort. The Pequods, who had no arms but bows and arrows, tomahawks, and European hatchets, made a ſtout reſiſtance, and wounded many of the Engliſh. This induced captain Malon to ſet fire to one of the wigwams: it ſoon ſpread to the reſt; on which the Engliſh retreated out of the fort, and ſurrounded it. In order to avoid the flames, ſome of the Pequods climbed to the top of the palliſadoes, and by that means expoſed themſelves to the Engliſh bullets: others forced their way out of the incloſure: but few, if any eſcaped; ſuch as broke through the Engliſh ranks being diſpatched by the allied Indians, who formed a circular line at a little diſtance *. This fort or town is ſaid to have contained about ſeventy houſes, and near five hundred inhabitants, men, women, and children †.

In this action the Engliſh had only three men killed. But though the loſs was ſo inconſiderable, and the victory complete, the army was in great diſtreſs. The morning was remarkably cold, and they had no ſhelter even for their wounded, nor any ſort of nourishment. Many Indians were ſtill in the woods, and of the veſſels which had been ordered from Naraganſet to Pequod river, they had no intelligence. In the midſt of this perplexity, they eſpied their veſſels ſailing towards them. They now took up their wounded upon mats faſtened to poles, ſome with the heads of arrows in their bodies, and marched towards the veſſels, through woods and ſwamps, for an extent of ſix miles; the Indians lying in wait at every convenient place, and with their arrows wounding many more. In theſe occaſional attacks, however, many of the Pequods were ſlain; the Engliſh, by this time, being joined by Capt. Patrick and Myantinomo, ſachem of the Naragankets, who had been prevented from arriving ſooner by contrary winds. They put the wounded on board one of the barques, and marched by land to Say-brook Fort, where a new tragedy was acted. The Indians in alliance with the Engliſh had taken eighteen captives, ten males and eight females. The males

* Hutchinſon, chap. i. This author is more particular than any other, in his account of the Pequod war; and great credit is due to his teſtimony, as he appears to have had his information chiefly from original letters and journals. † Id. ibid.

were

where thus disposed of: one was presented to each of the four sachems, the other six were put to the sword. Four of the females were left at the fort, and the other four carried to Connecticut, where the Indians challenged them as their prize; but the English not agreeing to this, they also were sacrificed to end the dispute *. Such an instance of wanton cruelty is not perhaps to be met with in the English annals; and Englishmen, it is to be hoped, could not have been guilty of it, if their minds had not been distempered by a bloody fanaticism, which led them to consider themselves as the Lord's elected people, and all the rest of mankind, but especially the unbaptized, as his enemies, on whom it was their duty to inflict vengeance.

Sassacus, the terrible sachem of the Pequods, after the taking of Mistick fort, and the slaughter of so many of his warriors, broke down the other fort; burnt all the wigwams; put the goods into canoes; and men, women and children forsook their country, and went by land to Quinnipiack. The Massachusets men, under Capt. Stoughton, arrived about this time. They pursued the Pequods, killing or taking prisoners many small parties. At length they were informed of a great body of Indians, composed of different tribes, in a swamp, which they surrounded. One of the sachems came out, with ninety-nine persons of different ages and sexes, and surrendered himself to the English. Wampum †, he said, he had none, nor had he ever killed any of their countrymen; and he pulled off the garment that he wore, which was of black beaver, and presented it to the conquerors, being sensible of the value which they set on such skins, as well as of the danger to which his life was exposed. One of his people was sent to tell the rest of the Indians, that if they would come out and deliver up their arms, and clear themselves from having murdered any Englishmen, they should fare the better. But twelve of the murderers, or as they were likely accounted by their countrymen, patriots, were among them; and after a short parley, they determined, that as they had lived, they would die together. They were near an hundred in all. The English fired upon them, but were able to do little execution; and having surrounded the swamp all night, entered in the morning, when they found that the greater part had escaped. Some of the Indians had muskets, and returned the fire of their enemies ‡. Sassacus fled to the Mohawks, by whom it is said he was murdered at the instigation of the English; but it is more probable, that he and his company incorporated with that warlike race. The Pequod tribe was wholly extirpated. Many of the captives were sent to the Bermudas, and sold for slaves. The Naraganscts took charge of some of them, promising to pay the English for their labour; and the few that remained in a state of freedom, never durst own their tribe, but

June 25.

* Hutchinson, chap. i.

† Indian beads, which passed both among themselves and the New England people for money. They were valued by the fathom.

‡ This is the first instance of the Indians in the neighbourhood of New England using fire-arms.

BOOK IV. A. D. 1637.

mixed with the Naraganſets and other Indians. The very name of Pequod became extinct *.

While the united forces of New England were thus exterminating the Indians, the perſecuted Antinominans were forming new ſettlements. Mr. Hutchinſon, his wife, and ſeveral others of the ſame way of thinking, removed to Acquidneck, now called Rhode Iſland, which they purchaſed from the Indians, and which with the neighbouring ſettlement of Providence, formed alſo by refugees, ſoon became a flouriſhing colony. About the ſame time Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins, two London merchants, Mr. Davenport, a clergyman of great reputation for learning and piety, and many other perſons of fortune and character, arrived at Boſton. The Maſſachuſets colony offered them any place within their juriſdiction, for a ſettlement; but Quinnipiack, and the country between that and the Dutch, being repreſented as very fruitful, and well ſituated for trade and navigation, they choſe to remove thither. There they laid the foundation of a thriving colony, of which Quinnipiack or Newhaven, was the chief town †. They agreed among themſelves on a model of government ſimilar to that of Maſſachuſets Bay; and continued a diſtinct colony till 1662, when they were incorporated by charter with Connecticut, as we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee.

It ſoon appeared that the ſettlement of Newhaven was formed at a very happy time, as the Dutch were ready to take poſſeſſion of the country: and the
A. D. 1638. Maſſachuſets colony received next year, a greater acceſſion of ſettlers than they were able to contain. Three thouſand perſons arrived in twenty ſhips. Theſe were the more welcome, as it was feared a ſtop would be put, in future, to any emigrants coming from the mother country. A commiſſion had been granted, in 1635, to ſeveral of the nobility and great officers of the crown, for regulating the colonies; and archbiſhop Laud kept a jealous eye on New England. A writ of *quo warranto* was even brought by the attorney-general againſt the governor, deputy-governor, and aſſiſtants of the Maſſachuſets colony; but judgment, it ſhould ſeem, was never given againſt the corporation in form. It is certain, however, that Mr. Winthrop received an order from the lords of the council, bearing date April 4, 1638, requiring the governor, or any perſon who ſhould have the letters patent in his cuſtody, to tranſmit the ſame to the board; and in caſe of contempt, that their lordſhips would move his majeſty to re-aſſume into his own hands the whole plantation.

An anſwer was tranſmitted by the colony repreſenting, after profeſſions of loyalty ‡ to the king, that they came over with their families and eſtates, with his majeſty's licence and encouragement, and had greatly enlarged his dominions; but if their charter ſhould be taken away, they would be obliged to remove to ſome other place, or return to their native country; that the other plantations,

* Hutchinſon, chap. i. † Douglas. Hutchinſon.

‡ Such profeſſions were neceſſary; for in a letter from one Burdett to archbiſhop Laud, it is affirmed, that it was not new diſcipline that was aimed at, but ſovereignty; and that it was accounted treaſon, in their general court, to ſpeak of appeals to the king. Hutchinſon, chap. i.

in

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in ſuch caſe, would be abandoned; that the whole country would fall into the hands of the French and Dutch; and that all men would be diſcouraged from engaging in ſimilar undertakings, in conſequence of a royal grant. For theſe reaſons they pray their lordſhips, that they may be ſuffered to live in *this wilderneſs*; that their liberties may not be reſtrained, nor men of abilities hindered from coming to them, while they are encouraged to go to other plantations*. It is not known what reception this anſwer met with; but it is certain no farther demand was made. The lords of the council ſoon after loſt their influence, and the king and the archbiſhop their heads.

Meanwhile the New England colonies continued to extend their branches. Several ſettlements were formed to the north of Merrymack river; and many of the inhabitants of Lynn, being deſirous of larger accommodations, removed to the weſt end of Long Iſland. But there they were oppoſed by the Dutch; and not being able to keep their ground, they removed to the eaſt end of the iſland, where they ſettled a church, and entered into a civil aſſociation, with a purpoſe to be independent of any of the colonies. Another diſtinct government was forming about the ſame time at the mouth of Connecticut river, by the agent of the lords Say and Brooke, who, with other perſons of diſtinction, were ſtill expected in New England. But this humour did not laſt long. In a few years, all the colonies found an union or confederacy neceſſary for their defence, not only againſt the Indians, but againſt the French and Dutch. There could be no rational encouragement for ſmall bodies of men to ſit down any where independent or unconnected. All thoſe who had begun any ſettlements between Maſſachuſets Bay and the Dutch, the Rhode Iſlanders excepted, joined with Connecticut or Newhaven, and all to the eaſtward applied to the Maſſachuſets, that they might aſſociate with them.

The moſt conſiderable of theſe were the ſettlers at Piſcataqua, of whom it will be proper here to give ſome account. In the year 1623, ſeveral gentlemen, merchants, and others in the weſt of England, belonging to Briſtol, Exeter, Dorcheſter, and Shrewſbury, having obtained patents from the council of Plymouth for ſeveral parts of New England, and being encouraged by the accounts of mariners who had made voyages upon the coaſt, projected a fiſhery near Piſcataqua river, and ſent over one David Thomſon, together with Edward and William Hilton, who had been fiſhmongers in London, with all neceſſaries for their purpoſe. The Hiltons ſet up their ſtages a little above the mouth of the river, at a place ſince called Dover. Some others of the patentees, about the ſame time, ſeized on a place at the mouth of the river, called Little Harbour, where they built the firſt houſe. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Maſon belonged to this company; and the place where the houſe was built, with three or four thouſand acres of land for a manor or lordſhip, was aſſigned, by conſent of the reſt of the proprietors, to Capt. Maſon, and the houſe took the name of *Maſon Hall*†.

* Hutchinſon, Apend. No. IV.

† Hubbard.

BOOK IV.

These settlements made but small progress for several years after their establishment. The affairs of the great council of Plymouth or New England were conducted in so confused a manner, that there have been, it is said, six or seven different grants of the lands between Merrymack and Quenebec rivers. In 1620, Gorges and Mason obtained a patent together, for all the lands between those two rivers; and by mutual agreement, and a distinct patent, all the lands from Piscataqua to Merrymack river were assigned to Mason. These two grants, either jointly or separately, comprehended the whole country of New Hampshire and the province of Main. The lords Say and Brooke, who were very general adventurers, purchased the Bristol men's share of this territory, according to the former grant, which was two thirds of the first company's interest. Some persons in Shrewsbury held the other third. One Capt. Wiggan was appointed agent for the Shrewsbury men. In 1630, one Capt. Neal, with three others came over to Piscataqua to superintend the affairs of Gorges and Mason; but more especially to discover a new country, supposed to be within their patent, to which they gave the name of LACONIA. Neal spent three years in searching for this country, and returned at last without finding it *. While thus employed, he prohibited Wiggan from settling a point of land between Dover and Exeter; but that gentleman went on, and determined to defend the right of his constituents by the sword. Neal threatened high; and from what might have happened, the disputed land took the name of *Bloody Point*, which it retains to this day. The lords Say and Brooke also made Wiggan their agent for the term of seven years; at the expiration of which the interest of the patentees was so little advanced, that the whole was sold to him for six hundred pounds †.

About the year 1633, one Williams was also sent over to this country by Gorges and Mason, to take care of some salt-works which they had erected. Along with him came one Mr. Chadburne, and several other planters and traders. These began the settlement of Strawberry Bank, now Portsmouth; and after Neal went away, they are supposed either to have entered into an agreement, and voluntarily chosen Mr. Williams for their governor, or else he was appointed by the proprietors in England. He was a man of education and prudence, but soon removed to Barbadoes. In the meantime the lords Say and Brooke had prevailed upon several persons of good condition, who laboured under the influence of religious scruples, to transplant themselves and families to Piscataqua, so as to be able to form inhabitants sufficient for a considerable town.

A. D. 1638. These people having no charter, commission, or power of government from the crown, found themselves under the necessity of entering into a combination or agreement among themselves, which was in the following form: "Whereas sundry mischiefs and inconveniencies have befallen us, and more and greater may, in regard to want of civil government, his gracious majesty having settled no order for us to our knowledge, we whose names are under written, being in-

* Hutchinson. Douglas. † Hutchinson, chap. i.

habitants

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habitants upon the river Piſcataqua, have voluntarily agreed to combine ourſelves into a body politic, that we may the more comfortably enjoy the benefit of his majeſty's laws; and do hereby actually engage ourſelves to ſubmit to his royal majeſty's laws, together with all ſuch laws as ſhall be concluded upon by a major part of the freemen of our ſociety, in caſe they be not repugnant to the laws of England, and be adminiſtered in behalf of his majeſty: and this we have maturely promiſed and engaged to do, and ſo to continue, until his excellent majeſty ſhall give other orders concerning us *.

About the ſame time Mr. Wheelwright, who had been baniſhed the juriſdiction of Maſſachuſets Bay, for maintaining the opinions of Mrs. Hutchinſon, and a number of perſons who adhered to him, began a plantation on the ſouth ſide of the great bay up Piſcataqua river, to which they gave the name of Exeter. They alſo thought it neceſſary to form themſelves into a body politic, in order to enable them to carry on the affairs of their plantation †. Thus we ſee three diſtinct colonies formed upon Piſcataqua river. Two of theſe, with all the ſeparate ſettlements, ſubmitted themſelves, as already mentioned, to the Maſſachuſets government; which afterwards, by an abſurd menſuration, extended its claim to dominion over all New Hampſhire. Mr. Wheelwright and his followers, unwilling to fall a ſecond time under the power of their perſecutors, removed to the province of Main ‡, yet nearly in the rude ſtate of nature.

The people of New England had now leiſure to attend to ſomething more than their immediate wants. Straits and difficulties at the beginning of the colony, had produced induſtry and good huſbandry. By theſe means the ſettlers ſoon raiſed proviſions enough for their own ſupport, and afterwards an overplus for exportation. But for the firſt ten years, we hear of little or no trade, except a ſmall traffic with the Indians by barter of toys, and the few utenſils, tools, and materials for cloathing which they at firſt thought neceſſary, in exchange for furs and ſkins. What the planters brought with them conſiſted principally of materials for their buildings; neceſſary tools for their huſbandry; ſtock for their farms, and cloathing for themſelves and families. Thoſe who had more property than was ſufficient for theſe purpoſes, were country gentlemen, unacquainted with commerce, and who never employed themſelves in it. The people in general turned their minds to provide comfortable lodgings, and to bring under improvement as much land as would afford them neceſſary ſupport. This was ſufficient employment for a time; but when, by hard labour and hard fare, the land produced more than was conſumed by the inhabitants, the overplus was ſent to the Weſt Indies. Returns were made in the produce of the ſeveral iſlands, or in bullion; the greater part of which, together with the furs procured from the natives, were ſent to England, in payment for the manufactures continually neceſſary from the mother-country. As ſoon as hands could be ſpared from huſbandry, and other eſſential labours, ſome were taken off, and employed in ſawing boards,

* Id. ibid.

† Hutchinſon, chap. i. from Hubbard's, and other ancient manuſcripts.

‡ Hutchinſon, ubi ſup.

BOOK IV.

ſplitting ſtaves, ſhingles, and hoops-others; in the fiſhery; and as many as were capable of it, in building ſmall veſſels for fiſhing, as well as for the coaſting and foreign trade.

Thus the people of New England, gradually and inſenſibly, ſeem to have fallen into the trade moſt natural for the country, and adapted to their peculiar circumſtances, without any premeditated ſcheme or plan for that purpoſe. The primary view of the ſettlers, as we have already ſeen, was the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. Merchants and others, for the ſake of gain, when they afterwards ſaw a proſpect of it, came over and incorporated with them. By theſe means commerce was greatly increaſed, and the legiſlators were led to proper meaſures for the further encouragement of it. In order to promote the fiſhery, an act was made exempting all eſtates employed in catching, drying, or tranſporting fiſh, from all duties and public taxes. All fiſhermen during the ſeaſon for buſineſs, and all ſhip-builders were, by the ſame act, excuſed from trainings; and all perſons were prohibited from uſing any cod or baſs fiſh for manuring the ground *. Nor were the people of New England, in their improvements, attentive merely to trade, or to their own civil and religious welfare: they looked forward to poſterity. A college was eſtabliſhed for the education of youth, at a place in the neighbourhood of Boſton, called Cambridge, which ſoon became a conſiderable ſeminary †; and ſumptuary laws were made for reſtraining exceſs in apparel, and other expences. Every regulation, in a word, was adopted for giving proſperity and perpetuity to the new commonwealth, or aſſemblage of free and independent ſtates, as far as regarded themſelves.

But the population, as well as proſperity of New England, received a ſudden and ſurpriſing check, from the change in the affairs of the mother country ‡. The parliament had acquired the aſcendency; and America being no longer neceſſary as an aſylum, ſome perſons who had been the greateſt benefactors of the northern colonies, not only diſcouraged any farther emigration thither, but endeavoured
A. D. 1641. to induce ſuch as had gone over to remove. Lord Say, in particular having turned his thoughts to a more ſoutherly ſettlement in the Bahama iſlands, had engaged Mr. Humfries, one of the magiſtrates of the Maſſachuſets colony, in

* Fiſh muſt have been very plenty, as well as of little value, in a country where ſuch a law was neceſſary.

† This college takes its date from the year 1638. Two years before the general court gave four hundred pounds towards a public ſchool at New Town, now Cambridge; and Mr. John Harvard, a worthy miniſter, dying that year, left between ſeven and eight hundred pounds to the ſame uſe. This induced the general court to give to the ſchool the name of *Harvard College*, and to make farther proviſion for its maintenance and government.

‡ It is computed, that in two hundred and ninety eight ſhips, which were the whole number that had arrived in New England before the year 1640, when the firſt emigration ceaſed, that twenty-one thouſand two hundred paſſengers, men, women, and children, making about four thouſand families, had been tranſported thither. Hutchinſon, chap. i. The whole charge of tranſporting ſo many perſons; their goods; the ſtock of cattle and proviſions requiſite until they could ſupport themſelves; neceſſaries for building, artillery, arms, and ammunition, is eſtimated at one hundred and ninety-two thouſand pounds ſterling. Johnſon, ap. Hutchinſon.

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his design of peopling it partly from New England, which he endeavoured now to discredit at home, as a country that was naturally barren, and but ill requited the labour of the husbandman, after tilling the ground with the sweat of his brow. Governor Winthrop's letter to lord Say, when informed of these particulars, and his lordship's answer, are equally curious, and strongly mark the character of the men and the complexion of the times. The governor represented, That it seemed evident God had chosen New England to plant this people in, and that it would be displeasing unto him that this work should be hindered; yea, that such as had been well inclined, if not with their persons yet with their substance to encourage it, should desist, and obstruct it by insinuating, that there was no possibility of finding subsistence there: and he added, that God would never have sent so many of his people to a land that was not fit to maintain them, or which he did not mean to make so, through his loving kindness. His lordship replied, That he could not deny great part of what was written, especially the evidence of God's owning his people in the country of New England; but it was a place, he alledged, appointed for a present refuge only, and a better place being now found out, they ought all to remove thither *.

A. D. 1641.

Lord Say's description of the soil of New England, as then managed, was not altogether false. Much labour was necessary to clear a spot of ground either for pasture or tillage; and as the planters never used such manure as could keep the land in heart, they found that, after three or four years culture, they exhausted the strength of the soil, and were obliged to attempt new improvements. This discouraged many persons, who were ready to remove to the Bahamas, when intelligence was brought that the Spaniards had dispossessed lord Say and his associates, of all their settlements in those islands. The New England people blessed themselves, that they were not exposed to the jealousy of such powerful neighbours, nor to the inroads of such inveterate enemies of their religion: and a resolution of the parliament in their favour, encouraged them to persevere in subduing their rugged soil, that they might transmit to their posterity those possessions which they had acquired, and those civil and religious privileges, for which they had suffered so much, and struggled so hard, amid a wilderness filled with wild beasts and savage men.

A. D. 1642.

The resolution of the parliament being transmitted to the governor of Massachusets Bay, was ordered by the court to be entered upon the public records, and is as follows:—"Whereas the plantations in New England have, by the blessing of the Almighty, had good and prosperous success, without any public charge to this

* Hubbard, M. S. Hist. Hutchinson, chap. i. Mr. Winthrop and lord Say appear to have been sincere enthusiasts; yet, in the present case, they make religion as perfectly subservient to their particular interests, as if they had assumed it only for the purpose. From similar appearances, certain writers have pronounced that Oliver Cromwel, Sir Henry Vane, and others, were mere impostors. But the philosopher will judge otherwise: he will see the difficulty of supporting a borrowed character; that it is perfectly natural for all men to apply to the passions and prejudices of those whom they want to govern or persuade, and to make use of those arguments which would have most influence upon themselves.

BOOK IV. A. D. 1642.

ſtate, and are now likely to prove very happy for the propagation of the goſpel in thoſe parts, and very beneficial and commodious to this kingdom and nation; the commons now aſſembled in parliament, do for the better advancement of thoſe plantations, and the encouragement of the planters to proceed in their undertaking, ordain, That all merchandizing goods, that, by any perſon or perſons whatſoever, merchants or others, ſhall be exported out of this kingdom of England into New England to be ſpent, uſed, or employed there; or being of the growth of thoſe colonies, ſhall be from thence imported hither; or ſhall be laden or put on board any ſhip or veſſel for neceſſaries in paſſing to and fro; and all and every the owner or owners thereof ſhall be freed and diſcharged of and from paying and yielding any cuſtom, ſubſidy, taxation, or other duty for the ſame, either inward or outward; either in this kingdom or New England, or in any port, haven, creek, or other place whatſoever, until the Houſe of Commons ſhall take further order therein to the contrary *."

In return for this mark of favour from the prevailing power in the mother-country, the general court of the Maſſachuſets colony paſſed the following order: "Whereas the civil wars and diſſentions in our native country, through the ſeditious words and carriages of many evil affected perſons, cauſes diviſions in many places of government in America; ſome profeſſing themſelves for the King, and others for the Parliament, not conſidering that the Parliament themſelves profeſs that they ſtand *for the king and parliament* againſt the malignant papiſts and delinquents in that kingdom †: it is therefore ordered, That what perſon ſoever ſhall by word, writing, or action, endeavour to diſturb our peace, directly or indirectly, by drawing a party, under pretence that he is for the King of England, and ſuch as join with him, againſt the Parliament, ſhall be accounted as an offender of a high nature againſt the commonwealth, and to be proceeded with, either capitally or otherwiſe, according to the quality and degree of his offence; provided always, that this ſhall not be extended againſt any merchant-ſtrangers and ſhipmen that come hither merely for matter of trade or merchandiſe, albeit they ſhould come from any of thoſe parts that are in the hands of the King and ſuch as adhere to him againſt the Parliament, carrying themſelves here quietly, and free from railing or nouriſhing any faction, mutiny or ſedition amongſt us as aforeſaid ‡.

But though the people of New-England ſhewed ſo much willingneſs to acquieſce under the civil government of the parliament, which perfectly correſponded with their own republican principles, they were leſs compliant in religi-

* Maſſ. Rec.

† This reaſoning is ingenious and Jeſuitical.

‡ Hutchinſon, chap. i. from the Maſſ. Rec. Nothing leſs than ſuch compliance, ſays this author, could be expected from the dependent ſtate of a colony on its mother country. It ought, however, to be remembered, that Virginia and Barbadoes reſiſted the authority of the parliament, till compelled by force to yield. We muſt therefore aſcribe the ready acquieſcence of New England to ſome other cauſe than a ſenſe of *dependence* upon the parent ſtate; which the Maſſachuſets colony, in particular, very early ſhewed a diſpoſition to relinquiſh.

ous matters; for although letters came to Mr. Cotton, miniſter of Boſton, Mr. Hooker of Hertford, and Mr. Davenport of Newhaven, ſigned by all the puritan nobility, many of the principal members of the houſe of commons, and the principal miniſters of the party, to call them, or ſome of them, if all could not come, to aſſiſt in the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter, none of them went. Such of the magiſtrates and miniſters as were near Boſton met together, and moſt of them were of opinion, that it was *a call of God:* but Mr. Hooker did not like the buſineſs; and thought, with his uſual wiſdom and moderation, that it was *not a ſufficient call* to go a thouſand leagues, with no other view but to confer on matters of church government, about which they were already agreed among themſelves. Mr. Davenport thought otherwiſe; but his congregation having only one miniſter, would not ſpare him. Mr. Cotton thought it *a clear call*; and would have undertaken the voyage, if others would have accompanied him *. But other letters ſoon arrived which made this zealot, who was now preparing for the preſs a "Vindication of Congregational Churches," alter his opinion. Theſe letters gave him and the brethren in general reaſon to apprehend, what really happened, that the aſſembly at Weſtminſter would eſtabliſh the preſbyterian mode of worſhip and church government; and as they were determined to adhere to their own mode, in defiance of the powers of darkneſs and the rulers of this world, all thoughts of going to England for ſuch a purpoſe were laid aſide †.

This neglect, however, gave no offence to the parliament, many of whom, and Cromwell among others, were friends to the congregational, or independent mode of church government. But there is one peculiarity in the character of the New-England congregationaliſts, which might have been ſuppoſed to render them obnoxious to the parliament, and which in itſelf appears to be inexplicable; namely, that cruel ſpirit of perſecution which prevailed among them, in direct contradiction to the principles of the ſame ſect in the mother country, and which led them to believe it to be for the glory of God, to take away the lives of his rational creatures, for maintaining tenets different, only in trifles, from what they profeſſed themſelves ‡. Perhaps the reaſon why that ſpirit never ſhewed itſelf among the independents in England might be, becauſe they were never in full poſſeſſion of the civil power: for although Cromwell favoured them more than any other ſect, they never engroſſed his whole confidence, and

* Hutchinſon, chap i.

† "Several perſons who came from England in 1643, made a *muſter*," ſays Hutchinſon, "to ſet up *preſbyterian government*, under the authority of the aſſembly at Weſtminſter; but a New England *aſſembly*, the general court, ſoon put them to the *rout*." Hiſt. Maſſachuſet's Bay, chap. i. Yet ſome reſpectable authors ſeem to conſider the New England people as *preſbyterians*, and aſcribe the preſent diſturbances to the turbulent humour, and by a new blunder, the *republican principles* of that ſect. See "An Addreſs to the Britiſh Government on a Subject of preſent Concern, 1776."

‡ That ſpirit ſufficiently appears from ſeveral inſtances already noticed, and we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee it more fully diſplayed.

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BOOK IV. A. D. 1642.

he was beſides an enemy to ſupremacy in eccleſiaſtical matters; nor muſt he have conferred it upon them, had he even been ſo diſpoſed, the preſbyterian party being always too conſiderable to have permitted ſuch an innovation. Be that however as it may, it is certain that the people of New-England were permitted to perſecute their diſſenting brethren, and to enjoy their civil and religious liberties, without fear or reſtraint, for a period of twenty years; during which commerce, induſtry, and population flouriſhed, and its different ſettlements attained to a very high degree of proſperity.

But although the New-England colonies were in no danger from the prevailing powers in the mother-country, amid revolutions which entirely ſubverted both its civil and eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, their ſituation in regard to their American neighbours, prevented them from ſinking into a ſtate of indolent ſecurity; and their own domeſtic diſſentions, and religious broils, from taſting that repoſe which might have been expected from a well regulated government, and a ſober induſtrious people engaged in the purſuit of the ſame objects. The Indians on their back, and the French and Dutch on each ſide, made conſtant watchfulneſs neceſſary. In order to provide againſt theſe dangers, four of the colonies, namely Maſſachuſets Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Newhaven †, entered into a political confederacy for their mutual defence and ſafety; the principal articles of which were, that the United Colonies of New-England enter into a firm and perpetual league, offenſive and defenſive; that each colony ſhall retain a diſtinct and ſeparate juriſdiction; that no two colonies ſhall join in one juriſdiction without the conſent of the whole, and that no other colony ſhall be received into the confederacy without the like conſent; that the charge of all wars, offenſive or defenſive, ſhall be borne in proportion to the number of male inhabitants, between ſixteen and ſixty years of age in each colony; that two commiſſioners from each government, being church members, ſhall meet annually, and conclude upon matters of peace and war, and all other affairs relative to the general object of the confederacy ‡.

* This conjecture with reſpect to the independents, is countenanced not only by the practice of thoſe in New England, but alſo by that ſpirit which diſcovered itſelf among their preſbyterian brethren, from whom they differed little, except in regard to government, when preſbytery was eſtabliſhed in England. Nothing gave them ſo much offence as the propenſity of many in the parliament to tolerate the proteſtant ſectaries. Such indulgence, they exclaimed, made the church of Chriſt reſemble Noah's ark, and rendered it a receptacle for all unclean beaſts. They inſiſted that the leaſt of Chriſt's truths was ſuperior to all political conſideration: and they menaced all their opponents with the ſame rigorous perſecution, under which they themſelves had groaned, when held in ſubjection by the hierarchy. Ruſhworth, Vol. VII. Clarendon, vol. IV.

† The colony of Rhode-Iſland was willing to have joined with the reſt, but the Maſſachuſets refuſed to admit commiſſioners from that colony. Hutchinſon, chap. i. probably on account of the freedom of their religious tenets.

‡ Mather. Neal. Hutchinſon.

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CHAP. III.

A. D. 1643.

This confederacy, which had been in agitation for ſome time, was haſtened by the diſturbances occaſioned by one Gorton, who revived ſome of the moſt dangerous doctrines of the Antinomians; and after being baniſhed from ſeveral juriſdictions, and whipped in others, attempted to eſtabliſh a ſettlement with his followers, in conſequence of a grant from the Indians. The Maſſachuſets government pretended that this grant was within their juriſdiction; ſeized Gorton and his followers, and committed them to priſon. Being brought before the court, the charge exhibited againſt them was, that on ſerious examination of their writings, and their anſwers relative to them, they were found to be "blaſphemous enemies of the true religion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt and his holy ordinances, and alſo of civil authority among the people of God, eſpecially within that juriſdiction." Their ſentence was cruel. Gorton was ordered to be confined to Charleſtown, there to be kept at hard labour, and to wear ſuch bolts and irons as might hinder his eſcape; and if he broke his confinement, or by ſpeech or writing publiſhed or maintained any of the blaſphemous abominable hereſies wherewith he had been charged by the general court, or ſhould reproach or reprove any of the churches of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in theſe united colonies, or the civil government, that upon conviction thereof, or trial by jury, he ſhould ſuffer death *. The reſt were confined to different towns, one in a town, and under the ſame hard conditions with Gorton †.

The united colonies had occaſion ſoon after their confederacy, to check the encroachments of the French, who had re-eſtabliſhed themſelves at St. Croix, in Nova Scotia, whence they had been driven by captain Argol, in 1613; and alſo to accommodate ſome differences among the Indians, two powerful tribes of whom, the Naraganſets and Mohegins, were at war with each other. This was effected without bloodſhed on the part of the colonies. But the greateſt danger to which New England was expoſed, ſtill ſprung from its inteſtine diviſions. A violent ſtruggle for power aroſe between the magiſtrates and deputies of the Maſſachuſets colony. This ſtruggle was occaſioned by a difference in opinion on the identity of a ſow; which was claimed by a poor woman, as

A. D. 1644.

* Hutchinſon, chap. i. Gorton ſays, they caſt a lot for the lives of him and his followers, putting it to the major vote of the court, whether they ſhould live or die; and that God in his providence ordered it by a majority of two voices only in favour of their lives.

† After being confined one winter, they were baniſhed the juriſdiction, and from the lands purchaſed of the Indians, upon pain of death. Hubbard. M. S. Hiſt. ap. Hutchinſon. Gorton ſoon after went to England, where he obtained an order from the earl of Warwick, governor in chief, the lord high admiral and commiſſioners appointed by the parliament for the Engliſh plantations in America, directed to the governor and aſſiſtants of the Maſſachuſets, and to all governors and inhabitants in New England, that the ſaid Gorton and his followers might be permitted to enjoy their lands in Naraganſet Bay; and notwithſtanding ſeveral remonſtrances in the name of the united colonies, it was finally recommended to them, not only to ſuffer the Gortoniſts to enjoy their plantations, "but alſo to encourage them with protection and aſſiſtance, whilſt they ſhould demean themſelves peaceably." Hubbard. They gave to their ſettlement, in honour of their patron, the name of Warwick, which it retains to this day.

BOOK IV. A. D. 1634.

having ſtrayed from her ſome years before: and her title being diſputed by a perſon of more conſequence, not only the court, but the whole country was thrown into convulſions on the occaſion. Compaſſion for the poor woman is ſuppoſed to have prevailed with the common people againſt right, and perhaps influence had ſome ſway with the magiſtrates. But at length they found it neceſſary to perſuade the perſon, in whoſe favour they had given a deciſion, to relinquiſh his claim, that the public peace might be reſtored *.

Before this diſturbance was well compoſed, another of a more alarming nature diſtracted New England. One William Vaſſal, a gentleman of a pleaſant and affable diſpoſition, who came over to Maſſachuſets Bay with the firſt patentees, and afterwards ſettled at Scituate, in the juriſdiction of New Plymouth, had always purſued himſelf with oppoſing the government of both colonies: A. D. 1636. and having much influence in the former as well as the latter, he now laid a ſcheme for petitions from ſuch as were non-freemen, to the courts of both colonies and to parliament. If theſe petitions were rejected. The two firſt of the Maſſachuſets petitioners were Samuel Maverick and Robert Child. Mr. Maverick being in the country at the arrival of the charter, was made a freeman before the law confining freedom to ſuch only as were church members, was in force; but being an epiſcopalian, he had never been in any office. Child was a young gentleman juſt come from the univerſity of Padua, where he had ſtudied phyſic, and was reputed to have taken the degree of doctor.

The principal things complained of by the petitioners were, that the fundamental laws of England were not owned by the colony, as the baſis of its government, according to the patent; that it denied thoſe civil privileges, which the freemen of the juriſdiction enjoyed, to ſuch as were not members of churches, and did not take an oath of fidelity deviſed by its own authority, although freeborn Engliſhmen of ſober lives and converſation; that they were debarred from Chriſtian privileges, unleſs members of ſome of the particular churches in the country, though otherwiſe ſober, righteous and godly, eminent for knowledge, and members of churches in England: and they prayed, that civil liberty and freedom might be forthwith granted to all true Engliſhmen, and that all the members of the church of England or Scotland, not ſcandalous in life or converſation, might be admitted to the privileges of the churches in New England; or if theſe civil and religious privileges were refuſed, that they might be exempted from the heavy taxes impoſed upon them, and of the impreſſes made of themſelves, their children, and ſervants into the militia †.

The magiſtrates and great part of the colony were much offended at this petition, and the petitioners were required to attend the court. They urged their right of petitioning: but were told, they were not accuſed for petitioning, but of contemptuous and ſeditious expreſſions. A charge was accordingly drawn up againſt them, and as they refuſed to acknowledge their offence, they were fined,

* Hutchinſon, chap. 1. from a MS. in his poſſeſſion, and the Maſſ. Rec.

† Hutchinſon, chap. 2.

CHAP. III. A. D. 164.

ſome in larger ſome in ſmaller ſums *. But the court was by no means unanimous on this occaſion; and Mr. Winthrop, who was then deputy governor, being particularly active in proſecuting the petitioners, the party in favour of them had ſo much intereſt as to obtain a vote requiring him to anſwer in public to the complaints preferred againſt him. He accordingly deſcended from the bench, in order to clear his conduct at the bar, which he did to the ſatisfaction of all preſent. After being honourably acquitted, he reſumed his ſeat upon the bench, and made the following ſpeech; which, conſidered in a general way, is admirable both with reſpect to matter and form, though the propriety of applying it to the particular occaſion may be queſtioned, as the petitioners were neither rioters nor inſurgents, nor men who had otherwiſe violated the public peace.

"Gentlemen," ſaid he, "I will not look back to the paſt proceedings of this court, nor to the perſons therein concerned: I am ſatisfied, that I was publicly accuſed, and that I am now publicly acquitted; but give me leave to ſay ſomething on this occaſion, that may ſerve to rectify the opinion of the people from whom theſe diſtempers of the ſtate have ariſen. The queſtions that have troubled the country of late have been about the authority of the magiſtrate and the liberty of the people. Magiſtracy is certainly an appointment of God; and I entreat you to conſider, that you choſe them from among yourſelves, and that they are men ſubject to the like paſſions with yourſelves. We take an oath to govern you according to God's laws and our own, to the beſt of our ſkill: if we commit errors not willingly, but for want of ſkill, you ought therefore to bear with us. Nor would I have you miſtake your own liberty. There is a liberty in doing what we liſt, without regard to law or juſtice. Such liberty is inconſiſtent with authority. But civil, moral, federal liberty, conſiſts in every one's enjoying his property, and having the benefit of the laws of his country. This is what you ought to contend for, at the hazard of your lives: but this is very conſiſtent with a due ſubjection to the civil magiſtrate, and the paying him that reſpect which his character requires †."

* The petitioners claimed an appeal to the commiſſioners for plantations in England, but it was not allowed; and intelligence being received that ſome of them intended to go home with a complaint, their papers were ſeized, and among them was found a petition to the right honourable the earl of Warwick and others inveſted with that high truſt, from about twenty five non-freemen, for themſelves and many thouſands more, in which they repreſent, That, from the pulpits, they had been reproached and branded with the names of deſtroyers of churches and common wealths, and called Hamans, Judaſes, ſons of Korah, &c. and publicly treated as malefactors, when all their crime was a petition to the court. They then proceeded to pray for ſettled churches in New England, according to the reformation of England; that the law of England might be there eſtabliſhed; and that all Engliſh freeholders might enjoy ſuch privileges there as in England and the other plantations. Mr. Winſlow, who had been choſen agent for the colony to anſwer Gorton's complaint, was now inſtructed to make defence againſt theſe petitioners, and by his prudent management, and credit with many of the principal perſons then in power, he prevented any prejudice to the colony from either of theſe applications, which might otherwiſe have proved dangerous to its privileges. Hutchinſon, chap. i.

† Mather. Neal.

Soon

BOOK IV. A. D. 1649.

Soon after piloting the colony through this ſtorm, Mr. Winthrop's health began to decline, and he died in the beginning of the year 1649, in the ſixty-third year of his age. He was a man of virtue and abilities, and ſpent his eſtate * and bodily ſtrength in the public ſervice, although he was remarkable for his temperance, frugality, and œconomy. He was of a more catholic ſpirit than moſt of his brethren before he left England, but afterwards he grew more contracted, and was diſpoſed to lay too great ſtreſs upon indifferent matters. It was he that firſt propoſed leaving off the cuſtom of drinking one to another, and then procured a law to prohibit it. He was ſucceeded by Mr. Endicot, the moſt rigid and fanatical of all the magiſtrates, in his uſual office of governor, and by Mr. Dudley, a gentleman of a ſimilar character, in that of deputy governor.

Theſe two zealots got the other aſſiſtants to join with them in an aſſociation againſt long hair, of which they declared their deteſtation in the following public inſtrument. "Foraſmuch as the wearing of *long hair*, after the manner of Ruſſians and barbarous Indians, has begun to invade New England, contrary to the rule of God's word, which ſays, *It is a ſhame for a man to wear* LONG HAIR, as alſo the commendable cuſtom generally of all the godly of our nation, until within theſe few years; we the magiſtrates (who have ſubſcribed this paper, for the ſhewing of our own innocency in this behalf) do declare and manifeſt our diſlike and *deteſtation* againſt the wearing of ſuch *long hair*, as againſt a thing uncivil and unmanly, whereby men do *deform themſelves*, and offend ſober and modeſt men, and do *corrupt good manners*: we do therefore earneſtly entreat all the elders of this juriſdiction, as often as they ſhall ſee cauſe, to manifeſt their *zeal againſt it* in their public adminiſtrations, and to take care that the members of their reſpective churches be not *defiled therewith*; that ſo, ſuch as ſhall prove *obſtinate*, and will not *reform themſelves*, may have God and man to witneſs againſt them †." A few years before, tobacco was prohibited under a penalty, and the ſmoke of it is compared, by ſome of the New England writers of that age, to the ſmoke of the bottomleſs pit; but ſome of the clergy fell into the practice of ſmoking, and tobacco, by an act of government, was ſet at liberty ‡.

In 1650, was ſettled a diſpute which had long ſubſiſted between the colony of Newhaven and the Dutch. They had a deſign, as already obſerved, to have poſſeſſed themſelves of Connecticut river, and to have prevented the Engliſh from obtaining any footing there; and ſoon after Mr. Eaton and his company ſat down at Newhaven, the Dutch charged them with encroachments, though they themſelves

* He had an eſtate in Suffolk of ſix or ſeven hundred pounds a year, which he turned into money, and embarked his all to promote the ſettlement of New England.

† "The third month, 10th day, 1649. Jo. Endicot, governor, Thomas Dudley, deputy-governor, Rich. Bellingham, Richard Saltonſtall, Increaſe Nowell, William Hibbins, Thomas Flint, Rob. Bridges, Simon Bradſtreet, aſſiſtants." Harvard College Records. "I have often wondered," ſays Hutchinſon, "that the text in Leviticus, *Ye ſhall not round the corners of your heads*, was never brought againſt ſhort hair. The rule in New England was, that none ſhould wear their hair below their ears. In a clergyman it was ſaid to be the greater offence: *they* were, in an eſpecial manner, required to go *parentibus auribus*." Hiſt. Maſſachuſets Bay, chap. i.

‡ Id. ibid.

ſelves

CHAP. III. A. D. 1650.

ſelves had no pretence to any certain boundary. The Engliſh, regardleſs of theſe complaints, went on extending their ſettlements to Milford, Stamford, and other places, within a few miles of Hudſon's river. Whether the Dutch had any good title to the country contiguous to that river, is much to be queſtioned, and ſhall be afterwards examined: but it is certain that they arrogated a claim to it, and would have expelled the Engliſh, if they had been able; and this year, while the commiſſioners of the united colonies were ſitting at Hartford, the Dutch governor, Stuyveſant, came thither to treat, and preſented his propoſals in writing, dated New Netherlands, September 23, being the day on which they were delivered. He complained of the encroachmants at Connecticut river, as well as towards Hudſon's river; of the reception of fugitives; and of a law debarring them from trade with the Indians within the juriſdiction of the Engliſh colonies. The commiſſioners took notice, that his propoſals bore the date of New Netherlands, and refuſed to treat, until he altered the name of the place where they were dated. He offered, if the Engliſh would forbear ſtiling the place Hartford, that he would forbear ſtiling it New Netherlands, and date his propoſals at Connecticut. They conſented that he ſhould date at Connecticut, but would not give up their own right to date at Hartford. After ſeveral days ſpent in meſſages, the matters in diſpute were referred to four perſons; two appointed by the commiſſioners, and two by the Dutch governor, whoſe award was to be binding on both parties. The line of partition which they ſettled, ran northerly twenty miles in length from the ſea, and afterwards as the Dutch and the colony of Newhaven ſhould agree, ſo as not to come within ten miles of Hudſon's river *.

The ſame year a corporation in England, conſtituted for propagating the goſpel among the Indians, began a correſpondence with the commiſſioners of the united colonies. One profeſſed deſign of the colony charter was the converſion of the natives. The long neglect of any attempts of this kind is truly ſurpriſing, in men who believed the religion of Jeſus ſo eſſential to the temporal and eternal felicity of mankind. The Indians themſelves aſked, How it happened, if Chriſtianity was of ſuch importance, that for ſo many years the Engliſh had ſaid nothing to them about it. The Engliſh replied, that they were ſorry they had not done it ſooner, and that they were not willing to liſten to divine truths. This, however, was not univerſally the caſe. Several of the Indians who had been taken as ſervants into Engliſh families, had attained to ſome knowledge of the Chriſtian doctrines, and ſeemed to be affected with what they had been taught concerning a future ſtate of exiſtence, and with fears of the divine diſpleaſure. John, ſagamore of the Maſſachuſets Indians, would ſometimes praiſe the Engliſh and their God, exclaiming in his imperfect ſpeech, "Much good men, much good God!"—and when he was on his death bed, he ſent for a neighbouring miniſter, and deſired him to teach his ſon to know the God of the Engliſh, after he was dead †.

Mention has already been made of Wequaſh, the Pequod, who pretended to embrace Chriſtianity; but the firſt inſtance of an Indian who gave any hopes of

* Hutchinſon, chap. i. † Mather. Neal. Hutchinſon.

BOOK IV. becoming a real Chriſtian, was that of Hiacoomes, at Martha's Vineyard, in the year 1643. Under the inſtruction of Thomas Mayhew, a reſpectable planter, who had obtained a grant of that iſland, he was induced to attend the Engliſh congregations, and became himſelf a preacher among his own people. Encouraged by this example, the general court of the Maſſachuſets paſſed, in 1646, an act for carrying the goſpel to the Indians; and it was at the ſame time recommended to the elders how it might be beſt done. A viſit was accordingly made to the Indian villages, by the perſons appointed for that purpoſe; and one of the company, after ſolemn prayer in Engliſh, began a diſcourſe in the Indian tongue, containing a brief explication of the moral law, and the wrath and curſe of God denounced againſt the breakers of that law. He then unfolded the myſtery of the incarnation; the coming of Chriſt into the world to recover mankind from ſin; his ſufferings and death, reſurrection and aſcenſion, and that he will come again at the end of the world to be the judge of all men. They then entered into a free converſation with the Indians, and deſired them to aſk ſuch queſtions as they thought proper, upon any point which they did not underſtand; and it became the conſtant practice, after ſermon, for as many of the Indians as deſired it, to ſtand up and propoſe queſtions to the preacher *.

The ſucceſs of this firſt viſit was ſo conſiderable, that two others were undertaken the ſame year, and a particular account of the whole was tranſmitted to England, and publiſhed there, under the title of "the Day-breaking, if not the Sun-riſing of the Goſpel, with the Indians in New England." Subſcriptions were ſolicited in the mother-country by Mr. Winſlow, the Maſſachuſet's agent; and Mr. Elliot, a pious miniſter in America, applied himſelf, at the ſame time, to the work, with zeal equal to that of the Romiſh miſſionaries. But inſtead of adopting a favourite maxim of that church, that "ignorance is the mother of devotion," he endeavoured to enlighten the underſtanding of the Indians, and to draw them from their ſavage and wandering mode of life to civility, government, and cohabitation. "The Indians muſt be civilized," ſaid he, "as well as, if not in order, to their being chriſtianized †."

The ſucceſs of Mr. Elliot was very great among ſeveral of the Indian tribes; and ſeveral towns were built and inhabited entirely by "praying Indians," as the converts were called: but as moſt of theſe are now extinct, and notwithſtanding the labours of ſucceeding miſſionaries, the goſpel has made no conſiderable

* Colonel Goffe, whom we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to mention, being preſent at an Indian lecture in 1660, takes notice of the following queſtions, after thirteen or fourteen years inſtruction. "In your text are theſe words, *Save yourſelves from this untoward generation.* In other ſcriptures it ſtands, *We can do nothing of ourſelves.* How can this be reconciled?—You ſay the word is the ſword of the ſpirit by which their hearts were pricked: how ſhall I take and uſe the ſword of the ſpirit to prick my heart?—What was the ſin of Judas, or how did he ſin in betraying Chriſt, ſeeing it was what God had appointed?"—The anſwer to thoſe converts was, "Repent and be baptized." Goffe's Journal.

† Hutchinſon, chap. i.

progreſs

progreſs among the natives of North America, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, in a general way, what meaſures were taken for the advancement of this good work. The parliament, in order to promote it, paſſed the following ordinance:— "Whereas the commons of England in parliament aſſembled, have received certain intelligence from divers godly miniſters and others in New England, that divers of the heathen natives, through the pious care of ſome godly Engliſh, who preach the goſpel to them in their own Indian language, not only of barbarous are become civil, but many of them forſaking their accuſtomed charms and ſorceries, and other Satanical deluſions, do now call upon the name of the Lord, and give great teſtimony of the power of God drawing them from death and darkneſs, to the life and light of the glorious goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt; which appeareth by their lamenting with tears their miſpent lives; teaching their children what they are inſtructed themſelves; being careful to place them in godly families and Engliſh ſchools; betaking themſelves to one wife, putting away the reſt; and by their conſtant prayers to Almighty God, morning and evening, in their families, expreſſed, in all appearance, with much devotion and zeal of heart: all which conſidered, we cannot but, in behalf of the nation we repreſent, rejoice and give glory to God for the beginning of ſo glorious a propagation of the goſpel amongſt thoſe poor heathen; which cannot be proſecuted with that expedition as is deſired, unleſs the inſtruments be encouraged and maintained to purſue it, ſchools and cloathing be provided, and many other neceſſaries: be it therefore enacted by this preſent parliament, That, for the furthering of ſo good a work, there ſhall be a corporation in England conſiſting of ſixteen perſons, namely, a preſident, treaſurer, and fourteen aſſiſtants; and be it alſo enacted, That a general collection be made, for the purpoſes aforeſaid through all England and Wales." Letters at the ſame time were publiſhed from the two univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge, calling upon all the miniſters of the realm, to ſtir up their congregations to a liberal contribution for the promotion of ſo glorious an undertaking *.

CHAP. III.

A. D. 1649.

The people of Maſſachuſets Bay, as already obſerved, claimed the country of New Hampſhire, as within the limits of their juriſdiction. A ſimilar claim was

* Great oppoſition was made to the collection in England; and the converſion of the Indians was repreſented as a mere pretence to draw money from men of pious minds. It went on ſo ſlowly at firſt, that an attempt was made to raiſe a ſum out of the army. Such favourable accounts were however publiſhed, from time to time, of the ſucceſs of the miſſion, that, at the Reſtoration, the corporation was poſſeſſed of ſix or ſeven hundred pounds per annum; which being derived from the eſtabliſhment of the parliament, was in danger of being loſt: but through the intereſt of ſome well-diſpoſed perſons, among whom was the celebrated Mr. Boyle, a new charter was obtained, and the eſtate ſecured. Mr. Boyle was choſen, and continued many years governor, and the commiſſioners of the united colonies were the correſpondents in New England, until the charter was vacated. After that æra, commiſſioners were ſpecially appointed by the corporation, conſiſting of the principal gentlemen of the civil order, or of the clergy of New England; and vacancies by death or otherwiſe, have been from time to time filled up, until the preſent time. Hutchinſon, chap. i. Perhaps no fund of this nature, adds he, was ever more faithfully applied to the purpoſes for which it was raiſed.

extended

BOOK IV.

extended to the province of Main; and as things were now in the utmoſt confuſion there, by reaſon of the chief proprietors being royaliſts, commiſſioners were ſent to ſummon the inhabitants of Kittery to come in and own their ſubjection to the Maſſachuſets colony, as of right belonging to them. The people accordingly aſſembled, agreed to ſurrender, and ſubſcribed an inſtrument of ſubmiſſion. The ſame was done at Acamenticus, now York, and alſo at Wells, Saco, and Cape Porpoiſe. Larger privileges were granted to the inhabitants of theſe plantations, than to thoſe of the other parts of the Maſſachuſets government: they were all admitted freemen upon taking the oath; whereas, in all other places, none were made free, as we have had occaſion to notice, except ſuch as were church members. The province of Main was made a county, by the name of Yorkſhire; and henceforth the towns ſent their deputies to the general court at Boſton *.

While the colony of Maſſachuſets Bay was thus extending its territory, and increaſing its members and its conveniences, a propoſal was made to the inhabitants by Cromwell, their great patron, immediately after the conqueſt of Jamaica, inviting them to go and people that iſland: and it appears by ſeveral original letters, that he had this meaſure much at heart. He foreſaw that the Weſt-India planters would raiſe eſtates far ſuperior to thoſe of the inhabitants of the northern colonies; and though a mere worldly conſideration was not proper for him to urge, yet when accompanied with the completion of a divine promiſe, that God's people ſhould be "the head and not the tail," it was perfectly in character, and he artfully enough joined it with the other conſideration. But all was inſufficient to make the people of New England quit a country where they could live confortably, and were indulged with all the privileges they deſired. A few families only removed; yet Cromwell was ſo far from harbouring reſentment againſt the brethren on account of this refuſal, that the famous navigation act which bore ſo hard upon Virginia and the Weſt India iſlands, was never extended to the New-England colonies during the protectorſhip. They were not only indulged in their trade to all parts; but that extraordinary privilege of having their goods imported into England free from all cuſtom, which other ſubjects were liable to pay, ſeems to have been continued until the reſtoration †.

A. D. 1655.

Become wanton from proſperity, and proud of the protection of the ruling powers, the people of New England renewed their perſecutions againſt a new ſect of fanatical enthuſiaſts, now a very peaceable and moderate ſet of men, known by the name of Quakers. The founder of this ſect was one George Fox, born at Drayton in Lancaſhire, in 1624. He was the ſon of a weaver,

* Although the greater part of the people of the province of Main were brought to conſent to this ſubmiſſion; yet it appears by the records, which are ſtill preſerved in the regiſtry of the county of York, that much oppoſition was made to it by ſome of the principal inhabitants: and the Maſſachuſets government was ſeverely reproached by them with uſing violent compulſory means, in order to reduce the province. Hutchinſon, chap. i.

† Hutchinſon, chap. i.

and was himſelf bound apprentice to a ſhoemaker; but feeling a ſtronger turn towards ſpiritual contemplations than towards that mechanical profeſſion, he left his maſter, and went about the country cloathed in a leathern doublet, a dreſs which he long affected as well for its ſingularity as its cheapneſs. That he might wean himſelf entirely from ſublunary objects, he broke off all connection with his friends and family; and leſt habitude ſhould beget new connections, and depreſs the ſublimity of his aerial meditations, he determined to have no fixed abode. He frequently wandered into the woods, and paſſed whole days in hollow trees, without company, or any other amuſement but his Bible. By another advance in his ſpiritual progreſs, he even learned to do without that divine compoſition itſelf; his own breaſt, as he believed, being full of the ſame inſpiration which had guided the ſacred writers.

When he had been ſufficiently conſecrated in his own imagination, he began to ſeek proſelytes, that he might communicate to them a portion of that ſpirit by which he was animated. Proſelytes were eaſily gained in an age when all men's affections were turned towards religion, and when the moſt extravagant modes of it were ſure to be the moſt popular. All the forms of ceremony invented by pride and oſtentation, Fox and his diſciples carefully rejected. Even the ordinary rites of civility were ſpurned, as the nouriſhment of carnal vanity and ſelf-conceit. They would beſtow no titles of diſtinction: the name of *friend* was the only ſalutation with which they indiſcriminately accoſted every one. To no perſon would they make a bow, move their hat, or give any ſigns of reverence; and inſtead of that affected adulation introduced into modern tongues, of ſpeaking to individuals as if they were a multitude, they returned to the ſimplicity of ancient languages, *thou* and *thee* being the only expreſſions which on any conſideration they could be brought to employ. Nor were they leſs diſtinguiſhed by the ſimplicity of their dreſs. Every ſuperfluity and ornament was carefully retrenched. Even a button to the hat, though ſometimes uſeful, yet not being always ſo, was rejected with horror and deteſtation.

The violent enthuſiaſm of this new ſect, like all high paſſions, excited ſuch a degree of ſenſibility in the nervous ſyſtem, as threw the preachers into convulſions; and hence they received the denomination of *quakers*. No fanatics ever carried farther their hatred of ceremonies, forms, rites, and poſitive inſtitutions. Even baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper, by all other ſects believed to be interwoven with the very vitals of Chriſtianity, were diſdainfully rejected by the quakers: the very ſabbath they profaned; the holineſs of the churches they derided, and would give to thoſe ſacred edifices no other appellation but that of *goſpel-ſhops*, or *ſteeple-houſes*. No prieſts were admitted in their ſect. Every one had received from immediate illumination a character much ſuperior to the ſacerdotal. When they met for divine worſhip, each roſe up in his place, and delivered the extemporary inſpirations of the ſpirit. Women were alſo admitted to teach the brethren, and were conſidered as proper vehicles to convey the dictates of the Holy Ghoſt, with whom every one was ſuppoſed to be perſonally filled. Some-

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times a great many preachers were moved to ſpeak at once, and ſometimes a total ſilence prevailed in their congregations.

Some quakers attempted to faſt forty days, in imitation of Chriſt, and one of them bravely periſhed in the experiment *. A female quaker came naked into the church where the Protector ſat; being moved by the ſpirit, as ſhe ſaid, to appear as a ſign to the people. A number of them fancied that the renovation of all things had commenced, and that cloaths were to be rejected, together with other ſuperfluities. From the fervour of their zeal they broke into churches, diſturbed public worſhip, and harraſſed the miniſter and the audience with railing and reproaches. When carried before a magiſtrate they refuſed him all reverence, and treated him with the ſame familiarity as if he had been their equal. Sometimes they were thrown into mad-houſes, the proper place for ſuch fanatics, and ſometimes into priſons; ſometimes they were whipped, ſometimes pilloried †.

But if, amid the great toleration, which was then granted to ſo many ſects in the mother country, the quakers ſuffered perſecution, and were doomed to ignominious puniſhments ‡, what could they expect in New England, where the ſlighteſt deviation from the eſtabliſhed worſhip was accounted criminal? Nothing ſurely but death: and they courted the crown of martyrdom, with an avidity to which hiſtory affords no parallel. In July 1656, Mary Fiſher and Ann Auſtin, two female quakers, arrived at Boſton from Barbadoes ‖; and a few weeks after, came nine more of thoſe enthuſiaſts, of different ages and ſexes. They were

* Whitlocke. † Whitlocke. Thurloe.

‡ One James Naylor, a quaker noted for blaſphemy, or rather madneſs, during the protectorſhip, was very rudely treated. He fancied that he himſelf was transformed into Chriſt, and was become the real Saviour of the world. In conſequence of this phrenzy, he endeavoured to imitate many actions of the Meſſiah related in the evangeliſts. As he bore a reſemblance to the common pictures of Chriſt, he allowed his beard to grow in a like form: he raiſed perſons from the dead; was miniſtered unto by women; and entered Briſtol mounted on a horſe, perhaps from the difficulty of finding an aſs, his diſciples ſpreading their garments before him, and crying, "Hoſanna to the Higheſt!——Holy holy, is the Lord God of Sabbaoth!"—— When carried before a magiſtrate, he would give no other anſwer to all queſtions but "Thou haſt ſaid it."——Surpriſing as it may now appear, the parliament thought the matter deſerved their attention, and ſpent near ten days in inquiries and debates about this fanatic. Thurloe, vol. V. At laſt they condemned him to be pilloried, whipped, burned in the face, and to have his tongue bored through with a red hot iron. Ibid. All theſe ſeverities he bore with the uſual patience of enthuſiaſts, but the ſequel ſpoiled all. He was ſent to Bridewell; confined to hard labour; fed on bread and water; and debarred all intercourſe with his diſciples, male and female: his illuſions diſſipated; and after ſome time, he was contented to come out an ordinary man, and to return to his uſual occupations.——Whitlocke, Thurloe, Harleyan Miſcellany, vol. VI.

‖ Mary Fiſher travelled as far as Adrianople; and coming near the grand vizier's tent, ſhe procured a man to inform him, that there was an Engliſh woman had ſomething to declare from the Great God to the Great Turk. She was introduced, delivered her meſſage, and was civilly diſmiſſed. New Eng. Judged by G. Biſhop. Little wonder that ſuch a woman ventured among the rigid ſectaries of Maſſachuſets Bay.

brought before the court of aſſiſtants, and being queſtioned how they could make it appear that God ſent them thither: they anſwered, after a pauſe, that they had the ſame call Abraham had to go out of his country. To other queſtions they gave rude and contemptuous anſwers. The court paſſed the ſentence of baniſhment againſt them all; and ordered them to be committed to priſon, until the ſhip in which they came, alſo deſtined to carry them away, ſhould be ready to ſail *. CHAP. III. A. D. 1656.

As there was at this time no ſpecial proviſion by law for the puniſhment of quakers, they came within a colony law againſt heretics in general: but at the next meeting of the general court, an act paſſed, laying a penalty of one hundred pounds upon the maſter of any veſſel, who ſhould bring a known quaker to any part of the Maſſachuſets colony, and requiring him to give a ſecurity that he would carry ſuch perſon back again; the quaker to be immediately ſent to the houſe of correction, whipped twenty ſtripes, and kept to hard labour until tranſportation. A penalty of five pounds was alſo laid upon ſuch as imported quakers books, the like ſum for diſperſing them, and ſevere penalties for defending their heretical opinions. Next year an additional law was made, by which perſons were ſubjected to the penalty of forty ſhillings for every hour's entertainment given to any known quaker; and every quaker, for each offence, as far as two, after the firſt conviction, if a man, was to loſe an ear, and if a woman, to be ſeverely whipped. For a third offence, both men and women were to have their tongues bored through with a red hot iron; and every perſon who ſhould become a quaker in the colony, was ſubjected to the like puniſhment. The year following a farther law was made, for puniſhing with death all perſons who ſhould return into the juriſdiction of the colony of Maſſachuſets Bay, after tranſportation †. A. D. 1657. A. D. 1658.

In conſequence of theſe ſanguinary laws, William Robinſon, Marmaduke Stephenſon, Mary Dyer, and Nicholas Davis, were immediately brought to trial. The firſt gave no account of himſelf. Stephenſon, who had made a public diſturbance in the congregation at Boſton, acknowledged himſelf to be one of thoſe whom the world called quakers; and declared, that being at plough, near Skipton, in Yorkſhire, in 1656, he ſaw nothing, but heard an audible voice ſaying, "I have ordained thee to be a prophet to the nations." Mary Dyer declared that ſhe came from Rhode Iſland to viſit the quakers; that ſhe was of their religion, which ſhe affirmed was the truth, and that the light within her was the rule. Davis came from Barnſtaple, entered the court with his hat on, and confeſſed that he had forſaken the ordinances, and reſorted to the quakers. The jury found them all quakers. Robinſon was whipped twenty ſtripes for abuſing the court, and was baniſhed with the reſt on pain of death §. Patience Scot, a girl of about ten years of age, was brought to trial at the ſame time. She came from Providence; and profeſſing herſelf to be one of thoſe whom the world in ſcorn call quakers, had been committed to priſon. The record in regard to her ſtands thus: "The court duly conſidering the malice of Satan and his in-

* Hutchinſon, from the Rec. of the Superior Court.
† Hutchinſon, chap. i. from the Maſſ. Rec. § Id. ibid.

ſtruments,

BOOK IV. ſtruments, by all means and ways, to propagate error and diſturb the truth, and bring in confuſion among us; that Satan is put to his ſhifts to make uſe of ſuch a child, not being of the years or diſcretion, nor underſtanding the principles of religion, judge meet ſo far *to ſlight her as a quaker*, as only to admoniſh and inſtruct her according to her capacity, and ſo diſcharge her, Capt. Hutchinſon undertaking to ſend her home ‡."

A. D. 1659. Robinſon, Stephenſon, and Mary Dyer, were brought upon trial at the next general court, for returning from baniſhment, and ſentenced to ſuffer death. The two firſt were executed without further delay; but Mary Dyer was reprieved, at the interceſſion of her ſon, on condition that ſhe ſhould depart the juriſdiction within forty-eight hours. She was carried to the gallows, and ſtood with a rope about her neck while the others were hanged. Yet was ſhe ſo infatuated as afterwards to return, and her judges were ſo unfeeling as to hurry ſuch a maniac to execution. Windlock Chriſtopherſon, who had declared in court, that the Scripture is not the word of God, was alſo ſentenced to die for returning from baniſhment. He is ſaid to have deſired the court to conſider, what they had gained by their cruel proceedings. "For the laſt man," ſaid he, "that was put to death here, are five come in his room; and if you have power to take away my life, God can raiſe up the ſaid principle of life in ten of his ſervants, and ſend them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon tor-
A. D. 1660. ment." William Ledea ſuffered death for the ſame offence. He denied the authority of the court, and told his judges, that with the ſpirit which they called the devil he worſhipped God; that their miniſters were deluders, and themſelves murderers *.

Many more of theſe unhappy fanatics were ſubjected to corporal puniſhments of various kinds, ſome of which they ſeem to have deſerved. At Boſton, one George Wilſon, and at Cambridge, Elizabeth Norton, went crying through the ſtreets that the Lord was coming with fire and ſword to plead with them. Thomas Newhouſe went into the church at Boſton, with a couple of glaſs bottles; and breaking them before the congregation, threatened, "Thus will the Lord break you in pieces!"—At another time, one M. Brewſter came in with her face beſmeared with ſmut, as black as a coal; and Deborah Wilſon went through the ſtreets of Salem, naked as ſhe came into the world, for which ſhe was well whipped †. That ſome proviſion was neceſſary againſt ſuch diſorders cannot be denied; and whipping ſeems a very proper puniſhment for the leſt offence; but nothing can excuſe the barbarous ſeverities ſo generally exerciſed againſt a ſet

‡ Hutchinſon, chap i. Biſhop ſays, they cut off the right ear of one Holder, and of two others in priſon; and that Cather ne Scott, mother of Patience Scott, reproving them for a deed of darkneſs, they whipped her ten ſtripes, though they allowed her to be otherwiſe of blameleſs converſation, and well bred, being a miniſter's daughter, in England. New Eng. Judged.

* Hutchinſon, chap. i.

† One of the ſect, apologizing for this behaviour, ſaid, if the Lord did ſtir up any of his daughters to be a *ſign* of the nakedneſs of others, he believed it to be a great croſs to a modeſt woman's ſpirit; but the Lord muſt be obeyed. R. Williams.

of

of maniacs, the greater part of whom required only confinement and diſcipline to be brought to the right uſe of their ſenſes.

The New England brethren were ſenſible, that their zeal had tranſported them beyond the bounds of juſtice and humanity; and they endeavoured to ſupport their proceedings by ſome texts out of the Old Teſtament. "If thy brother entice thee to ſerve other Gods, thou ſhalt ſurely put him to death;" and "for ſpeaking lies in the name of the Lord, his father ſhall thruſt him through, when he propheſieth." The example of Solomon was alſo urged, who firſt laid Shimei under reſtraint, and then for his breach, put him to death. How far ſuch pious precedents might have carried them is uncertain, as the Quakers daily multiplied, and frequently returned from baniſhment, had not a ſtop been put to theſe holy violences by a new revolution in the government of the mother-country.

Cromwell was no more. Enthuſiaſm, hypocriſy, and fanaticiſm, which compoſed his character; factions, rebellions, and proſcriptions, the conſequences of his ambition, were all buried with him, and England had the proſpect of calmer days. Charles II. had reaſcended the throne of his anceſtors, and monarchy was reſtored. Nothing but a total change of manners, he was ſenſible, could ſecure the tranquillity of his government: he therefore endeavoured to introduce among his ſubjects a ſocial turn, a taſte for convivial pleaſures, gallantry, amuſements, and every thing that might baniſh thoſe ſour and malignant humours which had engendered ſuch confuſion; and as it was ſufficiently evident from paſt experience, that gravity is very diſtinct from wiſdom, formality from virtue, and hypocriſy from religion, the melancholy auſterity of the fanatics fell into diſcredit together with their principles. Not the dreadful handwriting upon the wall was more alarming to the prince whom it informed, that "the kingdom was departed from him," than this intelligence to the New England brethren. It diſconcerted all their ſchemes of power and perſecution: they had even reaſon to apprehend a perſecution themſelves for non-conformity, as no doubt was entertained but epiſcopacy would be re-eſtabliſhed.

Meantime the humanity of Charles dictated an order, requiring, that a ſtop ſhould be put to all capital or corporal puniſhment of thoſe of his ſubjects called Quakers, and that ſuch as were obnoxious ſhould be ſent to England; and although the people of New England were little diſpoſed to acknowledge the force of orders from the crown, controlling the laws of the colonies, they prudently complied with the inſtruction *. The laws againſt Quakers were ſuſpended, ſo far as reſpected corporal puniſhments, until farther notice; and the decent and orderly behaviour of that ſect, which took place ſoon after this ferment, has rendered the revival of ſuch laws unneceſſary.

Notwithſtanding this inſtance of obedience to the royal mandate, evidently the effect of fear more than of love, a variety of circumſtances conſpire to prove the diſaffection of the people of New England to their new ſovereign, if not their averſion to the reſtoration of monarchy itſelf. After Charles had been

* Hutchinſon, chap. i.

BOOK IV. A. D. 1660.

proclaimed in England, Goffe and Whaley, two of the regicides, or perſons who had given judgment againſt the life of the late king, were cordially received at Boſton *; and even when it was underſtood that they were not excepted in the act of indemnity, all attempts to ſecure them were not only neglected, in contempt of an order of the privy council, but it was for ſome time in contemplation whether or not the colony ſhould ſtand by them. Aſſurances to this purpoſe had been given them by ſeveral members of the general court, and it was only on being informed of the popularity of the king, and of the complete ſubmiſſion of Scotland and Ireland, as well as England, to his authority, that the reſolution was laid aſide. Nor was this popular king proclaimed in the Maſſachuſets colony, for more than a twelvemonth after he had been univerſally acknowledged and careſſed in the mother-country. No alteration was made in the public writs, and a motion for an addreſs to the king was rejected in the general court †. A new revolution in the government was expected ‡; but all hopes of that kind at length vaniſhing, an addreſs was agreed upon, and the king was proclaimed in the following words. "Foraſmuch as Charles II. is undoubted king of Great Britain and other his majeſty's territories and dominions thereunto belonging, and

October.

August, A. D. 1661.

* "Mr. Endicot, the governor, received them very courteouſly, and they were viſited by the principal perſons of the town: they did not diſguiſe themſelves; went publicly to meetings on the Lord's Day, and to occaſional lectures, faſts, and thankſgivings; were admitted to the ſacrament, and attended private meetings for devotion; viſited many of the principal towns; were frequently at Boſton, where ſome perſons were bound to their good behaviour for inſulting them; and when the governor ſummoned a court of aſſiſtants to conſult about ſecuring them, (after the arrival of the king's proclamation) the court did not agree to it." Hutchinſon, chap. i. Yet the ſame author tells us, it was not ſtrange they ſhould meet with ſuch favourable reception, and that this reception was no "contempt of the authority in England!"—Hiſt. Maſſachuſets Bay, chap. i. p. 214. From Goffe's journal, kept from the day that he left Weſtminſter, and now in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Hutchinſon, it appears, that theſe two regicides found means to conceal themſelves from the king's officers in New England for upwards of twenty years, and that both died a natural death, at a very advanced age.

† Hutchinſon, chap. i. This diſaffection, it ſhould ſeem, muſt have proceeded rather from a diſlike to the throne, than to the king who ſat upon it; for Charles had yet diſcovered no attachment to any particular religion, nor partiality to any ſet of perſons. Into his council were admitted the moſt eminent men of the nation, without regard to former diſtinctions: he ſeemed deſirous of loſing the memory of paſt animoſities, and of uniting every party in an affection for their prince and their native country. The Liturgy, it is true, was again admitted into the churches; but at the ſame time, a declaration was iſſued, promiſing that the uſe of that mode of worſhip ſhould not be impoſed on ſuch as were unwilling to receive it. Parliament. Hiſt. vol. XXIII. The act of uniformity did not paſs till 1662; and it was partly procured by the independents, who were envious of the favour ſhewn to their rivals, the preſbyterians, and afraid that they would be adopted into the body of the church, by ſome ſlight alterations in the Liturgy. They therefore choſe rather to gratify their reſentment than to enjoy their religious privileges in peace, that they might have the pleaſure of humbling thoſe who had diſappointed all their ſchemes, by the reſtoration of monarchy.

‡ Of the republican kind, no doubt: for the people of New England in general, appear at all times to have been much in the ſame mind with the famous Hugh Peters, for ſome time one of their brethren, "that the office of a king is uſeleſs, chargeable and dangerous; and that all kings, but eſpecially good ones, ought to be blackened, as much as poſſible, leſt their juſtice and generoſity ſhould render kingly government perpetual."

hath

hath been ſome time ſince lawfully proclaimed and crowned accordingly; we therefore do, as in duty we are bound, own and acknowledge him to be our ſovereign lord and king, and do hereby proclaim and declare his ſacred majeſty Charles II. to be lawful king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and all other the territories thereunto belonging *." An order paſſed the court the ſame day, and was poſted up in Boſton, prohibiting all diſorderly behaviour on the occaſion; and particularly declaring, that no perſon might expect indulgence, who, in violation of the law, "ſhould preſume to drink his majeſty's health †."

Soon after this proclamation, intelligence arriving, that their conduct had been repreſented in the worſt light at the court of England, the Maſſachuſets colony choſe as their agents Simon Bradſtreet, one of their magiſtrates, and John Norton, one of the miniſters of Boſton church, who were ſent over to make anſwer to all accuſations, and to learn his majeſty's pleaſure concerning them. Conſcious of the undutiful behaviour of the colony, theſe gentlemen engaged in the ſervice with much reluctance; they even refuſed to proceed on their voyage, till the colony engaged to make good all damages which they might ſuſtain in England by the detention of their perſons or otherwiſe. Their reception, however, was more favourable than they expected, and their ſtay ſhort. They returned within ſix months, with a letter from the king, ſome parts of which cheared the hearts of the coloniſts. They then looked upon them, and often afterwards recurred to them, as a confirmation of their charter privileges, and an amneſty of all paſt errors. But at the ſame time that Charles declared his kind intentions towards them, his purpoſe to preſerve their liberties inviolate, his willingneſs to renew their charter, and granted a pardon for all paſt treaſons, except to ſuch as ſtood attainted by act of parliament, he required that all their laws ſhould be reviewed, and ſuch as were contrary, or derogatory to the king's authority and government, be annulled and repealed; that the oath of allegiance ſhould be duly adminiſtered; that the adminiſtration of juſtice ſhould be in the king's name; that freedom and liberty ſhould be given to all ſuch as deſired to uſe the book of Common Prayer, and perform their devotions in the manner eſtabliſhed in England, and that they might not undergo any prejudice thereby; that all perſons of honeſt lives and converſations ſhould be admitted to the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the book of Common Prayer, and their children to baptiſm; that in the choice of a governor and aſſiſtants, regard ſhould only be had to the wiſdom, virtue, and integrity of the perſons to be choſen without reference to opinions or outward profeſſions; and that all freeholders of competent eſtates, not ſcandalous in their lives, though of different opinions in regard to church government, ſhould have a vote in the election of all civil and military officers ‡.

A. D. 1662.

* Hutchinſon, chap. i.

† Id. ibid. This, the order ſays, his majeſty "hath in an eſpecial manner forbid." But Charles was a man of too much ſenſe, as well as of too ſocial a temper, ever to countenance any ſuch abſurd ſeverity. An injury was therefore added to an affront in thus enforcing their own fanatical and inſulting orders with the king's name.

‡ Hutchinſon, chap. i.

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BOOK IV. A. D. 1665.

These requests, though highly reasonable, seemed grievous to the zealots of New England; and the appearance of a large comet soon after, filled them with new apprehensions in regard to their civil and religious privileges. But in the midst of humiliations and fastings, in order to avert the displeasure of Heaven, it was discovered that the Anabaptists, an obnoxious sect, had got footing among them. Whether they imagined this to be the cause of the evils with which they were threatened, or were roused by their usual spirit of bigotry and persecution, five persons were cited before the court of assistants, and charged with "gathering themselves into a pretended church state, in opposition to the order of the churches of Christ in the colony, and intermeddling with those holy appointments of the Lord Jesus, which are proper only to office trust." They confessed that they had joined in a church society, that they had been rebaptized, and that one of them administered the Lord's Supper. They were threatened, and admonished to conform, but persevered notwithstanding; and at length they were committed to prison, and banished the jurisdiction *.

A. D. 1665. But the people of New England had soon reason for more serious alarm. Sir Robert Carr, colonel Richard Nichols, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, esquires, had received a commission from the king, with some ships and land forces, for reducing the Dutch at New Netherlands; for visiting the New England colonies, hearing and determining all matters of complaint, and settling the peace and security of the country. These officers found little difficulty in subjecting the Dutch, but the settlement of the affairs of New England proved beyond their power. The Massachusets colony, in particular, considered such a commission as a revocation of their charter; and before they were made acquainted with the instructions of the commissioners, which were nearly the same with the requests in the king's letter, they drew up a most extraordinary petition to his majesty †. After setting forth the purchase of the soil from the council of Plymouth and the Indians, the charge of transporting themselves and families, and the privileges contained in their royal charter, they express their grief in having four persons sent over with such extraordinary powers as must subject them to the arbitrary will of strangers, proceeding not by any established law but their own discretion. They appeal to God, that they came not into this wilderness to seek great things for themselves, but for the sake of a quiet life; and they conclude with professing their subjection to his majesty, and willingness to testify their dutiful affection in any righteous way, but that it was a great unhappiness to be reduced to the cruel alternative of having no other way of doing it but by destroying their own being, which nature teaches us to preserve, or yielding up their liberties, far dearer to them than their lives, and of which had they had any fear of being deprived, they would never have "wandered so far from their father's house into these ends

* Mather. Neal. Hutchinson.

† The commissioners touched at Boston in their way, but did not open their instructions relative to New England, till after the reduction of New Netherlands. In the mean time the Massachusets colony sent off their petition to the king. The other colonies were less alarmed, and more compliant.

of the earth, nor have laid out their labours and eſtates therein;" they therefore ſupplicate his majeſty, to ſay of his poor people in New England, "They ſhall not die;" that ſo his petitioners, in the full enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties, may have cauſe to ſay from their hearts, "Let the King live for ever!"

Along with this petition, the colony ſent letters to ſeveral of the nobility, and among others to the earl of Clarendon, at that time chancellor and prime miniſter, humbly ſuing for favour. Clarendon's anſwer was by no means favourable, but like all his writings, very candid, and to the purpoſe. "I have read," ſays he, "to my Lord Chamberlain, Mr. Boyle, and Mr. Aſhurſt †, every word of the inſtructions the commiſſioners have; and they all confeſſed, that his majeſty could not expreſs more grace and goodneſs for his plantation, nor put it more out of their power, in any degree, to invade the liberties and privileges granted to you by your charter: and therefore we were all equally amazed to find, that you demand a revocation of the commiſſion and commiſſioners, without laying the leaſt to their charge of crimes or exorbitancies.—I know not what you mean," adds he, "by ſaying the commiſſioners have power to exerciſe government, altogether inconſiſtent with your charter and privileges, ſince I am ſure their commiſſion is to ſee and provide for the full and due obſervance of the charter, and that all the privileges granted by that charter may be equally enjoyed by all his majeſty's ſubjects in New England. I know they are expreſsly inhibited from intermeddling with, or obſtructing the adminiſtration of juſtice, according to the forms obſerved there; but if in truth, in any extraordinary caſe, the proceedings there have been irregular, and againſt the rules of juſtice, as ſome particular caſes, particularly recommended to them by his majeſty ſeem to be, it cannot be preſumed that his majeſty hath or will leave his ſubjects of New England without hope of redreſs, by an appeal to him, which his ſubjects of all his other kingdoms have free liberty to make ‡."

This was ſound reaſoning, and the concluſion of his lordſhip's letter is truly memorable. "It is in your own power," ſays he, "to be very happy; but it will be abſolutely neceſſary, that you perform and pay all that reverence and obedience which is due from ſubjects to their king, and which his majeſty will exact from you." That obedience, however, they did not pay; and the ſword was like to have decided upwards of an hundred years ago, what is now under the deciſion of the ſword. But the oppoſition of the Maſſachuſets colony (for it properly only made oppoſition) muſt not be aſcribed entirely to a refractory ſpirit or diſaffection to his majeſty's government, though both theſe had probably their influence: the violent and tyrannical diſpoſition of the commiſſioners muſt alſo come in for a ſhare; all of whom, except Colonel Nichols, who was left governor of New Netherlands, ſoon after called New York, were men very unfit for

* Hutchinſon, Hiſt. Maſſachuſets Bay, Append. No. XVI.

† Mr. Aſhurſt was particularly intruſted with the affairs of the colony, and Mr. Boyle and the Lord Chamberlain were known to be well diſpoſed towards it, and had received letters to promote the petition.

‡ Hutchinſon, Append. No. XVII.

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the office to which they were appointed. Their behaviour was calculated rather to inflame, than to conciliate the affections of a people jealous of liberty, and thirſting after independency. When the magiſtrates objected to aſſembling the whole body of the people, (in order that they might make known their grievances on account of the inconveniencies that muſt attend ſuch a meaſure, Cartwright replied, that the motion was ſo reaſonable,) that he who would not attend to it was a traitor *." This was cutting the matter ſhort, and all their proceedings were of a piece. The reſult of the whole was, that the Maſſachuſets colony would not ſubmit to have their deciſions reviewed, and that Charles was obliged to recal his commiſſioners.

There is no poſſibility of defending the conduct of the colony on this occaſion, eſpecially in not complying more fully with the things required in his majeſty's letter, and which were given the commiſſioners as inſtructions, in the following form: "That all perſons take the oath of allegiance; that all proceſs and adminiſtration of juſtice be performed in our name; that ſuch as deſire to uſe the Book of Common Prayer, be permitted to do ſo, without incurring any penalty, reproach, or diſadvantage, it being very ſcandalous that any perſons ſhould be debarred the exerciſe of their religion according to the laws and cuſtoms of England, by thoſe who are indulged with the liberty of being of what perſuaſion or religion they pleaſe; and that all perſons of good and honeſt converſation may enjoy the privilege of chuſing, and of being choſen into places of government, and the like †."

Theſe demands were highly reaſonable, from a king of England to his ſubjects, whoſe allegiance, by a general rule of law, is not conſidered as local, but perpetual and unalienable. The Maſſachuſets magiſtrates, however, either denied or evaded every one of them: they altered the oath of allegiance, in order to accommodate it to their conſciences; continued the adminiſtration of juſtice in the name of the colony, and framed ſuch regulations as rendered their ſeeming compliance with the other demands of none effect ‡. This obſtinacy, which could not fail to be very offenſive to his majeſty, was rendered more conſpicuous by the ready and unreſerved obedience of the colony of New Plymouth, thought to be next in its pretenſions to excluſive and independent juriſdiction.

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Charles himſelf, in his letter of thanks to that colony, with whoſe behaviour he was highly pleaſed, could not help remarking this contraſt. "Although your carriage," ſays he, "doth of itſelf moſt juſtly deſerve our praiſe and approbation, yet it ſeems to be ſet off with the more luſtre, by the contrary deportment of the colony of the Maſſachuſets; as if, by their refractorineſs, they had deſigned to recommend and heighten the merit of your compliance with our directions for the peaceable and good government of our ſubjects in theſe parts. You may therefore aſſure yourſelves that we ſhall never be unmindful of this your loyal and dutiful behaviour, but ſhall upon all occaſions take notice of it to your

* Hutchinſon, chap. ii. † Id. ibid.

‡ This ſufficiently appears by the replies of the commiſſioners. Hutchinſon, chap. ii.

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advantage; promiſing you our conſtant protection and royal favour, in all things that may concern your ſafety, peace, and welfare *."

This prince, who ſeems naturally to have poſſeſſed a good heart, as well as a ſound head, though afterwards corrupted by pimps, prieſts, and paraſites, ſent a letter, at the ſame time, to the Maſſachuſets colony, expreſſive of his diſpleaſure; and though Charles's temper was far from vindictive, thoſe refractory zealots would certainly have felt the immediate effects of his reſentment, had not certain unlooked-for circumſtances intervened. An extract from the letter itſelf only can convey a proper idea of its import. "His majeſty having received a full information from his commiſſioners, who were ſent by him into New England, of their reception and treatment in the ſeveral colonies and provinces of that plantation, in all which they have received great ſatisfaction, but only that of the Maſſachuſets; and he having likewiſe been fully informed of the account ſent hither by the council of the Maſſachuſets, under the hand of the preſent governor, of all the paſſages and proceedings which have been there between the ſaid commiſſioners and them from the time of their firſt coming over; upon all which it is very evident to his majeſty, notwithſtanding many expreſſions of great affection and duty, that thoſe who govern the colony of the Maſſachuſets do believe that commiſſion, given by his majeſty to thoſe commiſſioners upon ſo many and weighty reaſons, and after ſo long deliberation, is an apparent violation of their charter, and tending to the diſſolution of it, and that in truth they do, upon the matter believe, that his majeſty hath no juriſdiction over them, but that all perſons muſt acquieſce in their judgments and determinations, how unjuſt ſoever, and cannot appeal to his majeſty; which would be a matter of ſuch high conſequence, as every man diſcerns where it would end: his majeſty therefore, upon due conſideration of the whole matter, thinks fit to recall his ſaid commiſſioners, which he hath at this preſent done, to the end he may receive from them a more particular account of the ſtate and condition of theſe his plantations, and of the particular differences and debates they have had with thoſe of the Maſſachuſets, that ſo his majeſty may paſs his final judgment and determination thereupon †."

Charles alſo commanded four or five perſons to be ſent to England, to anſwer for the conduct of the coloniſts; and informed them, "that his majeſty would then, in perſon, hear all the allegations, ſuggeſtions, or pretences to right or favour, that could be made on the behalf of the ſaid colony, and would make it appear how far he was from the leaſt thought of intruding or infringing, in the leaſt degree, the royal charter granted to the ſaid colony ‡." But the Maſſachuſets magiſtrates, as they were conſcious they did not deſerve royal favour, had very little confidence in royal promiſes: they therefore declined compliance with the royal mandate; and excuſed themſelves in a letter to the ſecretary of ſtate from ſending any perſons over, by inſinuating their doubts of

* Hutchinſon, Append. No. XVIII. † Hutchinſon, Append. No. XIX.
‡ Id. ibid.

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the authenticity of the king's letter, and their perſuaſion that the ableſt of them could advance nothing, in their vindication, that had not been already declared *.

This was a new inſult, but Charles being occupied about other matters, no farther ſtep was taken againſt the colony at that time; and ſeveral circumſtances, as already noticed, conſpired to obliterate from his memory a diſobedience that could not be forgiven by a ſovereign, without the moſt humble ſubmiſſions on the part of the ſubject. Sir Robert Carr, one of the commiſſioners, died the day after he arrived in England; and Cartwright, who had taken the minutes of their proceedings, and went home the moſt enraged, was taken by the Dutch in his paſſage, and loſt all his papers. In the meantime the colony endeavoured, not only by repeated profeſſions of loyalty, to appeaſe his majeſty, but purchaſed a ſhip-load of maſts, and preſented them to the king for the uſe of his royal navy. Theſe Charles, always needy, very graciouſly received: and it being underſtood by the Maſſachuſets magiſtrates, that the Engliſh ſquadron in the Weſt Indies was in want of proviſions, a ſubſcription and contribution was recommended through the colony for bringing in victuals to be ſent to his majeſty's fleet; and a liberal ſupply was procured. This generoſity was ſo well taken, that a letter of thanks was ſent to the general court under the king's ſign manual †.

For ten years after the return of the commiſſioners, New England made a greater figure than perhaps at any other time, in compariſon of the reſt of the Engliſh ſettlements. The colony of New Plymouth flouriſhed under the foſtering ſmiles of royal favour; and Connecticut and Rhode Iſland, no leſs proſperous, had obtained royal charters, with very ample privileges ‡. The Maſſachuſets colony

* Hutchinſon, chap. ii.

† Id. ibid.

‡ Both theſe charters were granted by Charles II. in 1662. In the preamble to the Rhode Iſland charter, it is enumerated, That the inhabitants were people who left their ſettlements in the other colonies, becauſe obliged thereto by their different ſentiments in regard to religion; and that their deſign was to live quietly with liberty of conſcience, and to convert the Indians. They were incorporated by the name of "the Governor and Company of Freemen of the Engliſh Colony of Rhode Iſland and Providence Plantations in Naraganſet Bay in New England." Their charter grants full liberty of conſcience in religion, without excepting even Roman Catholics; a power to make a common ſeal, to call an aſſembly annually, conſiſting of a governor, ten aſſiſtants, and repreſentatives of towns; whereof Newport not exceeding ſix, Providence four, Portſmouth four, Warwick four, and two for each other place or town, to be elected by the majority of freemen in each town: and the majority of the aſſembly, whereof the governor or deputy-governor, and ſix of the aſſiſtants at leaſt to be ſeven, have power to make freemen, nominate officers, and enact laws, not repugnant to the laws of England; to determine what towns have power to ſend repreſentatives, appoint courts of judicature, pardon criminals, and to make purchaſes from the native Indians. Douglaſs's Summary, part II. ſect. x. Connecticut was incorporated, at the ſuit of nineteen principal inhabitants, by the name of *the Governor and Company of the Engliſh Colony of Connecticut in New England in America*, with perpetual ſucceſſion, to purchaſe lands and chattels, and them to leaſe or alien as corporations in England may do, with a common ſeal: and there ſhall be elected out of the freemen one governor, one deputy-governor, and twelve aſſiſtants, the governor to have power at any time to call an aſſembly; two general aſſemblies to be held annually, on the ſecond Thurſday in October and the ſecond Thurſday of May, and to conſiſt of the aſſiſtants and deputies, not exceeding two from one place, choſen by the freemen of each

colony, in the full enjoyment of its own liberties and immunities, governed without oppoſition the country of New Hampſhire and the province of Main, and was beginning ſettlements even farther eaſtward. The French were removed from its neighbourhood on the one ſide, and the Dutch and Swedes on the other. Its trade was as extenſive as the people could wiſh. No cuſtom-houſe was eſtabliſhed. The acts of the twelfth and thirteenth year of the reign of Charles II. for regulating the plantation-trade, were in force; but the governors, whoſe buſineſs it was to carry them into execution, were annually to be elected by the people, whoſe intereſt it was that they ſhould not be obſerved. Some of the magiſtrates and principal merchants grew very rich, and a ſpirit of induſtry and œconomy prevailed in the colony *.

But in the midſt of this proſperity, a confederacy was formed among the natives, which endangered the very exiſtence of the New England ſettlements. The Engliſh, before their arrival in North America, had ſuch exalted ideas of the ſachems, that, at the firſt interviews with them, they were treated with ſome degree of that reſpect which would have been required by the ſovereign of a petty ſtate in Europe; but their own want of enterpriſe, and the little authority which they had over their ſubjects, ſoon rendered them contemptible. The rudeneſs of the Indian weapons, and an acquaintance with their method of fighting, made even their ferocity be diſregarded; and the quarrels in which they were always engaged among themſelves, proved a further ſecurity to the coloniſts, who endeavoured on the one hand, to prevent an open war, and on the other, to keep up ſo much contention as to prevent a combination, and to make an appeal to the Engliſh as umpires, neceſſary from time to time.

Soon after the death of Maſſaſoit, ſachem of the Pokanokets, whom we have already had occaſion to mention, his eldeſt ſon, Alexander, was ſuſpected of plotting againſt the Engliſh; was ſeized at a hunting-houſe, by Mr. Winſlow of New Plymouth, and carried before the governor. This inſult raiſed his indignation to ſuch a pitch as to occaſion a fever, which put an end at once to his life and his machinations. Philip, his brother, a brave and high ſpirited young prince, ſucceeded him in the dignity of ſachem; and though the jealouſies of the coloniſts, and the neceſſities of his ſituation obliged him to ſubmit to ſeveral diſadvantageous treaties with the Engliſh, he ſtill meditated vengeance in his heart †.

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each place; and theſe general aſſemblies, of which the governor, deputy-governor, and ſix of the aſſiſtants at leaſt to be ſeven, may admit freemen, conſtitute officers, erect judicatories, make reaſonable laws, not contrary to the laws of England, and ſettle forms of magiſtracy and magiſtrates, that our ſaid people may be ſo religiouſly, peaceably, and civilly governed, that their good life and orderly converſation may win and invite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind; this, with the free profeſſion of the adventurers, being the only and principal end of this plantation." Douglaſs, part II. ſect. xi.

* Joſſelyn's Voyage to New England. Hutchinſon, chap. ii.

† Even in his ſubmiſſion, the haughty ſpirit of Philip diſcovered itſelf. When examined before the governor and council at Boſton, in 1671, touching his ſubjection to New Plymouth, he replied, That his predeceſſors had been friendly with the Plymouth governors, and that both he

BOOK IV. A. D. 1674.

In order to accompliſh that vengeance, as well as to free his country from the dominion of ſtrangers, he concerted a league with the Naraganſets, Nipnets, and all the Indian tribes in the neighbourhood of New England. The Naraganſets engaged to bring four thouſand men into the field; but theſe could not be aſſembled immediately. The Engliſh conſtantly were upon the watch. Some fire-arms had been taken from the Indians; and to provide arms, ammunition, and proviſions, while under ſuſpicion, without expoſing themſelves to diſcovery, required both time and addreſs.

But fortunately for the Engliſh, Philip by liſtening to the dictates of private revenge precipitated both his own people and his allies, into a war, before they were prepared for it *. John Suſaman, a praying Indian, had been bred up in the profeſſion of the Chriſtian religion; was ſome time at Harvard college, and afterwards employed as a ſchoolmaſter at Natick, but upon ſome miſdemeanour, fled to Philip, who made him his ſecretary, chief counſellor, and confidant. After he had remained ſome years with that prince, Mr. Elliot, his ſpiritual father, prevailed with him to return to the Chriſtian Indians at Natick, where he manifeſted public repentance for his apoſtacy, became a preacher, and conformed more to the Engliſh manners than any other Indian either before or ſince. In the year 1674, Suſaman, on what occaſion we are not told, went to Namaſket or Middleborough, where he fell into company with ſome of Philip's Indians, and with Philip himſelf, and diſcovered by ſeveral circumſtances, that the Indians were plotting againſt the Engliſh. He acquainted the governor of what he had obſerved, and told him, that if he ſhould be known to be the informer, it would coſt him his life. In this he was not deceived.

Suſaman ſoon after meeting ſome Indians upon a frozen pond or lake, they knocked him down, and put him under the ice, leaving his gun and hat above, to make the Engliſh believe that he fell in accidentally, and was drowned; but when the body was found, and taken up, the wounds appeared upon his head. An Indian happened to be upon a hill at a diſtance, and ſaw the murder committed. He concealed it for ſome time, but at length diſcovered it. The
A. D. 1675. murderers were apprehended; tried upon the Indian's teſtimony, and other circumſtances; convicted, and executed. Two of them denied the fact to the laſt; but the third, when he came to die, confeſſed that he was a ſpectator of the murder committed by the other two †.

Philip was enraged to ſee his ſubjects brought to puniſhment by the Engliſh laws, and for a crime in which, he ſuppoſed, they had no right to intereſt themſelves. He conſidered Suſaman as a traitor and renegado, who had juſtly forfeited his life ‡. He took no pains to exculpate himſelf; but collecting what forces he

and they had entered into ſeveral amicable agreements with that colony, but he knew not that they were ſubjects. Praying Indians, he added, were ſubject to the Maſſachuſets colony, and had officers and magiſtrates appointed; but they had no ſuch thing with them, and therefore were not ſubjects. Hutchinſon, chap. ii. from the Maſſachuſets Files.

* This was evident from the diſtraction of the Indians in all parts of New England, on the firſt news of the diſturbance from Philip. † Hutchinſon, chap. ii.

‡ The Indians, as we have already ſeen, left murderers to the revenge of relations and friends, but puniſhed traitors by public execution.

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could, marched them up and down the country in arms. He was ſenſible that the murder had been committed by his orders, and doubted not but an attempt would be made againſt his life. The Engliſh of Plymouth, where the trial had been held, ordered a military watch in every town within their juriſdiction, but took no other notice of the Indians; hoping that Philip, when he perceived no meaſures were uſed for ſecuring him, would lay aſide his hoſtile appearance, and that the ſtorm would blow over, as it had ſeveral times before. But the natives coming in to him from all quarters, inſpired him with freſh courage; and he every where behaved with great inſolence, threatening the Engliſh, killing their cattle, and at length rifling their houſes *.

The Engliſh were naturally prompted to repel ſuch injuries, and that reſiſtance furniſhed the Indians with a pretence for future violences: they attacked the people of Swanzey, as they were coming from public worſhip; killed and wounded ſeveral perſons; and entering the town, murdered ſix more. Before this outrage, the Maſſachuſets colony had determined to raiſe an hundred men for the aſſiſtance of New Plymouth. It was thought adviſable, however, firſt to ſend meſſengers to Philip, at Mount Hope, the ſeat of his government, in order to divert him, if poſſible, from his hoſtile deſigns. But the meſſengers ſeeing ſome of the Swanzey people lying murdered on the road, did not think it ſafe to advance any farther; and therefore returned with this intelligence, as faſt as they could, to Boſton. The alarm ſoon ſpread through the united colonies, and Philip found it neceſſary to quit his ſtation at Mount Hope, leaving his country expoſed to the ravages of the enemy. The Plymouth and Maſſachuſets forces, after ſcouring it almoſt without oppoſition, entered the country of the Naraganſets; who favoured Philip in their hearts, and waited only a favourable opportunity to declare openly for him. Thither were ſents commiſſioners from the different colonies; and the Naraganſets ſeeing the ſword hanging over them, were obliged to ſubmit to ſuch terms as the commiſſioners thought fit to impoſe.

The principal of theſe articles, ſigned by four ſachems †, were, "That all and every of the ſaid ſachems ſhall, from time to time, carefully ſeize and deliver up, living or dead, all and every of ſachem Philip's ſubjects, that ſhall come, or be found, within the precinct of any of their lands; that they ſhall with their utmoſt ability, uſe all acts of hoſtility againſt the ſaid Philip and his ſubjects, until peace ſhall be concluded with the colonies; that all preparations for war, or acts of hoſtility againſt any of the Engliſh ſubjects, ſhall for the fu-

* He confeſſed that he meant to provoke the Engliſh to begin with him firſt. A whimſical opinion prevailed at that time, that the ſide which firſt did execution would finally be conquered. Hutchinſon, chap. ii.

† They made their ſeveral marks, after the articles had been carefully interpreted to them, in preſence of the commiſſioners.

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BOOK IV. A. D. 1675.

ture ceaſe, and that, inſtead thereof, their ſtrength ſhall be uſed as a guard round about the Naraganſet country, for the ſafety and ſecurity of the Engliſh inhabitants." For the faithful obſervance of this treaty, the four ſachems delivered four of their kinſmen as hoſtages; and the commiſſioners engaged, in behalf of their ſeveral governments, "That if any of the ſaid ſachems ſhall ſeize and bring into any of the Engliſh governments, or to Mr. Smith, inhabitant of Naraganſet, Philip ſachem alive, he or they ſo delivering, ſhall receive as their reward forty trucking cloth coats; that, in caſe they bring him dead, they ſhall have twenty like good coats paid them; that for every living ſubject of the ſaid Philip, ſo delivered, the deliverer ſhall receive two coats, and for every head one coat, as a gratuity for their ſervice therein; making it appear to ſatisfaction, that the heads were of perſons belonging to the enemy, and ſeized by thoſe who deliver them*."

The morality of this treaty may well be queſtioned, but its policy cannot be doubted. As ſoon as it was finiſhed, the Engliſh forces left the Naraganſet country, and came to Taunton; where being informed that Philip was in a ſwamp at Pocaſſet, they marched thither, and reſolutely entered it. They found about one hundred houſes empty; the enemy having deſerted them, and retired deeper into the ſwamp. The Engliſh followed them, but in diſorder, which was inevitable in ſuch a ſervice. They found that they were in danger from one another, every man firing at each buſh he ſaw ſhake; and night coming on, it was judged neceſſary to retreat, with the loſs of fifteen men.

This diſappointment encouraged the Indians, in other parts of New England, to follow Philip's example, and begin hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh. Some tribes had begun before. The Nipnets had killed four or five people belonging to the Maſſachuſets colony; and the governor and council in hopes of reclaiming them, ſent Capt. Hutchinſon, one of the commiſſioners, with twenty horſemen, to Brookfield, where there was to be a general rendezvous of the Nipnet tribe. The inhabitants of Brookfield had been deluded with the promiſe of a treaty, at a place agreed upon ſome time before. A party of them accompanied Capt. Hutchinſon thither; but not finding the Nipnets there, they rode forward four or five miles, towards the chief town of thoſe ſavages. When they came to a place called Meminiſſet, a narrow paſſage between a ſteep hill and a thick ſwamp, they were ambuſhed by two or three hundred Indians, who ſhot eight of the company, and mortally wounded three more, among which laſt number was Capt. Hutchinſon. The reſt eſcaped through a bye-path to Brookfield. The Indians purſued them, and flocked into the town; but the inhabitants being all armed had aſſembled in the principal houſe. There they had the mortification to ſee all their dwellings, with their barns and out houſes burnt. At length their common ſanctuary was ſurrounded, and a variety of attempts were made to ſet it on fire. One promiſed ſucceſs. Having filled a cart with hemp, and other combuſtible

* Hutchinſon, chap. ii.

CHAP. III. A. D. 1675.

materials, which they kindled, the Indians were puſhing it towards this only remaining houſe, when a violent ſhower of rain fell ſuddenly, and happily extinguiſhed the flame *.

Meantime major Willard, an Engliſh officer, who had been ſent with a party after ſome other Indians, heard of the diſtreſs of Brookfield, and haſtened to its relief. Though the Indian ſcouts diſcovered him, and fired their alarm guns; yet the main body, in the height of their tumultuous joy, always accompanied with a horrid noiſe, heard nothing of them, ſo that Willard was enabled to join the beſieged without any loſs. The Indians were ſenſible, that the enterpriſe would now be more difficult; but willing to make a laſt effort, they poured in ſeveral vollies of ſhot, in order to cover an aſſault, which not ſucceeding, they withdrew to their faſtneſſes, after deſtroying or carrying off all the horſes and cattle they could find. As their numbers were much ſuperior to thoſe of the Engliſh, it was not thought adviſable to purſue them.

The eſcape of Philip from the ſwamp at Pocaſſet, in the face of the Maſſachuſets forces, was leſs excuſable. The coloniſts, not yet accuſtomed to fighting, were afraid, it ſhould ſeem, to attack that deſperate chieftain, after the loſſes they had ſuſtained in ſkirmiſhing. Philip joined the Nipnets, in a ſwamp ten or twelve miles from Brookfield. About the ſame time the Indians upon Connecticut river, near Hadly, Hatfield, and Deerfield, began their hoſtilities, and the Engliſh were worſted in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes. The commanders in that part of the country, therefore, finding they could do nothing by ſending out parties, reſolved to garriſon their principal towns, and to unite their forces. With this view, they propoſed to eſtabliſh a magazine of proviſions at Hadley; and Capt. Lothorp, with eighty ſoldiers, was appointed to guard three thouſand buſhels of corn from Deerfield. In their way they were beſet by ſeven or eight hundred Indians, and all the Engliſh but ſeven or eight men, were cut off. Auguſt 5.

This was a ſevere blow, and was but poorly repaired by the arrival of Capt. Moſely and major Treat, who put the enemy to flight. Another diſaſter followed it, and threatened ſtill more fatal conſequences. A body of Indians, who had a fort about a mile from Springfield, had hitherto profeſſed great friendſhip for the Engliſh; but the Pocanokets, or Philip's Indians, prevailed with them to join in a plot for the deſtruction of the town, and to admit in the night three hundred of that hoſtile tribe. Fortunately the plot had been diſcovered the

* Hubbard. The New England brethren, no doubt, aſcribed this fortunate incident to a particular interpoſition of Heaven; and did enthuſiaſm inſpire only ſuch pious credulities, the enthuſiaſt would be truly worthy of envy, and his very illuſions entitled to our praiſe. The belief not only of an all-ſeeing eye, and an ear above at all times willing to liſten to human petitions, but of an Almighty arm always ready to help, is the moſt conſolatory doctrine, after the knowledge of a Mediator between God and his offending creatures, that ever was promulgated to mankind. The ſceptic and the ſatirift may treat it with deriſion; but the true philoſopher, though he will be far from puſhing this doctrine to extremities, will be as little inclined, as the real Chriſtian, to conclude with the dogmatical bard, that the Creator of the univerſe takes no particular intereſt in human concerns, but beholds with equal indifference

"A hero periſh or a ſparrow fall."

BOOK IV. A. D. 1675.

night before, by one Top, a Windſor Indian. In conſequence of this information, moſt of the inhabitants were enabled to ſave their lives; but they had the cruel mortification to ſee their houſes and furniture conſumed by the flames, before the ſufficient forces could come from Weſtfield, Hadley, and other places to their aſſiſtance *.

On the arrival of the Connecticut and Maſſachuſets forces, the Indians quitted the neighbourhood of Springfield, and withdrew to the Naraganſets country, their general rendezvous. The Naraganſets, contrary to their engagements, had received and cherished Philip's and other Indians hoſtile to the Engliſh; and it was not doubted but ſome of that nation had aſſiſted the reſt in their violences. Winter was now approaching, and if the Naraganſets ſhould openly engage in the confederacy in the ſpring, there would be no poſſibility of reſiſting them; eſpecially when the Engliſh forces were ſcattered over the face of the country, in order to combat the other tribes. One company of ſoldiers had waſted away after another, during the late campaign, and there was no reaſon to hope for greater ſucceſs next ſummer. The commiſſioners of the united colonies therefore agreed to raiſe immediately one thouſand men, and to march during the winter, into the Naraganſet country. The Maſſachuſets colony was to raiſe five hundred and twenty-ſeven men, and the other colonies the remainder. Mr. Winſlow, governor of New Plymouth, a man of ſpirit and reſolution, was appointed general in this expedition.

On the eighth of December, 1675, the Maſſachuſets forces marched from Boſton, and were ſoon after joined by the Plymouth men. The Connecticut men joined them on the 18th, at Pettyguanſcot. The evening and night were ſtormy, and the men had no covering. At break of day they began their march through the ſnow for fourteen or fifteen miles. About one o'clock they came to the edge of the ſwamp where the enemy lay. They had met with an Indian, who being diſguſted with the reſt, offered himſelf as a guide. The confederate Indians were apprized of the armament coming againſt them, and had fortified themſelves with all the ſtrength and ſkill of which they were capable. The Engliſh fell in ſuddenly and unexpectedly, notwithſtanding their guide, with this feat of the enemy, and neither drew up in order of battle, nor conſulted where or how to aſſault. Some Indians appearing at the edge of the ſwamp, thoſe who were in the front of the army in the march, fired upon them. They returned the fire, and fled. The whole Engliſh army entered the ſwamp, following the Indians to their fortreſs, which was upon an eminence in the midſt of the ſwamp, palliſadoed all round, and within a thick hedge. At one corner only was a gap, where the breaſt-work was not above four or five feet high; but over that paſſage was placed a block houſe. At this, and no other place, the Engliſh muſt enter, and thither it ſhould appear, they were conducted by their guide, or as they themſelves repreſent it, by the Great Diſpoſer of all events. The captains advanced at the head of their men, and Johnſon and Davenport, the two foremoſt, were ſhot dead at the entrance;

* Mather. Neal. Hutchinſon. Letter to London.

four

four others, Gardener, Gallop, Siely, and Marſhal, alſo loſt their lives. As ſoon as the forces were entered, they attacked the Indians with great ardour, and met with a ſuitable reception. The Indians fought deſperately, and beat the Engliſh out of the fort. But this did not terminate the conteſt. The Engliſh returned to the charge; and after a ſtruggle of two or three hours, drove the enemy with great ſlaughter from their works; ſet fire to the wigwams or houſes, which were upwards of five hundred in number, and in the general conflagration periſhed about three hundred old men, women, and children. Seven hundred Indians fell in the combat, and near four hundred died of their wounds, and in conſequence of the hardſhips to which they were expoſed. The Engliſh had eighty-five men killed, and an hundred and forty-five wounded, many of whom died before the army reached their quarters, by reaſon of the coldneſs of the night *. CHAP. III. A. D. 1675.

Notwithſtanding this diſaſter, the Indians were ſoon in a condition to act offenſively; and during the months of February and March, they cut off ſeveral parties of the Engliſh, and harraſſed them in every quarter. Where Philip ſpent the winter was never certainly known. He knew of the premium that was ſet upon his head, and therefore diſguiſed himſelf. But the proſperous ſtate of his affairs induced him again to appear in his proper perſon. That proſperity, however, was but of ſhort duration. The Connecticut men, with ſome friendly Indians, under George Deniſon, of Stonington, killed and took priſoners forty-four of the enemy in the beginning of April; and before the end of the month, the ſame commander, took and ſlew ſeventy-ſix more of the enemy, without the loſs of a ſingle man in either of theſe exploits. Between thoſe two ſucceſsful actions happened a very unfortunate one for the Maſſachuſets colony. A captain and fifty men, who had been ſent from Boſton to relieve Sudbury, were entirely cut off. During the months of May and June, the Indians appeared every where in larger bodies than formerly, but their vigour began to abate; their diſtreſſes for want of proviſions and ammunition increaſed, and, to complete their confuſion, the Mohawks fell upon them, and killed fifty of their beſt men †. A. D. 1676.

In the mean time Philip, the ſoul of the war, took poſſeſſion once more of Mount Hope; and the number of Indians that daily reſorted to him, filled the neighbouring ſettlements with conſternation. The Maſſachuſets and Plymouth colonies ordered their forces to attack him. He did not wait their arrival. Like a true Indian, he placed no glory in maintaining his ground. The Maſſachuſets people miſſed him, but returned to Boſton with an hundred and fifty priſoners. The Indians were now ſo much reduced, that they were continually coming in

* Hubbard. Mather. Hutchinſon.

† It is ſaid that Philip fell upon a party of Mohawks, murdered them, and reported that they were ſlain by the Engliſh. By this means he hoped to engage that powerful people in the confederacy; but unfortunately for Philip, one of the maſſacred party happened only to be ſeverely wounded, and eſcaping to his countrymen, informed them of the truth. That rage which they had conceived againſt the innocent, was turned with additional fury upon the guilty, as Philip and his people ſorely felt. Mather. Hutchinſon.

and

BOOK IV. A. D. 1676.

and ſurrendering themſelves, upon promiſe of mercy. Two hundred in one week came to Plymouth for this purpoſe. Philip was chaſed from ſwamp to ſwamp, eſcaping often by the greateſt hazard; now loſing one chief counſellor, then another, till he was robbed of every friend and adviſer. At laſt he himſelf was ſlain. One of his own men, whom he had offended, and who had fled to the Engliſh, ſhot him through the heart, as he was flying from a ſwamp near Mount Hope. Inſtead of his head, the victor cut off his right hand, which had a remarkable ſcar, well known to the Engliſh *.

August 22.

This was a final blow to the already expiring hopes of the Indians. They had now no centre of union, nor any fixed purpoſe; and being chaſed from faſtneſs to faſtneſs, without any means of ſubſiſtence, they were all obliged either to ſurrender themſelves, or abandon their country. Their doom was peculiarly ſevere. In all the promiſes of mercy, thoſe who had been principal actors in any violences againſt the Engliſh were excepted, and none had any promiſe made of any thing more than their lives. A great many of the chiefs were therefore executed at Boſton and Plymouth, and moſt of the reſt were ſold and ſhipped off to Bermudas, and other parts, as ſlaves †. New England has never ſince been in any danger from the intermixed Indians.

About the ſame time that Philip began his hoſtilities againſt the colony of New Plymouth, the Abnaquies, Trenteens, or Eaſtern Indians, were inſulting the Engliſh ſettled in New Hampſhire, and the province of Main. They began with robbing the coloniſts as they paſſed in their boats, and plundering their houſes of liquors, ammunition, and ſuch moveables as they could eaſily carry off. But in September 1675, they came to the houſe of one Wakely, an old man in Caſco Bay, and murdered him, together with his wife and four children, and carried four of his grand-children away captives. They next fell upon Saco, Scarborough, and Kittery; at each of which places they committed horrid devaſtations, burning the houſes, and killing the inhabitants. They afterwards proceeded to Piſcataqua, making ſpoil upon the inhabitants on the branches of that river; namely, at Oyſter bay, Salmon-falls, Dover, Exeter, and other places, burning the houſes, and killing more or leſs of the inhabitants of every place. Meantime the Maſſachuſets government, under whoſe juriſdiction they were, being fully occupied in repelling the attempts of Philip and his aſſociates, could do nothing more during the ſummer than to commit the care of the eaſtern plantations to the chief officers of the militia. In the autumn, forces were ready to march to their aſſiſtance, but were prevented by the ſeverity of the weather, which ſet in ſooner than uſual. The Indians of thoſe places, however, at that time ſued for peace; and though no formal treaty was concluded, an end was put to hoſtilities, by a kind of tacit conſent, on both ſides ‡.

While the New England colonies were thus contending in America, with the natives, for the poſſeſſion of the ſoil, complaints were made in the mother coun-

* Hutchinſon, chap. ii. † Id. ibid. ‡ Hutchinſon, chap. ii.

try, which ſtruck at the powers of government, and finally iſſued in a revocation of their ſeveral charters. One Edward Randolph was ſent over to the Maſſachuſets colony with a letter from his majeſty, and copies of the petitions and complaints of Gorges and Maſon. The king commanded that agents ſhould be ſent over to appear before him, within ſix months after the date of the letter, fully inſtructed and impowered to anſwer. William Stoughton and Peter Bulkeley, two of the magiſtrates, were choſen for the purpoſe; and ſoon after their arrival in England, a hearing was had before the lords of the committee of council, upon the principal points of their agency, the claims of Gorges and Maſon, both which were decided in favour of the petitioners. The province of Main was confirmed to Gorges and his heirs, both as to ſoil and government: but in order to put an end to all further diſputes, as well as to gratify many of the inhabitants, one John Uſher was employed by the Maſſachuſets colony to purchaſe the right and intereſt of Gorges's heirs; which he did for twelve hundred pounds ſterling, and aſſigned it over to the governor and company. This, inſtead of conciliating matters, gave further offence to the crown. In regard to Maſon's claim, it was determined, that the Maſſachuſets colony had a right to three miles north of Merrymack river, following the courſe of that river ſo far as it extends; but that the expreſſions in the charter do not warrant the overreaching of thoſe limits, by imaginary lines or bounds *.

CHAP. III. A. D. 1676. A. D. 1677.

To enter into a nice diſquiſition concerning thoſe bounds, would be inconſiſtent with the nature of this work. It will therefore be ſufficient to obſerve, that a commiſſion was iſſued by the crown for the government of New Hampſhire, and that the Maſſachuſets colony forebore all further juriſdiction in that province, but continued to exerciſe juriſdiction over the province of Main, as well as over the towns of Saliſbury, Ameſbury, and Haverhill, extending more than three miles beyond Merrymack river; and conſequently, according to the deciſion, without the limits of the patent.

A. D. 1679.

Beſides this controverſy about territory and juriſdiction, the agents had other complaints to anſwer. Randolph, who the people of New England ſaid, went up and down ſeeking to devour them, repreſented the colony, on his return to the mother-country, as refuſing obedience to the acts for regulating the trade of the plantations. This complaint was but too juſt; and Mr. Stoughton, one of the agents, was ſo ſenſible of it, that he wrote to the Maſſachuſets colony, "the country's not taking notice of theſe acts of navigation to obſerve them, hath been the moſt unhappy neglect that we could have fallen into; for, more and more every day, we find it moſt certain, that without a fair compliance in that matter, there can be nothing expected but a total breach †."

The Quakers alſo renewed their complaints againſt their perſecutors. In the diſtreſs of the Maſſachuſets colony, in conſequence of the Indian war, among other ſins which were concluded to be the cauſe of it, the toleration ſhewn to Quakers was thought to be one: the court therefore made a law, "that every

* Hutchinſon, chap. ii. † Id. ibid.

BOOK III. A. D. 1659.

perſon found at a Quaker's meeting, ſhall be apprehended *ex officio*, by the conſtable; and by warrant from a magiſtrate or commiſſioner, ſhall be committed to the houſe of correction, and there have the diſcipline of the houſe applied to them, and be kept to work, with bread and water for three days, and then releaſed; or elſe ſhall pay five pounds in money, as a fine to the country, for ſuch offence: and all conſtables neglecting their duty, in not faithfully executing this order, ſhall incur the penalty of five pounds upon conviction, one-third whereof to the informer*." This law, in vindication of which nothing can be urged, but the infirmity of the fanatical mind, while labouring under the apprehenſions of divine diſpleaſure, loſt the colony many valuable friends.

Several addreſſes were ſent to the king, from the general court, while the agents were in England, and ſeveral new laws were made, in order to remove ſome of the accuſations againſt the colony; particularly one to puniſh high treaſon with death, and another requiring all perſons, above ſixteen years of age, to take the oath of allegiance, on pain of fine and impriſonment, "the governor, deputy-governor, and magiſtrates, having firſt taken the ſame, *without any reſervation*, in words ſent to them by his majeſty's orders:" and the king's-arms were ordered to be carved, and put up in the court houſe †. Theſe were great conceſſions for ſuch a ſtiff-necked and perverſe generation; but they found leſs difficulty in ſwallowing an oath of allegiance, in words pricking to their boſoms, than in conforming to the laws of trade, or acts of navigation. They "apprehended them to be an invaſion of the rights, liberties, and properties of the ſubjects of his majeſty in the colony, they *not being repreſented in parliament* ‡; and according to the uſual ſayings of the learned in the law, the laws of England were bounded within the four ſeas, and did not reach America: however, as his majeſty had ſignified his pleaſure, that thoſe acts ſhould be obſerved in the Maſſachuſets, they had made proviſion, *by a law of the colony*, that they ſhould be ſtrictly attended to from time to time, although it greatly diſcouraged trade, and was a great damage to his majeſty's plantation §."

* At the ſame time that this puniſhment was provided for Quakers, other provoking evils were enumerated, particularly "pride, in men's wearing long hair, like women's hair, or their wearing borders of hair, and cutting, curling, and immodeſt laying out their hair, principally in the younger ſort." For ſuch offence grand juries were to preſent, and the court to puniſh all offenders by admonition, fine, or correction: and for "exceſs in apparel, ſtrange new faſhions, naked breaſts and arms, and pinioned ſuperfluous ribbands on hair and apparel," the court was to fine offenders at diſcretion. Many other "looſe and lewd cuſtoms," eſpecially that of "men and women riding together from town to town, under pretence of carting ſermons," were prohibited under ſevere penalties. Hutchinſon, chap. ii.

† Maſſachuſets Rec.

‡ Dr. Price ſeems to have caught his ſophiſtical reaſoning from this and other reſolutions of the Maſſachuſets court; but neither he, nor any other ſeditious writer, even during the preſent conteſt, has ventured to call in queſtion the right of Great Britain to impoſe commercial regulations, or extend the laws made to the colonies we here the want of repreſentation, now applied only to remonſtrate, is urged againſt ſuch right. Wherever men are intereſted to elude the laws of their country, they will find arguments againſt their being put in force.

§ Hutchinſon, chap. ii.

This law or reſolution, which is a ſingular inſtance of contempt of royal authority, and ſhews the miſtaken idea that the coloniſts had of the relation in which they ſtood with reſpect to the mother-country, was brought as a chief charge againſt the colony, when their charter was vacated by a writ of *quo warranto*. The particular ſteps that led to this deciſion, it is unneceſſary here to enumerate. It is ſufficient to obſerve that the colony was obſtinate, the court of England arbitrary, and that judgement was given for non-appearance. Writs were alſo iſſued againſt Connecticut and Rhode Iſland; but they not chuſing to ſtand ſuit with his majeſty, ſubmitted themſelves entirely to his royal pleaſure. Judgment was therefore never paſſed againſt them. New Plymouth had no charter to ſurrender. High as that colony ſtood in the favour of Charles, and though he gave them a grant of the country of Mount Hope, which had been conquered from Philip, they could never obtain a charter *; and if it is conſidered how much his dignity had been inſulted by a miſtaken conſtruction of charter-privileges, pleaded in oppoſition to his lawful authority, this backwardneſs in the king to part with power, however well he might be diſpoſed towards his ſubjects, will occaſion little ſurpriſe. A. D. 1684.

Charles II. died ſoon after that arbitrary deciſion, and was ſucceeded by his brother, James II. who appointed Sir Edmund Andros, formerly governor of New York, to the government of New England. The beginning of Sir Edmund's adminiſtration was mild, and tended greatly to quiet the minds of the people. He made high profeſſions of regard for the public good, and the welfare of the inhabitants of all conditions: he directed the judges to adminiſter juſtice according to the cuſtom of the place; ordered the eſtabliſhed rules to be obſerved, as to rates and taxes, and that all the colony-laws not inconſiſtent with his commiſſion ſhould be in force. The greater part of his council were New England men, and though they had been of the moderate and leſs popular party, yet wiſhed well to the public intereſt. But theſe men were little conſulted: many of them retired in diſguſt; and Sir Edmund guided entirely by his creatures, and his own tyrannical diſpoſition, ſoon rendered himſelf univerſally odious. A. D. 1686.

One of the firſt ſtretches of the governor's authority, was a reſtraint upon the liberty of the preſs. On this account, however, there was not ſo much reaſon to complain as may at firſt be imagined; for ſtrange as it may ſeem in a free country, the preſs was under reſtraint during the former adminiſtration. The ſame zeal that led the New England brethren to perſecute, led them to keep a watchful eye over the preſs. It had therefore only changed its keeper. A more grievous reſtraint was feared: it was whiſpered that the meeting houſes would be ſhut up, unleſs the church of England ſervice was there performed, and that public worſhip in the congregational way would not be tolerated. But king James's famous proclamation for a general liberty of conſcience, throughout all his dominions, ſoon freed the people from their apprehenſions on that article. The intention of this proclamation was to favour popery; but few of the coloniſts being able to diſcern A. D. 1687.

* Hutchinſon, chap. ii.

that

BOOK IV. A. D. 1687.

that diſtant purpoſe, gratitude for the preſent indulgence induced ſeveral churches to ſet apart days of thankſgiving, for his majeſty's gracious declaration, and many congregations agreed to addreſs the king on the ſubject *.

But while the people of New England were thus permitted, from motives ſo little honourable to the crown, to enjoy their religious privileges, their civil rights were moſt ſhamefully invaded. The charter being vacated, the people were told, that the titles to their eſtates were of no value; eſpecially as the general court had neglected to make their grants under the colony-ſeal. This was repreſented as a defect ſo capital, that neither poſſeſſion nor improvement could remedy it. Notice was however given, that all who would acknowledge the inſufficiency of their title derived from the former government, by petitioning for new patents, ſhould be quieted upon reaſonable terms. The fees for ſuch patents appear to have been arbitrary: ſome are ſaid to have amounted to fifty pounds; and had the titles of all eſtates been queſtioned at once, it is computed that the whole perſonal property in the colony would not have been ſufficient to defray the expence of the new deeds †.

This was an intolerable grievance; but it was not the only one to which the people of New England were expoſed, during a reign juſtly held in deteſtation both in the colonies and the mother-country. The governor, with four or five of his council, impoſed what taxes they thought proper on the inhabitants. That was perfect deſpotiſm, and muſt have been afflicting as well as oppreſſive to a ſet of men accuſtomed to the moſt unlimited freedom. Though they had no hopes of a general reſtitution of their charter-privileges, they thought themſelves entitled to the liberties and immunities of free and natural-born Engliſh ſubjects, and conſequently that no money ought to be raiſed from them except by their repreſentatives; but they were told by one of the council, that "they muſt not think the *privileges* of Engliſhmen would follow them to the end of the world ‡." They applied, however, to the king for permiſſion to elect a houſe of repreſentatives. Inſtead of giving them a direct anſwer, James aſſured them, that he would take as much care of New as of Old England; and there is no doubt but he meant to have brought his ſubjects in both, under the ſame abſolute dominion.

Happily the deſpotiſm of James was of ſhort continuance. He advanced towards it by too rapid ſtrides to render it durable. The minds of men could not acquieſce in a change ſo ſudden and violent; and information was no ſooner received in the colonies of the diſcontents of the people of England, and the landing of the prince of Orange, than the citizens of Boſton flew to arms; ſeized Sir Edmund Andros, the obnoxious governor, together with about fifty of his adherents, and reinſtated

A. D. 1689.

* Douglaſs. Hutchinſon. † Hutchinſon, chap. ii.

‡ This reply muſt have been very cutting to the New England brethren; who could not fail to conſider it as a retort, though probably not intended, upon their former conduct, in pleading an exemption from the *laws* of England, on account of the remoteneſs of their ſituation, "in theſe end of the earth," and beyond "the four ſeas." It might alſo recall to their minds the words of Clarendon, that they would find their happineſs to conſiſt in a due obedience to the Engliſh crown.

the

CHAP. III.
A. D. 1689.

the old magiſtrates. The revolution, which was by this time completed in England, ſecured the inſurgents from all danger of puniſhment; and though William ſhewed little diſpoſition to reſtore the old charter, he granted the Maſſachuſets colony power to exerciſe government according to it, until ſuch time as a new one ſhould be granted. "Truſty and well-beloved," ſays he, "we greet you well. Whereas we are informed by ſeveral addreſſes from the colony of Maſſachuſets Bay, and particularly by the addreſs coming to us in the name of the governor and council and convention of the repreſentatives of the people of the ſaid colony, that they had joyfully received the notice of our happy acceſſion to the throne of theſe kingdoms, and cauſed the proclamation thereof to be iſſued throughout the ſaid territory; we have therefore thought fit hereby to ſignify our royal approbation of the ſame, and gracious acceptance of your readineſs in performing that which was neceſſary, on your parts, for the preſervation of the peace and quiet of the ſaid colony: and whereas you give us to underſtand, that you have taken upon you the preſent care of the government, until you ſhould receive our order therein, we do hereby authoriſe you to continue in our name, your care in the adminiſtration thereof and preſervation of the peace, until we ſhall have taken ſuch reſolutions, and given ſuch directions for the more orderly ſettlement of the ſaid government, as ſhall moſt conduce to our ſervice, and the ſecurity of our ſubjects within that colony *."

Encouraged by this aſſurance, and willing to ingratiate themſelves yet farther into the favour of the king, now engaged in war with France, the people of New England undertook to reduce Canada and Acadie, or Nova Scotia. Sir William Phips, a New England man, who had acquired a great fortune by fiſhing up the wreck of a Spaniſh galleon, was intruſted with the command of the expedition againſt Nova Scotia, which ſucceeded. This acquiſition was made with A. D. 1690.
ſo much eaſe, that the coloniſts were confirmed in the proſecution of their deſign againſt Canada. A veſſel was accordingly diſpatched to England, in order to requeſt a ſupply of arms and ammunition, and a number of the king's frigates to attack the French by ſea, while the colony forces ſhould act by land; and though the diſtracted ſtate of the mother-country, did not admit of any attention being given to ſuch a propoſal, the colonies did not lay aſide their deſign. Connecticut and New York engaged to furniſh a body of men, and the Maſſachuſets colony was the ſoul of the enterpriſe. Two thouſand men were expected to march by Lake Champlain, and attack Montreal, at the ſame time that the forces by ſea ſhould beſiege Quebec. But through various blunders, which we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to notice, this expedition utterly failed. The New England forces returned, much diminiſhed, without attempting any thing, and the Maſſachuſets colony had the mortification to find itſelf loaded with a vaſt debt, at the ſame time that its reputation was tarniſhed †.

While the New England colonies were labouring under affliction and diſtreſs, in conſequence of this diſaſterous expedition, their enemies in the mother-

* Hutchinſon, chap. ii.

† Id. ibid.

Book IV. A. D. 1691.

country, took advantage of a ſubject, in itſelf ſo grievous, to arraign their government; to the bad adminiſtration of which all theſe evils were imputed. As a further misfortune, the colony agents were divided among themſelves. On the opinion of eminent lawyers, however, Connecticut and Rhode Iſland reſumed their former government; no judgment, as already obſerved, having paſſed againſt their charters. Lawyers were alſo conſulted in regard to the Maſſachuſets charter; which not only the body of the people, but likewiſe their agents, Mr. Increaſe Mather, and Elihu Cooke, were outrageouſly zealous to have reſtored. But on examining the old charter, it appeared to Sir John Somers the attorney general, and alſo to Mr. Hooke, a noted counſellor conſulted for the colony, that a mere reſtoration of that charter would not anſwer the purpoſe of the petitioners; for although it gave them power to impriſon, or inflict puniſhment in criminal caſes, according to the courſe of corporations in England, capital caſes not being expreſsly mentioned, they had no power of life and death; that no power was given to erect judicatories, or courts for probate of wills, or with admiralty juriſdiction; nor was any power given to conſtitute a houſe of deputies or repreſentatives, to impoſe taxes on the inhabitants, or to incorporate towns, colleges, or ſchools*, all which powers and privileges they had nevertheleſs uſurped; and that if the judgment againſt the charter ſhould be reverſed, and the government continue to exerciſe, as before the *quo warranto*, thoſe powers and privileges, which only could render their adminiſtration competent, a new writ would iſſue againſt them in Weſtminſter-Hall, and judgment follow thereon, of ſuch a nature as to leave no room for a *Writ of Error* †.

This repreſentation of the matter, and certain information, that the king was determined to reſerve to himſelf the appointment of the governor at leaſt, induced Mr. Mather, the principal agent, to petition for a new charter with more ample privileges. A new charter was granted; but the crown reſerved to itſelf ſo many prerogatives, that Mr. Cooke utterly refuſed to accept of it, and Mr. Mather was ſo much diſſatisfied, when it was firſt preſented to him, that he declared he would ſooner part with life than ſubſcribe to ſuch conditions. His rage, however, had time to cool. He was told that the conſent of the agents was

* That this opinion is juſt will be evident to any one who ſhall examine the charter; yet we are told by the celebrated author of the *Account of the European Settlements in America*, that this charter contained "privileges too extenſive for a colony, and what left little more than a nominal dependence on the mother-country, and the crown itſelf." A habit of aſſerting bold aſſertions in the Houſe of Commons, in order to browbeat a matter, or confound a clamorous opponent, may have led this gentleman into ſo unaccountable a deviation. Had the Maſſachuſets colony poſſeſſed the powers which it aſſumed, and the privileges which it claimed, there would have been ſome foundation for this opinion; but the powers of government actually granted to it by charter, were only ſuch as for a colony immediately under a ſuperior, civil and criminal juriſdiction. Nor did the charter grant any privileges in commerce, except an exemption from *cuſtoms*, both in the colony and the mother-country, for the firſt ſeven years; which plainly implies, that they might be afterwards levied, and that the crown had reſerved a right to impoſe them. But the charter itſelf, page 366 of this volume.

† Hutchinſon, chap. ii.

not

not required; that they were not plenipotentiaries from a ſovereign ſtate, but the officers of a corporation ſoliciting the king in behalf of their fellow-ſubjects; and if they declined ſubmitting to his majeſty's pleaſure, he would ſettle the country without them, and they might attend to the conſequences *.

The only queſtion with the agents now was, whether to ſubmit to the new ſettlement in its preſent form, or to ſignify to the miniſters of ſtate, that they would rather have no charter at all. Mr. Cooke adhered to his former reſolution; but Mr. Mather having recovered his temper, was ſenſible, on a ſecond examination, that the new charter was in many reſpects to be preferred to the old. That every one, however, may form his own opinion of this matter, an abſtract of the new charter is here preſented. After a recital of the former grant or charter, it proceeds thus:—"Whereas the ſaid governor and company of Maſſachuſets Bay in New England, by virtue of the ſaid letters patent, are become very populous and well ſettled; and whereas the ſaid charter was vacated by a judgment in Chancery in Trinity-Term, anno 1684, the agents of that colony have petitioned us to be incorporated by a new charter; and alſo to the end that our colony of New Plymouth in New England may be brought under ſuch a form of government, as may put them in a better condition of defence, we do by theſe preſents incorporate into one real province, by the name of THE PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETS BAY IN NEW ENGLAND, viz. the former colony of Maſſachuſets Bay; the colony of New Plymouth; the Province of Main; the territory of Acadia or Nova Scotia, and the tract lying between Nova Scotia and the province of Main; the north half of the iſles of Shoals; the iſles of Caparock, and Nantucket near Cape Cod; and all iſlands, within ten leagues directly oppoſite to the main land, within the ſaid bounds: and to our ſubjects, inhabitants of the ſaid lands, and their ſucceſſors, we confirm all lands and hereditaments formerly granted by any general court to perſons, bodies corporate, towns, villages, colleges, or ſchools, ſaving the claims of prior grantees; nor ſhall former grants or conveyances be prejudiced for want of form. The governor, lieutenant-governor, and ſecretary, to be of the king's nomination; a general court or aſſembly to be convened the laſt Wedneſday in May yearly, conſiſting of the governor, council, and repreſentatives of the towns or places, not exceeding two for one place; the qualification for an elector forty ſhillings freehold, or fifty pounds ſterling perſonal eſtate: and the general aſſembly ſhall elect twenty-eight counſellors, whereof eighteen ſhall be from the old colony of Maſſachuſets Bay, four from Plymouth late colony, three from the Province of Main, one from the territory of Sagadahock, and two at large. The governor, with conſent of the council, to appoint the officers in the courts of juſtice; all perſons born in the province, or in the paſſage to and from it to be deemed natural-born ſubjects of England; liberty of conſcience to be granted to all Chriſtians except papiſts; the general aſſembly to conſtitute judicatories for all cauſes civil or criminal,

* Hutchinſon, chap. ii.

capital

BOOK IV. A. D. 1691.

capital or not capital. Probate of wills and granting of adminiſtrations, to be in the governor and council; in perſonal actions exceeding the value of three hundred pounds ſterling, an appeal may be had to the king in council, provided the appeal be made within fourteen days after judgment, but execution not to be ſtayed. The general aſſembly may make laws, if not repugnant to the laws of England; appoint all civil officers, except the officers of the courts of juſtice, and impoſe taxes, to be diſpoſed of by the governor in council: but the governor ſhall have a negative in all acts and elections, and all acts of aſſembly ſhall be ſent home to the king in council for approbation. The governor to command the militia; to uſe the law martial in time of actual war; to erect forts and demoliſh them at pleaſure: but the law martial ſhall not be executed without the conſent of the council. When there is no governor, the lieutenant-governor to act; and when both are wanting, the majority of the council to have the power. The admiralty juriſdiction to belong to the king, or the lords of the Admiralty; and all trees fit for maſts of twenty-four inches diameter and upwards, twelve inches from the ground, growing upon land not heretofore granted to any private perſons, are reſerved to the crown *."

Such is the ſubſtance of the new charter of Maſſachuſets Bay; and the nomination of the officers reſerved to the crown being left for the firſt time to the agents, or rather to Mr. Mather, he made choice of Sir William Phips as governor. Sir William arrived at Boſton with the charter in May 1692, and immediately iſſued writs for a general aſſembly, which met on the eighth of June following; and although a party was formed that oppoſed ſubmiſſion to the charter, a majority of the court wiſely and thankfully accepted it, and appointed a day of ſolemn thankſgiving to Almighty God, for "granting a ſafe arrival to his excellency the governor and the Rev. Mr. Increaſe Mather, who have induſtriouſly endeavoured the ſervice of this people, and have brought over with them a ſettlement of government, in which their majeſties have graciouſly given us diſtinguiſhing marks of their royal favour and goodneſs †."

From this time to the concluſion of the late war, the alterations in the government of New England were very inconſiderable. New Hampſhire continued immediately under the crown; Connecticut and Rhode Iſland, under their original charter-governments; and the people of Maſſachuſets Bay, happy under this new charter, found no reaſon, after the experience of ſeventy years, to envy their neighbours, or conclude that king William had dealt hardly with them, though he certainly took care to mark more diſtinctly the dependence of the colony on the mother-country, as well as to preſerve that dependence, by retaining the power of appointing the principal officers. In other reſpects, he circumſcribed only their imaginary, and enlarged their real privileges. An increaſe of commerce, population, and wealth, was the deſirable conſequence of theſe privileges: what will be the conſequence of aſpiring at greater, or of an attempt to

* Douglaſs, part II. ſect. viii.

† Hutchinſon, chap. ii.

France. Of that extenſive region, we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſpeak: at preſent we muſt carry forward the hiſtory of l'Acadie or Nova Scotia.


Longitude W. from London.
LABRADORE COAST
Province of Quebec
NEWFOUNDLAND
GULF OF ST. LAURENCE
NOVA SCOTIA
BAY OF FUNDY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GREAT BANK OF NEWFOUNDLAND
Scale of British Miles.
25 50 100 150 200 250
Cape Charles
Bell Isle
Bell Isle Straits
Fogo Island
Funk I.
Wadham's I.
Ragged Harb.
Bay of Bonavista
Cape Bonavista
Catalina Harb.
Conception Bay
St. John's Harb.
Cape Spear
Cape Race
the Virgins
Placentia Bay
Miquelon I.
St. Peters
Cape Breton Island
Louisbourg destroyed
Forked Harb.
Green Bank
Whale Bank
Banquereau
Sable Island Bank
Sable I.
Cape Rosiers
C. Gaspe and Bay
Bonaventure I.
Cape Anne
Miscou I.
Magdalen Isle
Amherst I.
North Cape
Richmond Bay
Port Dauphin
Spanish Bay
Murray
Scatari
Canso
Halifax
Annapolis Royal
Passamaquoddy Bay
St. John
Mikmaks
Milford Haven
Chedabucto
Pesaquid
Minas
Basin
Cumberland
Margarets Bay
Mahone Bay
Port Rossignol
Port Mutton
Negro
Forked Cape
Long I.
St. Mary
M. Desert I.
Mecchias
Penobscot Bay
Passamaquoddy Bay
Manan
Seal I.
Owls Head
Popes Hd.
White Hd.
Middle Bank
Green Bay
Shediac R.
Richibucto
Miramichi Bay
Gaspe Bay
Chaleur Bay
Bay of Islands
Bay of Exploits
Fogo Island
Twillingate I.
Trinity Bay
Bonavista Bay
Placentia
St. Mary's Bay
Trepassy Bay
Point Mistaken
Baccalao I.
Bulls
Goose I.
Broyle Harb.
Ballard
Holy Road
Carbonniere Harb.
Sandy I.
Bull's Bay
Ireland's Eye
Clod Sound
Indian Bay
Gander Bay
New Bay
Gold Cove
Orange Bay
Horse Islands
White Bay
Partridge Bay
Bay of Pines
St. John
Notre Dame
Quirpon
St. Anthony's Cape
Hare Bay
Pitchet H.
Bradore H.
Esquimaux R.
Mecatina R.
Red B.
Black B.
Temple Bay
Bad Bay
St. Peters
Ashuanipi L.
Maniko Magane
Trinity L.
Seal L.
Mingan
Esquimaux Is
Natsicotec Bay
East Pt.
Bay St. Barnabas
Fog Is.
Coming down
Kacous Is.
Egg I.
Gannet I.
Bird I.
Cross I.
Old Harry
Port Paul
Limboch
Basque Cove
Tracadie
Pokemouche
Miramichi
Nipisiguit
Restigouche R.
Metis R.
Matane R.
Mistassini R.
Nekaubis R.
Ristigouche
Papineau
Mt. Notre Dame
Gaspe Basin
Port Daniel
Percé
Bonaventure I.
Cape Ray
Grand Bay
Port aux Basques
Red I.
St. George's Bay
Long Pt.
Port au Port
Bay St. George
Cape Anguille
Petit Port
Isle Hune
Boston Pt.
Brunet I.
Fortune Bay
Belle Bay
Pt. May
Penguins Is.
Ramea Is.
La Poile Bay
Pt. aux Gaules
Chapeau Rouge Pt.
Lance
Pine
Mutton Bay
Point Lance
Burin
Placentia
Mistaken
Trepassy
Point
Ferryland
Bay of Bulls
Petty Harbour
Torbay
Cape Spear
Cape Race
Cape Pine
Cape Broyle
Cape Ballard
Cape Freels
Stinking I.
Fogo
Twillingate
Funk I.
Wadham's I.
Ragged Harb.
Indian Bay
Bay of Bonavista
Cape Bonavista
Catalina Harb.
Clod Sound
Baccalao I.
Conception Bay
St. John's Harb.
Cape Spear
Bulls
Goose I.
Broyle Harb.
Ballard
Cape Race
the Virgins
Placentia Bay
Miquelon I.
St. Peters
St. Mary's Bay
Trepassy Bay
Point Mistaken
Great Bank of Newfoundland
Green Bank
Whale Bank
Banquereau
Sable Island Bank
Sable I.
Cape Rosiers
C. Gaspe and Bay
Bonaventure I.
Cape Anne
Miscou I.
Magdalen Isle
Amherst I.
North Cape
Richmond Bay
Port Dauphin
Spanish Bay
Murray
Scatari
Canso
Halifax
Annapolis Royal
Passamaquoddy Bay
St. John
Mikmaks
Milford Haven
Chedabucto
Pesaquid
Minas Basin
Cumberland
Margarets Bay
Mahone Bay
Port Rossignol
Port Mutton
Negro
Forked Cape
Long I.
St. Mary
M. Desert I.
Mecchias
Penobscot Bay
Passamaquoddy Bay
Manan
Seal I.
Owls Head
Popes Hd.
White Hd.
Middle Bank
Green Bay
Shediac R.
Richibucto
Miramichi Bay
Gaspe Bay
Chaleur Bay
Bay of Islands
Bay of Exploits
Fogo Island
Twillingate I.
Trinity Bay
Bonavista Bay
Placentia
St. Mary's Bay
Trepassy Bay
Point Mistaken
Baccalao I.
Bulls
Goose I.
Broyle Harb.
Ballard
Holy Road
Carbonniere Harb.
Sandy I.
Bull's Bay
Ireland's Eye
Clod Sound
Indian Bay
Gander Bay
New Bay
Gold Cove
Orange Bay
Horse Islands
White Bay
Partridge Bay
Bay of Pines
St. John
Notre Dame
Quirpon
St. Anthony's Cape
Hare Bay
Pitchet H.
Bradore H.
Esquimaux R.
Mecatina R.
Red B.
Black B.
Temple Bay
Bad Bay
St. Peters
Ashuanipi L.
Maniko Magane
Trinity L.
Seal L.
Mingan
Esquimaux Is
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East Pt.
Bay St. Barnabas
Fog Is.
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Bird I.
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Old Harry
Port Paul
Limboch
Basque Cove
Tracadie
Pokemouche
Miramichi
Nipisiguit
Restigouche R.
Metis R.
Matane R.
Mistassini R.
Nekaubis R.
Ristigouche
Papineau
Mt. Notre Dame
Gaspe Basin
Port Daniel
Percé
Bonaventure I.
Cape Ray
Grand Bay
Port aux Basques
Red I.
St. George's Bay
Long Pt.
Port au Port
Bay St. George
Cape Anguille
Petit Port
Isle Hune
Boston Pt.
Brunet I.
Fortune Bay
Belle Bay
Pt. May
Penguins Is.
Ramea Is.
La Poile Bay
Pt. aux Gaules
Chapeau Rouge Pt.
Lance
Pine
Mutton Bay
Point Lance
Burin
Placentia
Mistaken
Trepassy
Point
Ferryland
Bay of Bulls
Petty Harbour
Torbay
Cape Spear
Cape Race
Cape Pine
Cape Broyle
Cape Ballard
Cape Freels
Stinking I.
Fogo
Twillingate
Funk I.
An Exact Map of Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Gulf and River St. Laurence, and Coast of Labradore. From the latest Observations. 1777.

invade them, time only can certainly determine; though it is not now impoſſible to reach it, by a fortunate conjecture. But before we enter upon that ſubject, or relate the principal events of the proſperous period which preceded the preſent diſturbances, we muſt take a view of the colonies contiguous to New England, both towards the north and ſouth, as well as of thoſe planted in other parts of North America, by the different European powers.

CHAP. IV.

The Settlement of the French *in* Canada *and* Nova Scotia; *a View of the latter under the* Engliſh *Government; alſo an Account of* Newfoundland *and* Hudſon's Bay, *with ſome Thoughts on the Fiſhery and Fur Trade.*

IN treating of the affairs of New England, we have frequently had occaſion to mention the French, who were long the rivals of the Engliſh in America, as well as in Europe. As early as the year 1535, James Cartier, a French navigator, had entered the river St. Laurence, and carried on ſome traffic, as we have already ſeen, with the natives of Canada. He alſo diſtinctly ſurveyed the coaſts of the country now known by the name of Nova Scotia, to which the French ſoon after gave the name of l'Acadie. But no ſettlement was eſtabliſhed in either of theſe countries till the reign of Henry IV. juſtly ſurnamed the Great, who having compoſed the civil and religious wars, by which France had been ſo long diſtracted, began to turn his views towards the New World. The Engliſh at that time claimed all the American continent to the north of Florida, in conſequence of the diſcoveries of the Cabots; but Henry regardleſs of ſuch claim, appointed ſucceſſively La Roche, a gentleman of Britanny, Chauvin, a commander in the French navy, and De Chatte, governor of Dieppe, to the government of Canada and the adjoining countries, with very ample privileges. Theſe gentlemen, or their agents, traded with the natives for furs, to advantage, but made no permanent ſettlement.

This trade was found ſo advantageous, that De Montis, who had ſucceeded De Chatte as governor of Canada, was able to form a company for carrying it on, more conſiderable than any former aſſociation for that purpoſe. They fitted out four ſhips, of which De Montis took the command in perſon, attended by Samuel Champlain, a gentleman of education, who had formerly made the ſame voyage, and other adventurers of good condition. This ſquadron touched at ſeveral places on the coaſt of l'Acadie, and ſettlements were eſtabliſhed at St. Croix and Port Royale, now Annapolis Royal, in a bay towards the ſouth-weſt coaſt of that territory. Four years after, Champlain founded a ſettlement on the river St. Laurence, to which he gave the name of Quebec. This ſoon became a flouriſhing city; the centre of the French power in America, and the capital of Canada or New France. Of that extenſive region, we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſpeak: at preſent we muſt carry forward the hiſtory of l'Acadie or Nova Scotia. A. D. 1604. A. D. 1608.

BOOK IV.

Nova Scotia, by which is now underſtood all the coaſt, three hundred leagues in length, included between the northern boundary of New England, and the mouth of the river St. Laurence, ſeems at firſt to have comprehended only the great triangular peninſula, lying near the middle of that ſpace. This peninſula, to which the French confined the name of l'Acadie, is extremely well ſituated for ſhips returning from the Weſt Indies to water at. It has a number of excellent ports, which ſhips may enter and go out of with all winds. There is a great quantity of cod upon its coaſts, and ſtill more upon ſome ſmall banks at the diſtance only of a few leagues. The ſoil, which is gravelly, is extremely convenient for drying the fiſh. Nova Scotia alſo abounds with valuable timber, with land fit for ſeveral kinds of culture, and is remarkably well ſituated for the fur trade. But although the climate is in the temperate zone, the winters are long and ſevere, and followed by ſudden and exceſſive heats, to which generally ſucceed thick fogs. Theſe circumſtances render the country diſagreeable, though it cannot be reckoned unwholeſome.

The French ſettlements in l'Acadie were ſtill in an infant ſtate, when captain Argol, as we have already ſeen, aſſerted the claim of the crown of England to
A. D. 1613. that country. He carried off part of the inhabitants, and tranſported the reſt
A. D. 1621. to Quebec. This violence prepared the way for a grant of the diſputed territory, from James I. to Sir William Alexander, ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, who gave it the name of Nova Scotia, or New Scotland, which it ſtill retains. Sir William admitted ſome aſſociates, and a ſhip was ſent over with ſettlers in 1623; but, from cauſes with which we are not made acquainted, they all returned the ſame year *. Meantime the French had reſtored their ſettlements; and Charles I. on his marriage with Henrietta Maria, daughter
A. D. 1625. of Henry IV. quit-claimed Nova Scotia to the crown of France. But Charles being afterwards embroiled with that court, David Kertk, a French proteſtant, with three Engliſh ſhips, reduced all the ſettlements of his countrymen,
A. D. 1628. both in Canada and Nova Scotia. Kertk, who had acted under a commiſſion from the king, but as the conductor of a private armament, obtained a grant of all the lands called Canada, to the north of the river St. Laurence; and thoſe to the ſouth of it, called Nova Scotia, were confirmed to Sir Willam Alexander †.

Thoſe grants, however, proved to be little more than nominal; for by a new
A. D. 1630. treaty of peace, ſoon after concluded, both Canada and Nova Scotia were reſtored to France, together with the iſland ſtill known by the name of Cape Breton, which the French long affected to diſtinguiſh by the name of Iſle Royale. The ſettlements of Port Royal and St. Croix were once more re-eſtabliſhed; and a deſire of monopolizing the fur trade, as well as a jealouſy of the riſing greatneſs of New England, and perhaps reſentment of former injuries, made the French of l'Acadie very troubleſome neighbours to the Engliſh. At their firſt arrival, they had found it peopled by ſmall ſavage nations or tribes, who went under the

* Douglaſs, part II. ſect. vii. † Id. ibid. The commander of this fortunate armament, who was a native of Dieppe, but as ſhould ſeem of Dutch extraction, is commonly called Sir David Kirk, as if he had been a Scotchman.

general

general name of Abnaquies. Tho' no leſs fond of war than the other ſavages of North America, they were more ſocial in their temper. In conſequence of this diſpoſition, the French miſſionaries had full opportunity to communicate to them the doctrines of Chriſtianity, which many of them received with all the ardour of novelty and enthuſiaſm. At the ſame time that the miſſionaries taught the Abnaquies their religion, they inſpired them with all that hatred, which they themſelves entertained againſt the Engliſh name; and this fundamental article of their new faith being that which made the ſtrongeſt impreſſion upon their ſenſes, and the only one which favoured their paſſion for war, they adopted it with all that ferocity which was natural to them *. They not only refuſed to make any kind of exchanges with the Engliſh, but alſo frequently attacked and plundered their ſettlements. CHAP. IV.

Rouſed by theſe repeated injuries, and the complaints of the people of New England, Cromwell ſent colonel Sedgwick to aſſert the claim of the Engliſh nation to Nova Scotia. He reduced it in 1654, and it was confirmed to England by treaty the following year. But Sir William Alexander having ſold, in 1632, his right of property in the ſoil, to M. Claude de la Tour d'Aunay, a French proteſtant, M. St. Eſtienne, ſon and heir of the above Claude de la Tour, now came over to England, in order to make out his claim, and had the property ſurrendered to him. This La Tour ſold his right to Sir Thomas Temple, who was governor, as well as poſſeſſor of the ſoil, until 1662, when Nova Scotia was delivered up to France by Charles II. an equivalent of ten thouſand pounds being ſtipulated for Sir Thomas Temple, but never paid. A. D. 1654.

Nova Scotia was afterwards confirmed to France by the treaty of Breda, and continued under the French government, to the great annoyance of the New England colonies, until the year 1690, when it was reduced, as we have already ſeen, by Sir William Phips. Marival, the French governor of Port Royale, was conveyed to Canada, and the inhabitants took the oath of allegiance to the Engliſh government. A. D. 1667.

In conſequence of this conqueſt, Nova Scotia was included in the Maſſachuſets new charter, granted in 1691; but no means being taken to keep the French in ſubjection, they revolted almoſt immediately, and the conteſted territory was quit-claimed to France, in 1697, by an article in the treaty of Ryſwick. War, however, breaking out anew between the courts of London and Verſailles, different attempts were made by the people of New England to reduce Nova Scotia, always a thorn in their ſide. Two of thoſe failed; but the project was not laid aſide. In 1709, application was made to the court of England by colonel Nicolſon and captain Vetch, for a proper force to reduce the French ſettlements in Canada. This was thought too great an undertaking, but leave was granted to attempt the entire reduction of Nova Scotia: and orders were at the ſame time iſſued to all the governors of the Engliſh ſettlements in North America, to promote the enterpriſe to the utmoſt of their power. Nicolſon was appointed

* They are ſaid to have informed their converts that Chriſt was crucified by the Engliſh, and that it was their firſt duty to take vengeance on the murderers of their Saviour.

commander

BOOK IV. A. D. 1710.

commander in chief, and the commiſſion of adjutant-general was granted to Vetch. Four men of war were appointed as a convoy. Under the protection of theſe, the New England forces embarked from Boſton, in thirty tranſports, and arrived at Port Royale in ſix days; landed without oppoſition, and ſoon obliged the French governor to capitulate. The terms granted were, That all the inhabitants within the Banlieu, or three miles of the fort, ſhould be entitled to the privilege of Britiſh ſubjects, on their taking the oath of allegiance; that the garriſon, conſiſting of two hundred and fifty-eight ſoldiers, ſhould march out with the honours of war, and be tranſported to Rochelle, in Old France, at the expence of the Britiſh government; that ſuch of the inhabitants as choſe to retire to Canada or New France, ſhould be ſent thither in the moſt convenient manner; and that they ſhould have all their effects preſerved to them, free from the pillage of the Engliſh ſoldiers *.

An account of the ſubſequent bickerings between the French and Engliſh, relative to this country, would be inconſiſtent with the nature of a general work. It will therefore be ſufficient to obſerve, that Nova Scotia was ſecured to Great

A. D. 1713.

Britain by the twelfth article in the treaty of Utrecht, was made a particular province, and has ever ſince continued under the Britiſh government. But the ardour which had been ſhewn for the poſſeſſion of Nova Scotia, did not afterwards manifeſt itſelf in the care that was taken to maintain or improve it. Having built a very ſlight fortification at Port Royale, to which they gave the name of Annapolis, in honour of queen Anne, the Engliſh miniſtry contented themſelves with furniſhing it with a ſmall garriſon. The indifference ſhewn by the government was adopted by the nation: not more than five or ſix Engliſh families went over to Nova Scotia, which ſtill remained inhabited chiefly by the former coloniſts; who having taken the oath of allegiance, with an indulgence not to be obliged to bear arms againſt their countrymen, were called the French neutrals.

Twelve or thirteen hundred of theſe men, were ſettled in the capital, the reſt were diſperſed in the neighbouring country. No magiſtrate was ever appointed to rule over them; and though an appeal lay to the governor, they continued ſtrangers to the Engliſh laws. No rents or taxes of any kind were exacted from them. Their new ſovereign ſeemed to have forgotten them, and they were very willing to be forgot. Hunting and fiſhing, which had formerly been the delight of the colony, and might ſtill have ſupplied it with ſubſiſtence, having no further attraction for a ſimple and quiet people, were neglected for agriculture. It was begun in the marſhes and low lands, after they had been ſecured from inundations by ditches and dykes. Wheat and oats ſucceeded beſt in them; but they alſo produced rye, barley, and maize. Potatoes were likewiſe raiſed in great plenty. At the ſame time the immenſe meadows were covered with numerous flocks, and large herds of horned cattle. Moſt families had ſeveral horſes, although the tillage was performed by oxen. The houſes were built entirely of

* Oldmixon. Douglaſs.

wood, but extremely convenient, and neatly furniſhed. The people bred a great deal of poultry, which made an agreeable variety in their food, in general wholeſome and plentiful. Their cloathing was chiefly the produce of their own flax, or the fleeces of their own ſheep. With theſe they made common linens and coarſe cloths. Thoſe who had any inclination for articles of greater luxury, procured them from Annapolis or Louiſburg, and gave in exchange corn, cattle, or furs *.

The neutral French had no other articles to diſpoſe of among their neighbours, and made ſtill fewer exchanges among themſelves, becauſe each ſeparate family was able, and had been accuſtomed to provide for its own wants. They knew nothing therefore of paper-currency, ſo common throughout the reſt of North America. Even the ſmall quantity of ſpecie that had ſtolen in among them, did not promote that circulation for which it was deſigned. Their manners were, of courſe, extremely ſimple. They never had a cauſe, either civil or criminal, of importance enough to be carried before the court of judicature eſtabliſhed at Annapolis. Whatever little differences aroſe among them from time to time, were amicably adjuſted by their elders; and all their public deeds were drawn by their paſtors, who had likewiſe the keeping of their wills, for which and their religious ſervices, the inhabitants paid a twenty-ſeventh part of their harveſts. Theſe were plentiful enough to ſupply more than a ſufficiency for every act of juſtice or liberality. Real miſery was unknown in a ſociety, where benevolence prevented the demands of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved, as it were, before it could be felt. Good was univerſally diſpenſed without oſtentation, on the part of the giver, and without humbling the perſon who received the benefit. Thoſe people were, in a word, a ſociety of brethren, every individual of which was ready to give and to receive what he thought the common right of mankind.

An harmony ſo perfect naturally prevented all thoſe looſe amours, which, among a people fond of gallantry, ſo often prove fatal to the peace of families. There never was an inſtance, in this ſociety, of an unlawful commerce between the ſexes. That evil was prevented by early marriages. No one there paſſed his youth in a ſtate of celibacy. As ſoon as a young man came to the proper age, he commonly built himſelf a houſe; broke up the lands about it; ſowed them, and ſupplied himſelf with all the neceſſaries of life, by the regular application of his induſtry. Here he received the partner whom he had choſen, and who brought him her portion in cattle. Each new family grew and proſpered like the former; and in 1749, this ſingular colony, within a colony, amounted to eighteen thouſand ſouls †.

Every generous mind muſt wiſh, that ſo virtuous a ſet of people might never feel the ſtorms of ambition, nor become a ſacrifice to the politics of princes. But the French neutrals were not ſo fortunate. Though devoid of ambition themſelves, they became the dupes of it in others; and their natural attach-

* Raynal, liv. xvii.

† Raynal, ubi ſup.

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ment to their countrymen led them to violate that neutrality which they were bound, by all the ties of honour and gratitude, to obſerve. Several attempts were made by the crown of France, during the years 1745 and 1746, to recover poſſeſſion of l'Acadie, and ſeveral landings were effected. But by the vigorous aſſiſtance of the New England colonies, and other fortunate circumſtances, Annapolis, the capital, was preſerved, and all Nova Scotia was confirmed to the
A D. 1748. crown of Great Britain by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Though the French inhabitants, during theſe hoſtilities, had not actually taken up arms, they had lent ſuch aſſiſtance to the enemy as was utterly inconſiſtent with their political ſituation, and as made the neceſſity of peopling Nova Scotia with Britiſh ſubjects fully evident. The peace, which neceſſarily left a great number of men without employment, by the diſbanding of the troops and laying up the ſhips, was favourable to ſuch a project; and the miniſtry offered particular advantages to all perſons, who choſe to go over and ſettle in this extenſive, and in many places, fertile territory. Every ſoldier, ſailor, and workman, was to have fifty acres of land for himſelf, and ten for every perſon he carried over in his family. All non-commiſſioned officers were allowed eighty for themſelves, and fifteen for every other perſon belonging to them; enſigns, two hundred; lieutenants, three hundred; captains, four hundred and ſixty; and all officers of higher rank, ſix hundred, together with thirty for each of their dependents. The land was to be free of all taxes for the firſt ten years, and never to pay above one ſhilling for fifty acres.

Beſides theſe encouragements, the government engaged to pay the charge of the paſſage; to build houſes; to furniſh all the neceſſary inſtruments for the fiſhery or agriculture; and to defray the expences of ſubſiſtence for the firſt year. In conſequence of this liberal offer, three thouſand families, chiefly Germans, embarked for Nova Scotia, in 1749, and three regiments of ſoldiers were ſent to protect them from the natives, and garriſon the new ſettlement. That ſettlement was founded on the ſouth eaſt ſide of the peninſula, at a place which the Indians formerly called Chebucto, but which the Engliſh named Halifax, in honour of the nobleman by whom it was projected, and by whoſe wiſdom and ſpirit it was carried into execution. This ſituation was preferred to ſeveral others, where the ſoil was better, for the ſake of eſtabliſhing in its neighbourhood a valuable cod fiſhery, and fortifying one of the fineſt harbours in America. The Indians, however, violently oppoſed ſuch a ſettlement; the neighbourhood of Chebucto being the moſt favourable part of the country for the chace. It was claimed by the Mikamakies, who defended with obſtinacy a territory which they held from nature; and it was not without ſome conſiderable loſſes, and long ſtruggles, that the Engliſh were able to drive them to a diſtance.

Before this war with the natives was finiſhed, ſome diſturbances began to break out among the neutral French. Thoſe people whoſe manners were ſo ſimple, and who had enjoyed ſuch extenſive liberty, already began to perceive that they would no longer be permitted to live in the ſame independent form as hitherto; but as they were favoured with the protection of the Engliſh government, would be

be obliged to comply with its laws and regulations. To this apprehenſion was added that of ſeeing their religion in danger. Their prieſts, either heated with their own enthuſiaſm, or inſtigated by the governor of Canada, made them believe whatever they choſe to ſay againſt the Engliſh, whom they called heretics. This word, which has ſo powerful, and often ſo fatal an influence on deluded minds, determined theſe happy people to quit their habitations, and remove to New France, where lands were offered them. That reſolution many of them executed immediately, without conſidering the conſequences of ſuch a change, and the reſt were preparing to follow them, when they were prevented by the Engliſh government. They were required to renew their oath of allegiance; and as no hope remained of making them good ſubjects, the diſſatisfied part of them were tranſported to the Weſt Indies, in order to prevent them from ſtrengthening the hands of a rival nation, then brewing a new war. A. D. 1754.

Since the emigration of a people, who owed their happineſs to their virtuous obſcurity, Nova Scotia has been but thinly inhabited; eſpecially in that part which lies between the peninſula and the river St. Laurence. Nor are there more than three ſettlements in the reſt of the province. Annapolis, the moſt ancient of theſe, is ſtill a conſiderable place; and as ſoon as it has received a recruit of inhabitants, promiſes great proſperity. Halifax is already in a proſperous condition, and will always continue to be the principal place in Nova Scotia. This pre-eminence it owes to the expences laviſhed upon it from the mother country; and by being from its ſituation, the natural rendezvous of all the land and ſea forces, which Great Britain thinks herſelf obliged, on different acounts, to maintain in North America. Its harbour, as already obſerved, is admirable; and it is now a flouriſhing, well built, and well fortified town.

Lunenburgh, the third ſettlement, was founded a few years ago, by eight hundred Germans from Halifax. At firſt it did not promiſe much; but by the unremitted induſtry of that warlike and wiſe people, it is now rapidly advancing towards proſperity. It is but juſtice to ſay that the Germans make excellent ſettlers: they have fertilized all the countries under the Engliſh dominion, to which chance has conducted them. By their patient labours Nova Scotia now produces excellent flax; which, independent of its fiſhery, and its utility as a naval and military ſtation, muſt in time render it a valuable acquiſition to Great Britain.

Off the coaſt of Nova Scotia lie ſeveral iſlands, valuable only for their fiſhery. The moſt conſiderable of theſe is Newfoundland. This iſland, which is above three hundred miles long, and two hundred broad, was diſcovered, as already obſerved, by John Cabot, a Venetian mariner in the ſervice of Henry VII. of England Cabot made no ſettlement; and from ſeveral voyages undertaken after this diſcovery, with a view of examining what advantages might be derived from it, it was concluded that Newfoundland was fit for nothing but to carry on the fiſhery of cod, which abounds in the neighbouring ſea. The Engliſh accordingly uſed to ſend out at firſt ſmall veſſels, in the ſpring, which returned in autumn, with their freight of fiſh, ſalted in different ways. The conſumption A. D. 1497.

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of this article became almoſt univerſal; and the demand for it was particularly great among the Roman catholics. The Engliſh took advantage of their ſuperſtition to enrich themſelves, and formed the idea of eſtabliſhing ſettlements in Newfoundland. The firſt attempts, made at conſiderable diſtances from each other, proved unſucceſsful; ſo that no permanent ſettlement was founded in this iſland till 1610, when John Guy, a merchant of Briſtol, conducted a colony thither, in conſequence of a patent granted by James I. to Sir Francis Bacon, himſelf, and others, of all the country between Cape Bonaviſta and Cape St. Mary.

Guy landed his people in Conception Bay, where he ordered houſes or huts to be immediately raiſed, and eſtabliſhed an intercourſe with the natives*, whoſe affection he engaged by the moſt courteous and humane behaviour. After reſiding two years on the iſland with little advantage to himſelf or his aſſociates, he returned to England, leaving ſome of his people to perpetuate the ſettlement. The great miſtake of Mr. Guy, and the firſt Engliſh ſettlers, ſeems to have been in attempting to fertilize the ſoil of Newfoundland, inſtead of confining their induſtry to the fiſhery. Under this falſe idea, Sir George Calvert, a Roman catholic, obtained a grant of part of the iſland from king James, in order that he might enjoy in this retreat that liberty of conſcience which was denied him in the mother country. Before his departure from England, he ſent one captain Wynne
A. D. 1621. to Newfoundland with a ſmall colony, to prepare every thing neceſſary for his reception. In the mean time, he employed his whole fortune and intereſt, in ſecuring the ſucceſs of his undertaking. Wynne bore the commiſſion of governor; ſeated himſelf at Ferryland; built the largeſt houſe ever ſeen on the iſland; erected granaries and ſtorehouſes, and accommodated his people in the beſt manner poſſible. His hopes from the ſoil, it appears, were very ſanguine. "We have wheat, barley, oats, and beans," ſays he in a letter to Sir George, "already eared and codded; and although the ſowing them in May, or the beginning of June, might occaſion the contrary, yet they ripen ſo faſt, that we have all the appearance of an approaching harveſt." In the ſame ſtrain he ſpeaks of his garden, which flouriſhed with all kinds of culinary vegetables; and the proprietor was ſo much delighted with theſe ſplendid deſcriptions, that
A. D. 1623. he removed with all his family to Newfoundland. But the gay viſion ſoon vaniſhed; and Sir George, by that time created lord Baltimore, having obtained a grant of the province of Maryland, carried his family thither, and eſtabliſhed a thriving colony †.

In the mean time the fiſhery became daily of more and more importance, and before the year 1630, all the ſpace which extends along the eaſtern coaſt, between Conception Bay and Cape Raze, was peopled by a colony amounting to above four thouſand perſons. As they were chiefly concerned in the fiſhery, they were forced, both by the nature of their employment and that of the ſoil, to live at

* According to the moſt probable conjectures, Newfoundland had no fixed inhabitants. The Equimaux came over from the coaſt of Labrador during the ſummer, to enjoy the conveniency of hunting and fiſhing; but retired on the approach of winter.

† Douglaſs. Smith.

a diſtance

a diſtance from each other, and to open paths of communication through the woods. Their general rendezvous was at St. John's Harbour, formed between two mountains, at a very ſmall diſtance from each other, and large enough to contain three hundred ſhips. There they met with trading veſſels from the mother-country, which ſupplied them amply with every neceſſary and conveniency, in exchange for the produce of their fiſhery.

The French had turned their views towards Newfoundland, before this proſperity of the Engliſh trade. They had for a long time frequented the ſouthern parts of the iſland; particularly a place to which they gave the name of Petit Nord. Some of them afterwards fixed promiſcuouſly upon the coaſt from Cape Raze to Chapeau Rouge; and at length they became ſufficiently numerous to form ſomething like a town in the Bay of Placentia, where they enjoyed every conveniency that could render their fiſhery ſucceſsful. Before the Bay is a road of about a league and an half in breadth, though not ſufficiently ſheltered from the north-weſt winds, which blow there with extreme violence. The ſtrait, which forms the entrance of the bay, is ſo confined by rocks, that only one ſhip can enter at a time; and at the extremity of the bay itſelf, which is about eighteen leagues long, is a ſecure harbour, that can contain about an hundred and fifty ſhips.

Notwithſtanding the advantage of ſuch a ſituation, the French miniſtry paid very little attention to it. It was not till 1687, that a ſmall fort was built for the ſecurity of the colony, and garriſoned with fifty men. From that period the French became very troubleſome neighbours to the Engliſh. The inhabitants of Placentia, ſupported by the Canadians, trained in the art of buſh-fighting, and exerciſed in ſudden attacks, frequently carried devaſtation into the ſettlements of their rivals. Theſe inroads were not forgot by Great Britain at the treaty of Utrecht: ſhe demanded the entire poſſeſſion of Newfoundland; the misfortunes of the preceding war in Europe obliged France to give it up, and Placentia became a Britiſh ſettlement. A. D. 1713.

The whole circuit of the iſland of Newfoundland is full of bays or harbours, all ſo ſpacious, and ſo well ſheltered on all ſides by the mountains, except at their entrance, that veſſels lie there in perfect ſafety. Theſe harbours are in general from a league and an half to two leagues in length; but there are alſo ſome much larger, and others leſs, into which run ſeveral rivers and brooks, that afford great quantities of freſh water fiſh, and ſeem to vie with the ſea in fecundity. The bays or harbours are complete anchoring places, having a good bottom; and they are ſo perfectly clear, that they may be ſailed into without a pilot. In moſt of the bays the Engliſh have ſome town or village. Cod fiſhing is the univerſal buſineſs of the inhabitants; who, beſides their dwellings have offices and ſtorehouſes for preparing and laying up their fiſh, till the time arrives of ſending it to Europe, on their own account, or of ſelling it to veſſels which come there to purchaſe it in exchange for European goods. None of theſe villages are without a fort or battery for their ſecurity in time of war; but the works are ſo in-

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conſiderable, that the moſt they could do would be to drive away ſome petty privateer.

The heads of the Newfoundland bays approach ſo near to each other, that they would form a very eaſy communication between the different parts of the country, and greatly facilitate trade, if the iſland were capable of internal commerce. But all thoughts of cultivation have been long laid aſide at Newfoundland; and for very ſufficient reaſons. The interior parts of the iſland are full of ſteep rocks, mountains covered with wood, and narrow and ſandy vallies. Theſe inacceſſible places are ſtocked with deer, which multiply with the greater eaſe, by reaſon of the ſecurity of their ſituation. The land near the coaſt is ſometimes covered with moſs, but more commonly with ſmall pebbles, which ſeem as if they had been placed there by deſign, in order to dry the fiſh caught in the neighbourhood. In all the open places, where the flat ſtones reflect the ſun's rays, the heat is exceſſive during the ſummer. The reſt of the country is continually cold; leſs ſo, however, from its northern latitude, than from the uncultivated ſtate of the iſland, and the vaſt mountains of ice, which come out of the frozen ſeas, and fix on its coaſts. The ſky towards the northern and weſtern parts is conſtantly ſerene, but much leſs ſo towards the eaſt and ſouth; both theſe laſt points being nearer to the Great Bank, which is continually involved in fog.

This bank is one of thoſe mountains that are formed under water, by the earth which the ſea is continually waſhing away from the continent. Both its extremities terminate ſo much in a point, that it is difficult to determine the preciſe extent of it; but it is generally reckoned to be an hundred and ſixty leagues in length, and ninety leagues in breadth. Towards the middle of it, on the European ſide, is a kind of bay which has been called the ditch. Throughout all this ſpace the depth of water is very different. In ſome places there are only five, in others above fifty fathom. The ſun is ſcarce ever ſeen there, and the ſky is generally covered not only with a thick, but a cold fog. The waves are perpetually agitated, and the winds always high about this ſpot; to which the fiſhery of what is called green cod, or that which is ſalted but not dried, is chiefly confined.

From the middle of July to the latter end of Auguſt, there is no cod found either upon the Great Bank or the ſmall ones near it; but all the reſt of the year the fiſhery is carried on. The ſhips employed in it are commonly from fifty to an hundred and fifty tons burden, and carry ſeldom leſs than twelve, or more than twenty-four men. The men are provided with lines, and as ſoon as they arrive are employed in catching a fiſh called the *calpin*, which they uſe as a bait for the cod; though the Engliſh now generally bring their baits with them. Previous to their beginning the fiſhery, they build a gallery on the outſide of the ſhip, which reaches from the main maſt to the ſtern, and ſometimes the whole length of the veſſel. This gallery is furniſhed with barrels with the tops beat out. The fiſhermen place themſelves within theſe barrels, and are farther ſheltered from the weather by a pitched covering. As ſoon as they catch a cod, they cut

out its tongue, and give the fiſh to one of the boys, to carry to a perſon, appointed for the purpoſe, who immediately ſtrikes off the head, plucks out the liver and entrails, and then lets it fall through a ſmall hatchway between the decks; where another man takes it, draws out the bone, as far as the navel, and then lets it ſink through another hatchway into the hold. There the fiſh is ſalted, and ranged in piles. The perſon who ſalts it, takes care to leave ſalt enough between each row of cod, but not more than is ſufficient to prevent their touching each other; for either of thoſe circumſtances neglected, would ſpoil the fiſh.

According to natural right, the fiſhery on the Great Bank ought to belong to all mankind; but the French and Engliſh, the only powers that had colonies in the northern parts of America, have long appropriated it chiefly to themſelves. The Spaniards, who had an undoubted claim to a ſhare of it, and who from the number of their monks, might have pleaded the neceſſity of aſſerting it, gave up the matter entirely at the laſt peace; ſince which time the Engliſh and French are the only nations that frequent thoſe latitudes. The French fiſhery was formerly very advantageous, eſpecially that of green cod; but the enormous duties laid upon the conſumption of that article, have made it a loſing, and now very inconſiderable trade. The produce of the Engliſh fiſhery is ſubject to no tax; and they have this further advantage, that not coming from Europe, as their competitors muſt, but only from Newfoundland or other places not much more diſtant, they can employ very ſmall veſſels, which are eaſily managed, do not riſe high above the water, whoſe ſails may be brought level with the deck, and which are very little affected even by the moſt violent winds; ſo that their buſineſs is ſeldom interrupted by the roughneſs of the weather. Beſides, they do not loſe their time in procuring baits; which, as already obſerved, they generally bring with them; and our ſailors are alſo more inured to fatigue, more accuſtomed to the cold, and better diſciplined than the French.

The Engliſh, however, attend but little to the fiſhery of green cod, becauſe they have no mart for the diſpoſing of it in great quantities. But they find a compenſation for their inconſiderable trade in the article of green cod, by the vaſt quantity of dry cod, which they ſell in all the markets both of Europe and America. This branch of trade is carried on in two ways. That which is called the *Wandering Fiſhery*, belongs to veſſels which ſail every year from Europe to Newfoundland in March or April. As they approach the iſland, they frequently meet with a quantity of ice, driven by the northern currents towards the ſouth; and which being broken in pieces by repeated ſhocks, melts ſooner or later at the return of the heats. Theſe iſlands of floating ice are frequently a league in circumference: they are as high as the loftieſt mountains, and extend above eighty fathom under water. When joined to ſmaller portions, they ſometimes occupy a ſpace of an hundred leagues in length, and twenty-five or thirty in breadth.

Intereſt, which obliges the mariners to come to their landings as ſoon as poſſible, that they may have their choice of the bays moſt favourable to the fiſhery, makes them brave the rigour of the ſeaſons and of the elements, which ſeem all in a conſpiracy

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ſpiracy againſt human induſtry. The moſt formidable rampart erected by military art, the dreadful cannonade of a beſieged town, the terrors of the moſt ſkilful and obſtinate ſea-fight, require leſs intrepidity and experience to encounter them, than theſe enormous floating bulwarks, which the ſea oppoſes to the ſmall veſſels of the Newfoundland fiſhermen. But the moſt inſatiable of all paſſions, the thirſt of gold, ſurmounts every obſtacle, and carries the mariner acroſs an ocean yet filled with theſe mountains of ice, to the place where the ſhips are to take in their lading *.

When a ſhip has taken her ſtation, ſhe is immediately unrigged; and at the ſame time a fit place is choſen for ſecuring the fiſh as it is prepared. Lodges are likewiſe erected for the men, who work on ſhore, ſo as to form a kind of village; and at the water's edge is built a large ſtage or ſcaffold. Here the number of launches deſigned for the fiſhery is got ready, and when built, are left there till the following year, when he who firſt enters the bay has the privilege of applying them to his own uſe. Hence an additional motive for diſpatch. Every thing being got ready, the whole ſhip's company, without exception, are divided into as many claſſes as there are occupations. The fiſhers ſet out very early in their boats, that they may be at their ſtations by break of day, and do not return before evening, unleſs they happen to have caught their boat load ſooner. This fiſhery is all performed with the hook; and every boat is provided with a ſufficient quantity of all kinds of fiſhing tackle, in caſe of any accident to thoſe in uſe. On their return, the fiſh is delivered to thoſe who cure them; and that this may be executed with the greater diſpatch, boys ſtand by to deliver them to the different operators. When one man has taken off the cod's head, and gutted it, another opens it, with one cut lengthwiſe, takes out the back-bone, and gives the fiſh to a third, who ſalts it. After it has remained in ſalt for eight or ten days, it is well waſhed, and laid on gravel, or ſmall boards, where it is left till it is quite dry. When thoroughly dried, they are piled up in ſmall parcels, that they may not entirely loſe the heat communicated to them by the firſt ſalt; then they are ſalted a ſecond time, and laid up in regular heaps on the ſtage, where the cod lies till it is ready to be ſhipped, and acquires that colour which we ſee it have in Europe.

There are two kinds of cod. Both have a line running from the gills to the tail, following the figure of the belly of the fiſh, and which winds a little downwards from the head to the tail; but this line is more diſtinct in one ſpecies than in the other, and the whole fiſh from this line to the back is of a dark brown, whilſt the lower part is ſpotted with white. The connoiſſeurs in fiſh ſay, that this ſpecies is better than the other, the whole body of which is of a darkiſh white with reddiſh ſpots, but the belly and all its hinder parts, the whiteſt. The cod appears to be the moſt prolific of all fiſh. One proof of this is the great

* The wages paid by the owners to the maſter and men, are always in proportion to the number of found fiſh delivered; ſo that the ſooner they complete their cargo, if not damaged, the greater is the advantage of every one on board.

number

number of ſhips which annually load with it in thoſe latitudes, to which it ſeems chiefly to be confined; for although the Britiſh channel and the German ocean are not without this fiſh, their numbers are ſo inconſiderable compared with thoſe of Newfoundland, that they may be conſidered as ſtragglers. Some perſons of long experience in this fiſhery ſay, that the cod ſpawns twice a-year; but that is not neceſſary to ſupply the extraordinary waſte, conſidering the infinite number of eggs which they depoſit at once in the ſand, and which continue there, undiſturbed, till they are impregnated with life. The wandering fiſhery ends about the beginning of September, becauſe the ſun has no longer ſufficient power to dry the fiſh. But when it has been ſucceſsful, the managers give over before that time, and make the beſt of their way either to the Weſt Indies, or to the Roman catholic countries in Europe, that they may have the advantage of the firſt markets.

The French have for ſome time been loſers by the wandering fiſhery, yet they have continued to proſecute it with vigour, rather than be indebted to foreigners for the article which it yields. The Engliſh have alſo experienced the inconveniences of that trade, and have betaken themſelves chiefly to the *ſtationary fiſhery*. By the ſtationary fiſhery is to be underſtood, that which is carried on by the Europeans who inhabit thoſe coaſts of America where the cod is caught. It is infinitely more profitable than the wandering fiſhery, becauſe it is attended with much leſs expence, and may be continued longer. Theſe advantages the French enjoyed as long as they remained peaceable poſſeſſors of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Canada, and part of Newfoundland; ſettlements which they have deſervedly loſt one after another, in conſequence of their turbulent and encroaching ſpirit, and have only preſerved a right of ſalting and drying their fiſh to the north of Newfoundland, from Cape Bonaviſta to Point Rich. All the fixed eſtabliſhments left them by the peace of 1763, are reduced to the ſmall iſland of St. Peter's, and the two iſles of Miquelon, where they are not at liberty even to build fortifications *. There are not above eight hundred inhabitants in St. Peter's, nor above two hundred in Great Miquelon, and a few families in the ſmaller. The fiſhery, which is extremely convenient upon the two firſt, is entirely impracticable upon the laſt mentioned iſland. It ſupplies the two former, however, with wood; particularly St. Peter's, which has none of its own. But nature has made amends for this inconveniency at St. Peter's, by an excellent harbour.

While the fiſhery of France is thus confined, Great Britain extends her empire over all the coaſts, and all the iſlands frequented by the fiſh. Her principal ſtation, however, is ſtill at Newfoundland, where about eight thouſand Britiſh ſubjects are conſtantly employed in the fiſhery on its coaſts. Before the year 1755, the fiſheries of the two rival nations were nearly equal; with this difference only, that France conſumed more fiſh at home, and conſequently exported leſs. But ſince ſhe has loſt her poſſeſſions in North America, the two fiſheries, namely the

* Theſe iſlands were lately reduced by the Britiſh ſquadron on the Newfoundland ſtation.

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ſtationary and the wandering, have not yielded more dry cod than is barely ſufficient for the conſumption of the ſouthern provinces of the mother-country; whereas it may be confidently aſſerted, that Britain, on the contrary, has increaſed her fiſhery two-thirds ſince the concluſion of the late war, and that beſides ſupplying her home-conſumption, and her Weſt India iſlands, it brings in a return of near five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling annually, either in ſpecie or valuable commodities, at the ſame time that it ſerves as a nurſery for the navy.

The fur-trade, carried on at Hudſon's Bay, is ſtill more beneficial to individuals, but leſs ſo to the nation, and that chiefly by reaſon of its being confined to an excluſive company. This bay was diſcovered in conſequence of John Cabot's idea of a north-weſt paſſage to India and China, the hope of which it revived. An account of the different voyages that have been undertaken with this view, either before or ſince the diſcovery of Hudſon, would be altogether inconſiſtent with the nature of a general hiſtory, as well as inconſequential in itſelf, as no ſuch paſſage has yet been found. The inquiſitive, however, may perhaps wiſh to ſee the arguments that have been, or may be advanced, on a ſubject of ſo much importance to mankind—and they ſhall be gratified.

But before we enter upon this enquiry, three facts in natural hiſtory muſt be admitted; namely, that the tides come from the ocean, and that they extend more or leſs into the other ſeas, in proportion as their channels communicate with the great reſervoir by larger or ſmaller openings, hence this periodical motion is ſcarcely perceivable in the Mediterranean, the Baltic, and other gulphs of the ſame nature; that the tides are much later, as well as weaker, in places remote from the ocean, than in thoſe which are near to it; that violent winds, which blow in the ſame direction with the tides, make them riſe above their ordinary boundaries, and that thoſe which blow in a contrary direction retard their motion, at the ſame time that they diminiſh their ſwell. From theſe principles, it is moſt certain, that if Hudſon's Bay were no more than a gulph incloſed between two continents, and had no communication but with the Atlantic, the tides in it would be very inconſiderable. They would be weaker in proportion as they were further removed from their ſource, and much leſs rapid whenever they ran in a contrary direction to the wind; but it is proved by obſervations made with the greateſt ſkill and preciſion, that the tides are very high throughout the whole bay * It is certain that they are higher towards the bottom of the bay than even in the ſtrait itſelf, or at leaſt than in the neighbourhood of it; and it is proved that this height increaſes, whenever the wind blows from a point oppoſite to the ſtrait. It is therefore certain, that Hudſon's Bay has a communication with the ocean, beſides that which has been already found out, and which unites it to the Atlantic.

Thoſe who have endeavoured to explain theſe very ſtriking facts by ſuppoſing a communication between Hudſon's and Baffin's Bay, or with Davis's Straits, are evidently miſtaken: nor would they fail to renounce their opinion, for which

* See Ellis's Voyage.

indeed

indeed there is no real foundation, did they but conſider, that the tides are much lower in Davis's Straits, and in Baffin's than in Hudſon's Bay. Now if the tides in Hudſon's Bay can come neither from the Atlantic ocean, nor from any other northern ſea, in which they are conſtantly much weaker, it follows that they muſt have their origin in the South Sea: and this is ſtill more evident from another leading fact; which is, That the higheſt tides ever obſerved upon thoſe coaſts are always occaſioned by the north-weſt winds, which blow directly againſt the mouth of the ſtrait.

Having thus determined, as far as the nature of the ſubject will admit, the exiſtence of this paſſage ſo long and ſo vainly wiſhed for, the next point is to find out in what part of the bay it is to be expected. A variety of circumſtances, hitherto overlooked, ſeem to point the navigator towards Welcome Bay, on the weſtern coaſt. The bottom of the ſea is to be ſeen there at the depth of eleven or twelve fathom; an evident ſign that the water comes from ſome ocean, as ſuch a tranſparency could not exiſt in waters diſcharged from rivers, or in melted ſnow or rain. Beſides, the currents keep this place always free from ice, while all the reſt of the bay is covered with it. Their violence cannot be accounted for but by ſuppoſing them to come from ſome weſtern ſea; and the whales, which, towards the latter end of Auguſt always go in ſearch of the warmer climates, are found in great abundance in thoſe parts about the beginning of September *, which would ſeem to indicate that there is an outlet for them, thence to the South Sea, not to the northern ocean.

It is probable that the paſſage is very ſhort. All the rivers that empty themſelves on the weſtern coaſt of Hudſon's Bay are ſmall and ſlow; which ſeems to prove that they do not come from any great diſtance, and that conſequently the lands which ſeparate the two ſeas are of a ſmall extent. This argument is ſtrengthened by the height and regularity of the tides. Wherever there is no other difference between the times of the ebb and flow, but that which is occaſioned by the retarded progreſſion of the moon in her return to the meridian, it is a certain indication that the ocean whence thoſe tides come is very near. If the paſſage is ſhort, and not very far to the north, as every thing ſeems to promiſe, we may alſo preſume that it is not very difficult. The rapidity of the currents obſervable in thoſe latitudes, which prevent the continuance of any flakes of ice, cannot fail to give ſome weight to this conjecture.

The diſcovery that ſtill remains to be made, after ſo many unſucceſsful attempts, is of ſo much importance, that it would be folly to reject the purſuit of it. If this paſſage were once found, communications would be opened between parts of the globe which hitherto ſeem to have been induſtriouſly ſeparated by nature from each other. They would ſoon be extended to all the numerous iſlands ſcattered in the immenſe extent of the ſouthern ocean. The intercourſe, by ſea, which has ſubſiſted nearly for three centuries, between the commercial nations of Europe and the moſt remote parts of Aſia, being happily freed from

* Dobbs.

the inconveniencies of a long navigation, would be much quicker, more conſtant, and more advantageous. The Engliſh, in that event, would doubtleſs be deſirous of ſecuring the excluſive enjoyment of the benefits ariſing from their activity and induſtry. Such a wiſh is perfectly natural, and would be ſupported, no doubt, by a powerful fleet; but as the advantage obtained, unleſs the ſtrait ſhould happen to be very narrow, would be of ſuch a nature that it would be impoſſible always to preſerve the ſole poſſeſſion of it, all nations muſt in time ſhare in the fruits of the diſcovery. Whenever this happens, the paſſage both by the Straits of Magellan and Cape Horn will be entirely deſerted, and that by the Cape of Good Hope much leſs frequented. The richeſt commerce in the world will take a new direction.

But inſtead of amuſing ourſelves with ſuch vain ſpeculations, let us ſee what advantages England really derives, or what informations were opened to mankind, by the diſcoveries of Henry Hudſon; who, in 1610, entered the bay that bears his name, and periſhed in a future attempt to open a north-weſt paſſage to India and China. This bay, which is about ſix hundred miles in length, is formed by the ocean in the eaſtern and northern parts of America. The breadth of the entrance is about ſix leagues; but it can only be attempted, with any probability of ſucceſs, from the beginning of July to the end of September, and even then it is rather dangerous. This danger ariſes from mountains or iſlands of ice, ſome of which are ſaid to be from fifteen to eighteen hundred feet thick, and which having been produced by winters of five or ſix years duration in little gulphs conſtantly filled with ſnow, are forced out of them by north-weſt winds, or by ſome other extraordinary cauſe. The beſt way of avoiding them is to keep as near as poſſible to the northern coaſt, which muſt neceſſarily be leſs obſtructed, and moſt free, by the natural courſe of both winds and currents.

The north-weſt wind, which blows almoſt conſtantly in winter, and very often in ſummer, frequently raiſes violent ſtorms within the bay itſelf; the navigation of which is rendered ſtill more dangerous by a number of ſhoals. Happily, however, ſmall groupes of iſlands are met with there, at different diſtances, which are of ſufficient height to afford ſhelter from the ſtorm. Beſides theſe ſmall archipelagoes, there are in many places large piles of bare rock; and except the Alga Marina, Hudſon's Bay produces as few vegetables as the other northern ſeas. Throughout all the countries ſurrounding this bay, the ſun never riſes or ſets without forming a great cone of light. That phœnomenon is ſucceeded by the Aurora Borealis, which tinges the hemiſphere with coloured rays of ſuch a brilliancy, that the ſplendor of them is not effaced even by that of the full moon. Notwithſtanding this there is ſeldom a bright ſky. In ſpring and autumn the air is always filled with thick fogs, and in winter with an infinite number of ſmall icicles.

One of the effects of the extreme cold or ſnow that prevails in this climate, is that of turning thoſe animals white in winter which are naturally brown or grey. Nature has beſtowed upon them all a ſoft, long, and thick fur, the hair of which falls off, as the weather grows milder. In moſt of theſe quadrupeds the feet,





ESQUIMAUX'S OF HUDSON'S BAY.

the tail, the ears, and generally ſpeaking all thoſe parts in which the circulation is ſlower, becauſe they are more remote from the heart, are extremely ſhort. Under this gloomy ſky all liquors become ſolid by freezing, and break the veſſels that contain them. Even ſpirit of wine loſes its fluidity. It is not uncommon to ſee fragments of large rocks looſened and detached from the principal maſs by the mere force of the froſt. All theſe phœnomena, familiar enough during the whole winter, are much more ſtriking at the new and full moon; which in thoſe regions, have an influence on the weather, the cauſes of which are not known.

In this frigid zone, iron, lead, copper, marble, and a ſubſtance reſembling ſea-coal have been diſcovered. In other reſpects the ſoil is extremely barren. Except the coaſts, which are for the moſt part marſhy, and produce a little graſs, and ſome ſoft wood, the reſt of the country affords nothing but moſs, and a few weak ſhrubs, very thinly ſcattered. This deficiency in nature appears to extend itſelf to man, if not to all the animals in the neighbourhood of Hudſon's Bay. The human race there are few in number, and ſcarce any perſon of either ſex exceeds four feet high. Their heads, like thoſe of children, are of a diſproportioned bulk, and their feet are as remarkably ſmall. Their ſhoulders, however, are broad; the men have beards, which are ſometimes buſhy and long; and their complexion, though ſwarthy, inclines rather to the European white than to the copper-colour of America *.

Such are the Eſquimaux, who occupy not only the northern coaſt of Labrador, but all the immenſe region that extends from the ſtraits of Belleiſle towards the pole, as far as the country is habitable. Like the Greenlanders, their faces are round and flat, their noſes ſhort, and their eyes ſmall; the iris black, and the pupil yellow. From theſe characteriſtics, and the ſimilarity of their language to that of the Greenlanders, it has been concluded, with ſome degree of plauſibility, that the Eſquimaux are a race different from the reſt of the Americans, and of European extraction †. But other authors, who admit this ſimilarity, conjecture that both the Greenlanders and Eſquimaux are of American extraction, as the language of neither has any reſemblance to thoſe of the north of Europe; and they affirm, though on what authority does not appear, that both are deſtitute of beards, and in all reſpects reſemble more the inhabitants of the New than thoſe of the Old World ‡.

* Ellis's Voyage to Hudſon's Bay. De la Potherie, tom. I. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. liv. vi. chap. 13.

† Robertſon's Hiſt. of Americ. book IV.

‡ Raynal, Hiſt. Philoſ. &c. liv. xvii. Lord Kaims, Sketches on Man, book II. ſket. xii. "It is common, indeed, among them," ſays Lord Kaims, "to bring forward the hair of the head upon the face, for preſerving it from flies, which rage in thoſe countries during the ſummer; an appearance that has probably been miſtaken by travellers for a beard." Ubi ſup. Raynal poſitively denies that the Eſquimaux have any hair on the chin, or other mark of virility; though it is certain that they give to themſelves the name of *Kenkit*, or Men, by way of diſtinction.

BOOK IV.

One feature, however, in the character of this people, ſeems to lead us to the deciſion of a queſtion ſo much agitated by philoſophers and hiſtorians. The Eſquimaux, like the Greenlanders, are gay and lively *. This part of their character is the very reverſe of that of the other natives of North America, even in the moſt favourable climates. The Eſquimaux are beſides more ingenious, than the other ſavage nations of North America; though evidently themſelves in a ſtate of degradation, by living in a climate inimicable to animal life. A ſtriking proof of this ingenuity is diſplayed in the ſtructure of their bows, made commonly of three pieces of wood, each making part of the ſame arch, very nicely and exactly joined together. They are commonly of fir or larch; and as this wood wants ſtrength and elaſticity, they ſupply both by bracing the back of the bow, with a kind of thread or line, made of the ſinews of their deer, and the bowſtring of the ſame materials. In order to make them draw more ſtiffly, they dip them into water, which cauſes both the back of the bow and the ſtring to contract, and conſequently gives it the greater force; and as they practiſe from their youth, they ſhoot with great dexterity †. Nor do they diſplay leſs art in the formation of their harpoons, or their canoes of whalebone, covered with the ſkins of ſeals, in which they brave that ſtormy ocean, on which the barrenneſs of their country compels them to depend for the greater part of their ſubſiſtence. In theſe they follow the ſhoals of herrings through the whole of their polar emigrations, and attack the whales and ſeals at the utmoſt peril of their lives.

One ſtroke of the whale's tail is ſufficient to overturn an hundred of ſuch veſſels, and the ſeal has teeth to devour, if he cannot drown thoſe wretched fiſhermen. But the hunger of an Eſquimaux makes him ſuperior to every danger: he encounters with equal intrepidity the rage of thoſe monſters and the fury of the waves. The Eſquimaux may be ſaid, indeed, to dwell conſtantly upon the ſea. The fleſh of the ſeal is their food, and the oil of the whale their drink. They have an inordinate deſire for this oil, which is neceſſary to preſerve the heat in their ſtomachs, and defend them from the ſeverity of the cold. In a word, whales, men, birds, and all the quadrupeds and fiſh of the north are ſupplied by nature with a quantity of fat, which prevents the muſcles from freezing, and the blood from coagulating.

Every thing in theſe arctic regions is either oily or gummy: even the trees are reſinous. But the Eſquimaux, notwithſtanding theſe defences againſt the rigour of their climate, are ſubject to two fatal diſorders; the ſcurvy, and the loſs of ſight. The continuation of the ſnows on the ground, joined to the reverberation of the rays of the ſun from the ice, dazzle their eyes in ſuch a manner, that they are almoſt conſtantly obliged to wear ſhades, made of very thin wood, through which, another inſtance of their ingenuity, ſmall apertures to admit the light, are bored with fiſh bones. Doomed to a ſix-months night, they never ſee the ſun but obliquely; and in the ſpring and ſummer, when it riſes higheſt above

* Ellis. † Ellis's Voyage to Hudſon's Bay.

the



An ESQUIMAUX *in his Canoe of Whalebone.*

the horizon, it ſeems rather to blind them, than to delight them with a diſplay of the works of creation. Sight, the moſt precious gift of nature, is to them frequently the ſource of miſery, is ſeldom enjoyed without inconveniency, and generally loſt in old age * The ſcurvy, which conſumes them by ſlow degrees, is a ſtill more cruel evil. It inſinuates itſelf into their blood, changes, weakens, and contaminates the whole maſs. The fogs of the ſea which they inhale, the denſe and inelaſtic fluid that they breathe in their huts †, which exclude all communication with the external air; the continued and tedious inactivity of their winters; a mode of life alternately roving and ſedentary—in a word, every circumſtance in their condition, ſerves to increaſe this dreadful malady.

In ſpite of theſe inconveniences, the Eſquimaux is ſo paſſionately fond of his country and his condition, that the inhabitant of the moſt favoured ſpot under heaven does not quit it with more reluctance, than he does his frozen deſart; or pant after his former luxuries with more ardour, when they are raviſhed from him, than the ſavage of Hudſon's Bay for his native food. Of this Ellis gives us a remarkable inſtance in one of them, who had lived long among the Engliſh at one of the company's ſettlements, and who had always ate in the Engliſh manner. Happening to ſee a ſeal opened by one of the ſailors, he threw himſelf upon the oil, which ran copiouſly from it, and ſwallowed, with aſtoniſhing avidity, as much as he could lift in both his hands; exclaiming at the ſame time, in a kind of tranſport, "O that I were in my dear country! that I might fill my belly as often as I pleaſed, with this delicious oil ‡."

Notwithſtanding the ſavage rudeneſs of the Eſquimaux, the Engliſh have found means to inſpire them with ſuch a taſte for European commodities, as furniſhes the means of a very beneficial and lucrative branch of trade. The vaſt countries which ſurround Hudſon's Bay, abound in animals whoſe fur is excellent. With the ſkins of theſe animals the natives uſed originally to cloath themſelves. Now they are generally furniſhed with other cloathing; but the unhappy animals are purſued with tenfold rage, in order to purchaſe with their fur, that and other luxuries or conveniencies, which European avarice carries to thoſe frozen climes, and exchanges often for twenty times their value. Ten beaver ſkins are uſually given for a common muſket; two for a pound of powder; one for four pounds of ſhot; one for a hatchet; one for ſix knives; two for a pound of glaſs-beads; ſix for a cloth coat, five for a petticoat, and one for a pound of ſnuff. Combs, looking glaſſes, brandy, and all other articles are in proportion; and as beaver is the common meaſure of exchange, by another regulation, as unjuſt as the former, two otter ſkins, and three martins, are required inſtead of one beaver ‖; whereas each of theſe, when fine, are more than equal to a beaver.

* Ellis.

† The Eſquimaux do not live under ground in winter, as generally ſuppoſed, but in huts haſtily built with ſtints, joined together with a cement of ice or frozen ſnow. There they live without any other fire but that of a lamp, hung in the middle of the ſhed, for the purpoſe of dreſſing their food. The heat of their blood, and of their breath, added to the vapour, conſtantly confined, ariſing from this ſmall flame, is ſufficient to make their huts as hot as ſtoves.

‡ Voyage to Hudſon's Bay. ‖ Ellis.

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This trade was not eſtabliſhed till long after the diſcovery by Hudſon; and if we credit the French, we are indebted for it to two of their diſſatisfied countrymen. Part of the tale at leaſt is true. Hudſon's Bay had not been fully explored at the beginning of the civil wars, which afforded the Engliſh too much occupation at home, to allow them leiſure to attend to ſuch diſtant and inhoſpitable countries, where nothing was expected except the doubtful and long ſought paſſage to India; and before a ſucceſſion of more quiet times had made them ſenſible of their commercial advantages, Groſeilliers and Radiſſon, two French Canadians, diſguſted with their own court, came over to England, and informed the nation of the profits ariſing from the trade of furs in the extreme parts of North America, and of their claim to the country that furniſhed them. So much attention was paid to the repreſentation of theſe refugees, who had firſt addreſſed themſelves to the Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris, that prince Rupert, and ſome public ſpirited
A. D. 1667. noblemen and gentlemen, fitted out a ſhip, under the command of Zachary Guillam, an experienced mariner, whom they conducted to a river, called by the French Nemiſcau, which diſcharges itſelf into the bottom of the Bay. To this Guillam gave the name of Rupert River, and built a fort on it, which he called Charles Fort, in honour of the king*.

The ſucceſs of this expedition exceeded the moſt ſanguine hopes of the adventurers, or of thoſe who conducted it. Guillam returned with a valuable cargo
A. D. 1669. of furs; and a royal charter was granted by Charles II. to a "governor and company of adventurers of England, trading to Hudſon's Bay," of which an abſtract is here given for the ſatisfaction of the inquiſitive merchant. "To prince Rupert, count Palatine of the Rhine, George duke of Albemarle, William earl Craven, and fifteen others, and to thoſe whom they ſhall admit into the ſaid body corporate, power is given to make a common ſeal, to alter it, and to chuſe annually, ſome time in November, a governor, deputy-governor, and a committee of ſeven; any three of whom, with the governor, or deputy-governor, to be a court of directors; and theſe may admit freemen (their own factors and ſervants being admiſſible) at a general court, diſmiſs the governor, or any of the committee, before the year expires, and appoint others in their room during the remainder of the year: and the ſaid company ſhall have the ſole property of lands, trade, royal fiſhery, and mines within Hudſon's Straits, not actually poſſeſſed by any Chriſtian prince, and be reputed as one of our colonies in America, to be called *Rupert's Land*; the ſame to be held in free and common ſoccage, paying the ſkins of two elks, and two black beavers, as often as the king or queen ſhall come into theſe lands. The company have power to make laws for their own government, and other affairs, not repugnant to the laws of England; and ſuch as ſhall invade their excluſive trade, without leave obtained of the company, ſhall forfeit their goods and ſhipping, one half to the king, and the other to the company. In the general meetings of the company, every perſon holding an hundred pounds original ſtock, to have one vote; and the com-

* Douglas's Summary, part ii ſect. v. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. xiv. p. 638.

pany

pany may appoint governors, factors, and other officers in any of their ports; the governor and his council to judge in all matters civil and criminal, and execute juſtice accordingly. Where there is no governor and council, criminals may be ſent, and perſons aggrieved may apply, to any place where there is a governor and council, or to England for juſtice: and the company have liberty to ſend ſhips of war, men, and ammunition for the protection of their trade, to erect forts, and to make peace or war with any people who are not Chriſtians."

In conſequence of theſe very ample privileges, the company ſoon extended their trade and their ſettlements. Their ſucceſs alarmed the French, who were afraid, and with reaſon, that moſt of the fine furs which they got from the northern parts of Canada, would be carried to Hudſon's Bay. Their fears were confirmed by their *Coureurs de Bois*, who had been ſeveral times as far as the borders of the Strait. It would have been highly eligible to have gone by the ſame road to attack the new ſettlements; but the diſtance being thought too conſiderable, notwithſtanding the convenience of the rivers, it was at length determined, that the expedition ſhould be made by ſea. The fate of it was truſted to Groſeillers and Radiſſon; who, like moſt men that have performed eminent ſervices, did not think they were rewarded by the Engliſh according to their merit, and therefore were eaſily prevailed upon to renew their attachment to their country. Theſe two bold and turbulent men ſailed from Quebec in 1682, in two veſſels ill equipped; and on their arrival in Hudſon's Bay, finding themſelves not ſtrong enough to attack the Engliſh, they were content with erecting a fort in the neighbourhood of thoſe which they intended to have taken *. From this time there began a rivalſhip between the two companies; one ſettled in Canada, the other in England, for the excluſive trade of the Bay. This diſpute was warmly kept up by hoſtilities on both ſides; till at length, after moſt of the ſettlements, Engliſh as well as French, had been repeatedly taken and recovered, the conteſt was finally terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, in conſequence of which the whole were ceded to Great Britain. A. D. 1713.

The immenſe countries that ſurround Hudſon's Bay, and which were alſo quit-claimed to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, are called New North and South Wales, and Terra de Labradore, or New Britain. But though the trade of the company has continued to flouriſh ſince that time, with an increaſe perhaps greater than any belonging to the united kingdoms, and though their ſettlements have remained undiſturbed by any enemy, the inhoſpitableneſs of the climate has prevented any colony from being ſettled there, or any plantation from being formed; the corn that has been ſown there at different times having fruſtrated every hope of agriculture, and conſequently of population. Hudſon's Bay therefore, properly ſpeaking, is ſtill only a mart for trade, which is carried on with the ſavages at the mouths of ſeveral rivers; namely, Churchill-river, Nelſon's river, Severn-river, Albany-river, and Mooſe-river on the weſt continent, and Rupert and Slude rivers on the eaſt continent.

* Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom XIV. p. 642.

BOOK IV.

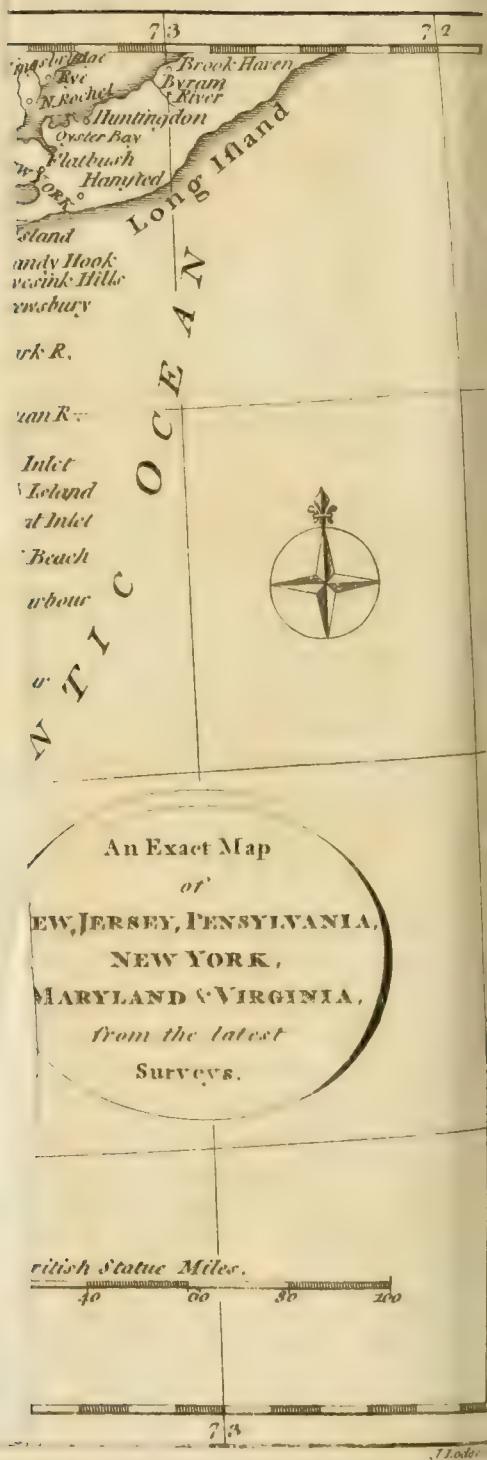
On theſe rivers the company have ſome ſcattered lodges, factories, or forts; the moſt conſiderable of which are York Fort and Prince of Wales' Fort, the firſt on Nelſon's, the latter on Churchill river, each protected by about twenty-five or thirty men: and the company's whole force in the Bay does not exceed an hundred men, for the purpoſes both of defence and commerce. Yet does this ſmall eſtabliſhment, and a capital of about an hundred thouſand pounds, bring them an annual return of near ſixty thouſand beavers or other valuable ſkins, on which they make a profit that is altogether incredible, and whoſe exorbitancy has frequently excited the clamours of the nation. Such a monopoly is, indeed, equally inconſiſtent with the liberties and the intereſts of a free people. If the trade were laid open, a much greater quantity of our manufactures would be diſpoſed of; more of our ſhipping and ſeamen employed, and of courſe more furs brought home. Beſides, their price would be lowered, and the demand for thoſe manufactures into which they enter, increaſed at the foreign market.

Nor are theſe all the advantages that would reſult from a free trade to Hudſon's Bay. A ſpirited competition might bring home furs with which we are at preſent unacquainted; an unreſtrained and more general intercourſe with the natives, would make the ſurrounding countries better known; it would habituate great numbers of our people to it, and it would diſcover the moſt tolerable parts for a ſettlement. By theſe means, inſtead of a few miſerable forts and factories, we might in time ſee an Engliſh colony flouriſh at Hudſon's Bay which would open the fur-trade yet more fully, and at the ſame time increaſe the conſumption of our manufactures: and this more general trade on the Bay, would naturally, and without any expence or trouble whatſoever, either diſcover to us the ſo much, and ſo long deſired North-Weſt Paſſage, or ſhew us that all expectation of ſuch a paſſage was in vain, and the attempt impracticable.

Such are the obvious advantages that would reſult to Great Britain, from laying open the trade to this northern quarter of her American dominions. But, even in its preſent ſituation, this trade is highly beneficial. Though not ſo extenſive as it might be, it is by no means inconſiderable: its ſtaple enters largely into our manufactures, and carries nothing but our manufactures from us to procure it; and the ſpirited competition of our Canada merchants, it is to be hoped, will either induce the Hudſon's Bay company to deviate from thoſe narrow principles, on which they have hitherto conducted their commerce, or the parliament to lay it open to the more active and enterpriſing part of the nation, while the drones are left to feed upon that honey which is already collected for them by the induſtry of others, at the expence of the community.

CHAP.


Longitude W from London
LABRADORE
COAST
Province of Quebec
NEW FOUNDLAND
GULF OF LAURENCE
R. St Lawrence
NOVA SCOTIA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAY OF FUNDY
CAPE BRETON ISLAND
THE GREAT BANK OF NEWFOUNDLAND
Green Bank
Whale Bank
Sable Island Bank
Banquereau
Scale of British Miles
An Exact Map of NOVA SCOTIA, NEWFOUNDLAND, GULF and RIVER St LAURENCE, and COAST of LABRADORE. From the latest Observations 1777.


73
72
Brook-Haven
Byram River
N. Rochel
Huntingdon
Oyster Bay
Flatbush
Hamsted
Long Island
ATLANTIC OCEAN
An Exact Map
of
EW, JERSEY, PENSYLVANIA,
NEW YORK,
MARYLAND & VIRGINIA,
from the latest
Surveys.
ritish Statue Miles.
40
60
80
100
73

CHAP. V.

The Settlement of New York, New Jerſey, *and* Penſylvania, *with an Account of the Progreſs of thoſe Colonies, their Trade, and the Manners of the People.*

CHAP. V.
A. D. 1608.

THE ſame Henry Hudſon who conducted the Engliſh into the celebrated Bay that bears his name, alſo gave his name to one of the fineſt rivers in North America, and is ſaid to have ſold to the Dutch the neighbouring territory, which he pretended to have purchaſed from the natives. Though Hudſon appears to have been then in the Dutch ſervice *, his right to make ſuch a conveyance may well be queſtioned, as that coaſt had been traverſed by Engliſh navigators, though not exactly viſited, and grants had been made by the ſovereigns of England, to the North and South Virginia companies, of all the lands in thoſe latitudes. The Dutch, however, proceeded to ſettle the country, and the court of England aſſerted its claim; not as the French writers abſurdly, and petulantly inſituate, becauſe Hudſon was an Engliſh ſubject, though in the ſervice of the republic, but becauſe he pretended to alienate, and the Dutch to ſeize, the chartered property of Engliſhmen.

But the Dutch, with their uſual obſtinacy and phlegm, kept poſſeſſion of the territory, though James I. pacific and timid as he was, repeatedly proteſted againſt the ſettlement. At length Sir Thomas Gates, governor of Virginia, underſtanding the wiſhes of the king and the nation, as well as deſirous of vindicating the rights of the company to which he belonged, diſpatched Capt. Argol, as we have already ſeen, who either entirely diſpoſſeſſed the Dutch, or obliged them to acknowledge their ſubjection to the crown of England. The republic however, afterwards obtained leave from the too eaſy James, to eſtabliſh a ſmall ſettlement near Hudſon's river for the wooding and watering of their Brazil fleets. A. D. 1620.
The Dutch made uſe of this permiſſion to extend their plantations and their ſettlements, and gave to the country which they occupied the name of Nova Belgia, or New Netherlands. Their principal ſettlements were New Amſterdam and Fort Orange.

The diſorders during the reign of Charles I. and the unſettled ſtate of England under the commonwealth, prevented any effectual meaſures being taken to expel theſe intruders. But no ſooner did Charles II. find himſelf firmly ſeated on the throne of his anceſtors, than he determined to aſſert his claim to New Netherlands, which at that time comprehended all the preſent provinces of New York and New Jerſey, with part of Penſylvania. In conſequence of this reſolution, Charles made a grant of New Netherlands to his brother, the duke of York, a man of a more enterpriſing diſpoſition; and the duke on the approach of a war between England and Holland, diſpatched Sir Robert Carr and Colonel Nichols, as we have already ſeen, with a ſtrong ſquadron, and three thouſand A. D. 1664.
land forces, in order to diſpoſſeſs the Dutch of that conteſted territory. On the

* Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. p. 545.

appearance

BOOK IV. appearance of this armament before New Amſterdam, ſince called New York, the Dutch were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation; and being utterly unprepared to reſiſt ſuch a force, they ſubmitted to the Engliſh government, on a promiſe being made them of protection for their perſons and properties, and liberty to remove with their effects, if they ſaw fit. Part of the Engliſh ſquadron next entered Delaware Bay, and reduced all the ſettlements there; while another diviſion ſailed up Hudſon's river, as far as Fort Orange, which ſubmitted, and took the name of Albany, one of the duke of York's titles *.

A. D. 1667. This conqueſt was confirmed to England by the treaty of Breda, in conſideration of the United Provinces being permitted to retain poſſeſſion of Surinam, which the Dutch had taken from the Engliſh. But England being afterwards involved in a war with Holland, through the intrigues of France, the Dutch made themſelves maſters once more of New Netherlands. It was, however, reſtored to England a few months after, in general terms, by the ſixth article in the treaty of London, ſpecifying, "that whatſoever country, iſlands, towns, ports, caſtles, or forts, have or ſhall be taken on both ſides, ſince the time that the late unhappy war broke out, either in Europe or elſewhere, ſhall be reſtored to the former lord and proprietor, in the ſame manner they ſhall be in when the peace itſelf ſhall be proclaimed; after which time there ſhall be no ſpoil nor plunder of the inhabitants, nor demolition of fortifications, nor carrying away of guns, powder, or other military ſtores which belonged to any caſtle or fort at the time when it was taken."

Feb. 9, A. D. 1674.

From this reſtitution till the beginning of the preſent unhappy conteſt, the crown of England remained in quiet poſſeſſion of New Netherlands; the north-eaſt part of which, as well as the capital, took the name of New York. This province, which lies between New England and New Jerſey, occupies only a very narrow ſpace, of about twenty miles, along the ſea ſhore; but inſenſibly enlarging, to the width of fifty or ſixty miles, it extends towards the north near two hundred miles up the country. The duke of York governed his new colony upon the ſame arbitrary principles which afterwards deprived him of the throne. His deputies, in whoſe hands were lodged powers of every kind, not content with the exerciſe of public authority, inſtituted themſelves arbiters in all private diſputes. The province was ſtill chiefly inhabited by the Dutch, who had choſen to cultivate their plantations under a foreign government, rather than remove to their own country. The other inhabitants were moſtly emigrants from New England. Theſe people had been too long accuſtomed to liberty, to ſubmit patiently to an arbitrary adminiſtration. Every thing ſeemed tending either to an inſurrection or an emigration, when in 1683, the colony was invited to chuſe repreſentatives to ſettle its form of government.

A permiſſion to chuſe repreſentatives was a conſiderable ſtep towards freedom; but it was not till after the revolution, that the fixed plan of government was eſtabliſhed, which has been followed ever ſince. At the head of the colony

A. D. 1691.

* Smith. Douglaſs.

is a governor appointed by the crown, which likewiſe appoints twelve counſellors, without whoſe concurrence the governor can ſign no act. The commons are repreſented by twenty-ſeven deputies, choſen by the inhabitants; and thoſe three bodies conſtitute the general aſſembly in which all power is lodged. The duration of that aſſembly, originally unlimited, was afterwards fixed at three years, and it now continues ſeven, like the Britiſh parliament, whoſe revolutions it has followed. At the ſame time that this conſtitution was ſettled, it was enacted, that every man ſhall be judged by his peers, and that all trials ſhall be by the verdict of twelve men of the neighbourhood; that in all capital and other criminal caſes, there ſhall be a grand inqueſt to preſent the offender, and afterwards twelve men to try ſuch offender; that in all caſes, bail by ſufficient ſureties be allowed, unleſs in caſe of treaſon, and ſuch felonies as are reſtrained from bail by the laws of England; that no tax or impoſition be laid but by the general aſſembly; and that no freeman, tavern-keepers excepted, be compelled to entertain any ſoldier or mariner, unleſs in times of actual war with the province *.

Sheltered under a form of government ſo ſolid, and ſo favourable to liberty, which makes every thing proſper, the colony of New York purſued in tranquillity all the labours which its ſituation could require or encourage. A climate much milder than the greater part of New England, a ſoil ſuperior to it for the cultivation of corn, and equally fit for the culture of every other production, ſoon enabled this province to vie ſucceſsfully with an eſtabliſhment, that had got the ſtart of it in all kinds of merchandiſe, as well as in the markets. If it was not equal in its manufactures, this inferiority was amply compenſated by a fur-trade, infinitely more conſiderable. Theſe various means of proſperity, united to a very great degree of toleration in religious matters, had increaſed its inhabitants to one hundred and fifty thouſand, at the concluſion of the late war.

This proſperity had no improper influence upon the minds of the inhabitants. The Dutch, the original founders of the colony, eſtabliſhed in it that ſpirit of order and œconomy, which is the characteriſtic of their nation; and as they long conſtituted the majority of the people, even after they had changed maſters, the example of their decent manners was imitated by all the new coloniſts. The Germans compelled to take refuge in America, by the perſecution that drove them out of the Palatinate and other provinces of the empire, were naturally inclined to the ſame plain and ſimple mode of life; and the Engliſh and French emigrants, though not accuſtomed to ſo much frugality, ſoon conformed, either from motives of prudence or emulation, to a manner of living leſs expenſive and more cordial, than that which is regulated by faſhion and parade. The conſequences of this œconomy have been, that the colony of New York has never run in debt with the mother country; that it has therefore been enabled to preſerve an entire liberty in its ſales and purchaſes, and to give the moſt advantageous turn to its affairs.

* Douglaſs, part II. ſect. xii.

BOOK IV.

Both the city and province of New York are much indebted for their proſperity to Hudſon's river, whoſe banks are decorated with rich plantations, and which is navigable for upwards of two hundred miles, at all ſeaſons. It is on this magnificent canal, where the tide flows above an hundred and fifty miles within the land, that every thing that is intended for the general mart is embarked in veſſels of forty or fifty tons burden. The city or mart itſelf, which is near the ſea, is extremely well ſituated for receiving all the merchandiſe of the province, and all that comes from Long Iſland, which is only ſeparated from the continent by a narrow channel. The name of this iſland is very applicable to its figure, being an hundred and thirty miles long, and only about fifteen broad. It was formerly famous for the great number of whales and ſeals on its coaſts; but whether the frequent fiſheries, or any other cauſe of a like kind, hath driven away thoſe creatures, who generally ſeek quiet ſeas and deſert ſhores, it is certain they have in a great meaſure diſappeared. The neighbouring ſea, however, ſtill affords a rich return to the induſtry of the fiſhermen, and the land is not inferior to any in the New World. It produces tobacco equal to that of Maryland, hemp, flax, and every ſort of grain in the greateſt abundance. Beſides, as the paſtures are moſt excellent, the breeding of all kinds of cattle, and particularly horſes, has been much attended to, without neglecting any branch of agriculture.

All theſe different productions flow to the principal mart, which is alſo increaſed by commodities brought from a greater diſtance. Some parts of New England and New Jerſey find their account in pouring their ſtores into New York. This city, which was originally built by the Dutch, and, as already obſerved, denominated New Amſterdam, is ſituated in an iſland called by the Indians Manahatton, fourteen miles long, but not above two broad. It ſtands at the diſtance of about two miles from the mouth of Hudſon's river, and is computed to contain about twelve thouſand inhabitants *. It is well and commodiouſly built, in the Dutch taſte, extending a mile in length, and about half that in breadth. Both the public edifices and private houſes convey the idea of ſolidity united to conveniency; and there is no town, either in the old or New World, where the air is better, or where there is a greater appearance of eaſe and plenty.

This city however, the ſeat of ſo many conveniencies, and ſo conſiderable a mart of commerce, was by no means properly fortified before the preſent diſturbances. It had no other defence but a bad fort, and a retrenchment of ſtone, which could not have defended it twenty-four hours, againſt a ſkilful enemy. What fortifications have been raiſed ſince, we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to notice. Notwithſtanding all its trade, New York has properly no harbour; but this want it does not feel, becauſe its ſafe and commodious road is ſufficient. Two hundred and fifty, or three hundred ſhips, were uſually thence diſpatched,

* This computation, and all others relative to places which have been lately the ſcene of war, as well as the deſcriptions of ſuch places, except when otherwiſe mentioned, muſt be underſtood of their former ſtate.

South Westerly View of Fort George with the City of New York.

for ſome years after the late peace, to the different ports of Europe and America. England received but a ſmall part of them, but they were the richeſt, their cargo conſiſting of beaver ſkins and valuable furs.

The manner in which the colony got poſſeſſion of theſe furs and ſkins, comes next to be explained; and this ſubject will lead us to the ſecond city, and almoſt the only other town in the province.

As ſoon as the Dutch had built New Amſterdam, in a ſituation which they thought favourable for its intercourſe with Europe, they next endeavoured to eſtabliſh there an advantageous trade. The only thing at that time in requeſt from North America was furs; but as the neighbouring country offered few, and thoſe indifferent ones, there was a neceſſity of going towards the north, in order to have them better and in larger quantities. Even in this there was ſome difficulty, on account of the vicinity of the Engliſh ſettlements: it was therefore determined to proceed up the country, and an eſtabliſhment was formed on the banks of Hudſon's river, at the diſtance of an hundred and fifty miles from the capital. This territory belonged to the Iroquois or Five Nations, united by an ancient and inviolable league; and certain circumſtances fortunately induced them to favour the deſigns of the Dutch. They happened to be at war with the French, who were then eſtabliſhing themſelves in Canada; and in conſequence of an agreement to ſupply them with the ſame arms that their enemies uſed, that brave people allowed the Dutch to build Fort Orange, to which, as already obſerved, the Engliſh gave the name of Albany, when they became maſters of the province.

There was never the leaſt diſpute between the Hollanders and their Indian allies, during the whole time that the United Provinces retained the poſſeſſion of New Netherlands. On the contrary the Dutch, with the aſſiſtance of their powder, lead, and muſkets, which they uſed to give in exchange for furs, ſecured to the colony not only what the Iroquois could procure by their own hunting, in all the immenſe countries belonging to the Five Nations, but even the ſpoils collected by thoſe warriors in their expeditions. This harmony was not interrupted by the conqueſt of the colony: the Iroquois transferred their attachment to the Engliſh, and have proved the moſt ſteady and effectual ally that we have found among the Indians. But the Engliſh did not ſeriouſly attend to the fur-trade till after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in 1685, when the French refugees introduced into England the art of making beaver hats. Even after that æra, their efforts were long ineffectual; and their want of ſucceſs was owing chiefly to two cauſes, which it will be neceſſary here to unfold.

The French, who had greatly extended their ſettlements and their influence in Canada, were accuſtomed to procure from Albany coverlids, thick worſted and woollen ſtuffs, different ſorts of iron and copper ware, and even arms and ammunition; all which they could ſell to the ſavages with the greater advantage, as thoſe goods bought at Albany, coſt them one third leſs than they would have done, by any other method of purchaſe, before they could have been conveyed to Canada. Beſides the hunting nations, who were chiefly ſeparated from New York by

BOOK I. by the country of the Iroquois, into which nobody chose to venture far, could hardly treat with any European nation but the French. William Burnet, son to the celebrated bishop of that name, who was appointed governor of New York in 1719, was either the first who discerned this evil, or the first who ventured to
A. D. 1720. strike at the root of it. He prevailed with the general assembly to pass an act prohibiting all communication between Albany and Canada; and then obtained the consent of the Iroquois, to build and fortify the factory of Oswego, on that part of the lake Ontario by which most of the savages must pass in their way to Montreal *. There they furnished themselves from the English, with all the commodities they wanted, and at half the price they used to pay to the French.

The consequence of these two wise measures was, that the trade of New York was greatly increased, and vast numbers of British subjects resorted to that province. The fur-trade was no longer monopolized by a few overgrown merchants, but diverted into many channels, to the no small benefit of the colony. The Indians themselves became more dependent upon the English, because more sensible of their power, and of the advantages derived from living in amity
A. D. 1763. with them; so that at the conclusion of the late war, the fur trade of New York was five times greater than before the building of Oswego, and the cession of Canada to the crown of Great Britain must have increased it at least a third more.

If the colony of New York has gained by the conquest of Canada, it does not appear to have lost much by being separated from New Jersey, which, as already observed, formerly made part of New Netherlands, and was chiefly inhabited by Swedes. The Swedes settled in this country about the year 1639, and had several towns and plantations on both sides of the Delawar; but receiving no support from the parent-state, and being under continual alarms from the neighbouring Indians, they put themselves under the protection of the Dutch in 1655, and their territory was thenceforth considered as part of Nova Belgia, or New Netherlands †. When the English became masters of the whole territory, which had been granted to the duke of York before it was conquered, he divided the present province of New Jersey between two of his favourites, lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret. These two courtiers, the first of whom had received the eastern, and the other the western part of the province, appear to have solicited this vast country with no other view but to put it up to sale. Several speculators accordingly bought large districts of it from them, at a low price; and these were again subdivided, and sold in small parcels. In the midst of these grants and transfers, the colony became divided into two distinct provinces, called East Jersey and West Jersey, each separately governed by the heirs of the original proprietors. The exercise of this right was found inconvenient, on account of the perpetual disputes between the people and their superiors, no respect being paid

* Douglas, part II. sect. xii.

† Douglas, part II. sect. xii. Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. p. 551.

to

to the proprietary governors. The proprietors therefore surrendered the government to the crown in 1702, but reserved to themselves all their other rights. The two provinces were now consolidated into one, and put like New York and other colonies, under the direction of a governor, a council, and a general assembly; the two former appointed by the king, and the latter consisting of the governor, council, and representatives of the people.

New Jersey is bounded on the east by New York; on the west by the river Delawar, which divides it from Pensylvania; on the north by unknown lands; and on the south by the ocean, which washes its coasts through an extent of a hundred and twenty miles. This country, before the revolution, contained A. D. 1688. only sixteen thousand inhabitants, the descendants of Swedes and Dutch, who were joined by some Quakers, and some church of Englandmen, but a greater number of Presbyterians. The tyranny of government had stopt the progress and occasioned the indigence of this small colony: it might therefore have been expected, that the æra of liberty would have been that of its prosperity. It proved, however, otherwise: almost all the Europeans who went to the New-World, in search either of wealth or an asylum, prefering the milder climates and more fruitful soil of Carolina and Pensylvania, New Jersey was suffered to remain in its primitive languor. Even at the beginning of the present troubles, it did not contain above fifty thousand white men, and twenty thousand blacks; and Perth Amboy, the capital, though favoured with an excellent harbour, does not consist of more than three hundred houses.

The original poverty of this province has proved the ruin of its trade. Being unable to open a direct communication with the distant and foreign markets, it began with selling its productions at Philadelphia and New York, to which it found a ready conveyance by water-carriage, and where it received in exchange the manufactures of the mother-country. This practice has been continued ever since; for where the correspondencies are fixed, the method of dealing established, credits given, and a ready market for needy dealers, it is not easy to draw trade out of its old channel. There is of course very little specie in New Jersey; which is reduced, like most of our American colonies, to make use of paper currency; and as its bills were current both in Pensylvania and New York, which did not take any of each others bills, they bore an advanced premium above the bills of those two colonies, by being made use of in all payments between them.

But it is not from any such trifling advantage, that New Jersey must expect to derive its future importance: it is from the culture of its immense tract of improvable land, and from the use of its own ports, that it must expect to draw its vigour and prosperity. As long as it stands in need of intermediate agents, it must remain in the state of languor into which it is plunged. This the colony is thoroughly sensible of, and all its efforts have for some time been directed to enable it to act for itself. Even as far back as the year 1751, it found means to fit out at its own expence, thirty-eight vessels bound to Europe, or to the western isles of America. These vessels carried six thousand, four hun-

dred, and twenty-four barrels of flour; one hundred and ſixty-eight thouſand, five hundred weight of bread; three hundred and fourteen barrels of beef and pork; ſeventeen thouſand, nine hundred, and forty-one buſhels of grain; fourteen thouſand weight of hemp; with a conſiderable quantity of butter, hams, beer, flax ſeed, bar-iron, and lumber *, or wood for building and other common purpoſes.

It is conjectured, that this direct trade may have increaſed one third, before the concluſion of the late war, and been doubled before the commencement of the preſent diſturbances. Such a beginning of proſperity muſt raiſe the hopes, (and as ſoon as peace is reſtored) the projects and the enterpriſes of a colony, which hitherto has not been able to ſuſtain that part in trade, which its ſituation ſeemed to promiſe it. If there are ſome poor feeble ſtates that draw their ſubſiſtence and ſupport from the vicinity of others more rich and powerful than themſelves, there are a much greater number whom ſuch a neighbourhood entirely cruſhes and deſtroys. Perhaps the latter has been, in ſome degree, the fate of New Jerſey, by lying too cloſe to Penſylvania, which has ſometimes concealed it with its ſhadow, and ſometimes eclipſed it with its ſplendour.

The province of Penſylvania, which, as already obſerved, was partly included in New Netherlands, and which has no communication with the ſea but by the mouth of the Delawar, is bounded on the north by New York and New Jerſey; on the ſouth, by Virginia and Maryland; and on the weſt, by uncultivated wilds, ſtill occupied by the Indians. It is in length near three hundred miles, and in breadth about two hundred. The ſky is clear and ſerene, and the climate, naturally very wholeſome, has been rendered ſtill more ſo by cultivation. The waters, equally pure and ſalubrious, always flow upon a bed of rock or ſand. The year is tempered by a regular return of the ſeaſons. Winter, which begins in the month of January, laſts till the end of March; and as it is ſeldom accompanied with clouds or fogs, the cold is generally moderate, though ſometimes ſo intenſe as to freeze the largeſt rivers in a night's time. This change, which is as ſhort as it is ſudden, is occaſioned by the north-weſt winds, which blow from the mountains and lakes of Canada. The ſpring is uſhered in by ſoft rains and gentle heat, which encreaſe gradually till the end of June. The heats of the dog-days would be inſupportable, were it not for the refreſhing breezes of the ſouth-weſt wind. But this relief, though pretty conſtant, ſometimes expoſes the inhabitants to dreadful hurricanes that blow down whole foreſts, and tear up trees by the roots, eſpecially in the neighbourhood of the ſea, where they are moſt violent. The three autumnal months are ſeldom attended with any other inconvenience except that of being too rainy. Though the country is irregular, it is not on that account leſs fertile. The ſoil in ſome places conſiſts of a yellow and black ſand; in others it is gravelly, and ſometimes it is of a greyiſh aſh colour, upon a ſtony bottom; but in general it is a rich earth, particularly between the rivulets, which interſecting it in all directions, contribute greatly to the fertility of the province.

* Douglaſs's Summary, part II. ſect. xiii.

Such

CHAP. V.

Such is the country that was granted by Charles II. to the famous William Penn, the Quaker, ſon of admiral Penn, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the great ſea fight againſt the Dutch in 1665. The charter is very ample and explicit. After deſcribing the limits of the territory, to be "erected into a province and ſeigniory, and called PENSYLVANIA," it impowers William Penn, his heirs, and executors, and their lieutenants, with the aſſent of a majority of the freemen or their delegates aſſembled, to raiſe money for public uſes; to eſtabliſh judges, juſtices, and other magiſtrates; (probat of wills and granting of adminiſtrations included) to pardon or remit all crimes and offences committed within the ſaid province, treaſon and wilful murder excepted; which, however, they may reprieve, until the king's pleaſure is known: the judges by them conſtituted to hold pleas, as well criminal as civil, perſonal, real, and mixed; but their laws to be conſonant to reaſon, not contrary to the laws of England, and to reſerve an appeal to the king in council. Liberty is granted to divide the country into townſhips, hundreds, and counties; to incorporate towns into boroughs and cities, and to conſtitute fairs and markets. The proprietors may receive ſuch impoſitions upon goods as the aſſembly ſhall enact, and "the crown ſhall make no taxation or impoſition in the ſaid province without conſent of the proprietary, or aſſembly, or by *act of parliament* in England *."

With this charter, which he obtained not only in conſideration of his father's eminent ſervices, but as an equivalent for certain loans which it was not convenient for government to repay, Mr. Penn ſet ſail for his new territory; and his arrival in America was ſignalized by an act of juſtice and ſound policy, which made his perſon and principles equally beloved, and laid the foundation of the future greatneſs of the colony he was going to eſtabliſh. Not thoroughly ſatisfied with the right which his patent gave him to the ſoil, and ſenſible of the benefit of maintaining a good correſpondence with the natives, he determined to make it his own property by purchaſe. What price he gave to the Indians is not known: it was probably very ſmall; but he is at leaſt entitled to the honour of having ſet an example of equity and moderation in the New World, to which Europeans had hitherto paid little regard. He made himſelf as much as poſſible a legal poſſeſſor of the province †; and the Indians, in return for this attention ſhown to their rights, entertained an affection for the colony of Penſylvania, as ſtrong as that averſion which they had conceived againſt all thoſe founded without their conſent. A. D. 1681.

* This is the greateſt conceſſion made in any colony charter; yet ſome late acts of parliament for levying taxes, conformable to this reſerved claim, have been repreſented as violations of the charter-privileges of the colonies. How far ſuch a power is conſiſtent with the natural rights of mankind, we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to conſider; but that ſuch a power is reſerved either to the king or the parliament, in all the colony charters, is a matter that does not admit of the ſmalleſt diſpute.

† Beſides purchaſing the uncultivated territory of the Indians, Mr. Penn made a purchaſe from Sir George Carteret of the three lower counties on the Delaware, which were chiefly inhabited by Swedes, and had made part firſt of New Sweden and afterwards of New Netherlands.

Nor

BOOK IV.

Nor was Mr. Penn's juſtice and generoſity confined to the ſavages only; it extended itſelf to thoſe who were deſirous of living under his laws. Convinced that the happineſs of the people, in any government, depends upon the nature of the legiſlation, he founded his upon theſe two firſt principles of public proſperity and private felicity—*liberty* and *property*. The mind dwells with pleaſure upon this part of the American ſtory, and feels ſome kind of compenſation for the diſguſt, horror, and melancholy, which the eſtabliſhment of the greater part of the European ſettlements inſpires. One of Mr. Penn's principal motives for ſoliciting the grant of this extenſive country, which his poſterity ſtill hold almoſt as a ſovereignty, was a deſire of affording an aſylum to his brethren the Quakers, perſecuted both in New and Old England; for although all criminal proſecutions were now ſuſpended, they were ſtill harraſſed by the ſpiritual courts, on account of their refuſing to pay tythes and other church dues. Filled with admiration of the man who was an honour to their ſect, and repoſing perfect confidence in his promiſes, near two thouſand of them accompanied him acroſs the Atlantic, in 1681.

But Penn, though a ſectary, was no bigot. He made toleration the baſis of his new colony. "No perſons who believe in ONE almighty GOD, and live peaceably under the civil government, ſhall be moleſted in their religious perſuaſions," ſays he in his charter of privileges, "nor compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worſhip contrary to their mind; and all perſons who *profeſs* to believe in JESUS CHRIST, are capable of ſerving the government in any capacity, on condition of their ſolemnly promiſing, when required, allegiance to the crown, and fidelity to the proprietor and governor." The governor is only the proprietor's deputy; but, like all lieutenant governors, or deputies nominated by lords proprietors, or principal hereditary governors of Britiſh colonies in North America, he muſt have the royal approbation. This governor has a council; but they have no concern in the legiſlature, otherwiſe than by adviſing the governor in regard to his negative. The acts of legiſlation are, "by the lieutenant-governor of the province of Penſylvania, and of the counties of Newcaſtle, Kent, and Suſſex on Delawar river; by and with the conſent of the repreſentatives of the freemen of the ſaid province, in general aſſembly met *."

* The proper province of Penſylvania was at firſt divided into three counties, Philadelphia, Bucks, and Cheſter, each ſending eight repreſentatives to the aſſembly; but the counties of Lancaſter, York, and Cumberland have ſince been added, the firſt ſending four, and the two laſt each two members; which with two repreſentatives from the city of Philadelphia, making in all thirty four members, compoſe the houſe of aſſembly. The qualification for electing or being elected, is a freeman reſident in the country for two years, and worth in real or perſonal eſtate, or both jointly, the value of fifty pounds currency; which, if required, is to be declared upon oath, or ſolemn affirmation. The three lower counties on Delawar river, called the *territories*, are a diſtinct juriſdiction, and their aſſembly of repreſentatives conſiſts of ſix members from Newcaſtle county, ſix from Kent, and ſix from Suſſex county, in all eighteen members. Douglaſs's Summary, part II. ſect. xiv.

As a further inducement to ſettlers, Mr. Penn granted his lands on the moſt moderate terms. He gave a thouſand acres to every one who could afford to pay twenty pounds ſterling for them, reſerving only one ſhilling quit rent for every hundred acres. Such as could not purchaſe, obtained for themſelves, and every one of their family, above ſixteen years of age, fifty acres of land, for an annual quit-rent of one penny per acre. In order to render the benefit accruing from theſe grants perpetual, he eſtabliſhed tribunals for enforcing the laws made for the preſervation of property. But it is not protecting the property of lands, in a manner that deſerves approbation, to make thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of them purchaſe the decree of juſtice that ſecures them: for, in that caſe, every individual is obliged to reſign ſome part of his property, in order to retain the reſt; and law, when protracted, exhauſts the very treaſures it ſhould preſerve. Penn therefore prohibited, under very ſevere penalties, all who were engaged in the adminiſtration of juſtice, from receiving any gratification whatſoever, that they might have no intereſt in encouraging or prolonging law-ſuits; and as a farther preſervative, every diſtrict was obliged to chuſe three arbitrators, whoſe buſineſs it was to endeavour to prevent, and accommodate any diſputes that might happen, before they were carried into a court of juſtice.

This attention to prevent law-ſuits ſprung from the deſire of preventing crimes. That they might have no crimes to puniſh, all the laws were calculated to check them in their origin, and to dry up their very ſources, poverty and idleneſs. It was enacted that every child, above twelve years of age, whatever might be his condition, ſhould be obliged to learn ſome trade, or devote himſelf to ſome particular profeſſion, beneficial to ſociety *. This regulation, at the ſame time that it ſecured the poor man's ſubſiſtence, furniſhed the rich man with a reſource againſt every reverſe of fortune, and preſerved the idea of the natural equality of mankind, by recalling to every man's remembrance his original deſtination—to be ſerviceable to himſelf and his fellow-creatures, by the exertion either of his mental or bodily powers.

Such primary conſtitutions muſt neceſſarily be productive of an excellent legiſlation: and the advantages of that eſtabliſhed by Penn were accordingly manifeſted in the rapid and continued progreſs of Penſylvania; which, without either wars, conqueſts, ſtruggles, or any of thoſe revolutions that attract the eyes of the vulgar, ſoon excited the admiration of the whole univerſe. Its Indian neighbours, notwithſtanding their ſavage temper, were robbed of their ferocity by the gentleneſs of its manners, and diſtant nations notwithſtanding their corruption, paid homage to its virtues. When the Europeans firſt came into the province, they found nothing of value but wood and iron ore; but in proceſs of time, by cutting down the trees and clearing the ground, they covered it with innumerable herds; a great variety of fruits; plantations of flax and hemp; many kinds of vegetables, and every ſort of grain, but eſpecially rye and maize, which a happy experience had ſhewn to be peculiarly adapted to the climate.

* Hiſt. Review of the Conſt. and Gov. of Penſylvania.

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Cultivation, in a word, was carried on with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs, as excited the aſtoniſhment of both worlds, and rendered Penſylvania, in the courſe of fourſcore years, one of the moſt populous and fertile provinces in North America.

This rapid and extraordinary proſperity originated, as already obſerved, from that wiſe conſtitution eſtabliſhed by the proprietor; from that civil and religious liberty which have attracted the Swedes, Dutch, French, and Engliſh, but particularly the perſecuted and induſtrious Germans into Pentylvania. It has been the joint work of Quakers, Anabaptiſts, Independents; Lutherans, Preſbyterians, Church of England men; Methodiſts, Moravians and Dumplers. This laſt ſect, which is leſs known than the reſt, and ſufficiently ſingular to merit a particular deſcription, was founded by a German emigrant. Weary of the world, he retired to an agreeable ſolitude within fifty miles of Philadelphia, in order to have more leiſure to give himſelf up to devout contemplations. Curioſity brought ſeveral of his countrymen to viſit his retreat; and by degrees his pious, ſimple, and peaceable manners induced them to ſettle near him. Under the appellation of Dumplers, they formed a ſmall colony, which they called Euphrates, in alluſion to the famous river of that name in Aſia, on whoſe banks, during the Babyloniſh captivity, the Hebrews uſed to ſing pſalms.

The little city of Euphrates, or as it is ſometimes called, Ephrata, is of a triangular form, the ſides of which are bordered with mulberry and apple-trees, planted with regularity. In the middle of the town is a very large orchard, and between the orchard and theſe ranges of trees, are houſes built of wood, three ſtories high, where every Dumpler is left to enjoy the pleaſures of religious meditation without diſturbance. Theſe contemplative people do not amount to above five or ſix hundred, and their territory is only about two hundred and fifty acres in extent. It lies delightfully between two ſmall hills; and is in a manner inſulated by a river on one ſide, and a ditch and a bank planted with trees on the other *.

The men and women at Euphrates live in different quarters of the city; nor do they ever ſee each other except at places of public worſhip, or when it is neceſſary to conſult upon matters of public œconomy. Unacquainted with any amuſement, and needing none beſides their moral and religious duties, the Dumplers ſpend their lives in a regular return of labour, prayer, and ſleep. Twice every day, and as often every night, are they called forth from their cells to attend divine ſervice. Like the Methodiſts and Quakers, every individual among them has the right of preaching, when he thinks himſelf inſpired. The favourite ſubjects on which they diſcourſe in their meetings are humility, temperance, chaſtity, and the other Chriſtian virtues. They never violate the repoſe of that day which all Chriſtian churches have ſet aſide for the purpoſes of religious worſhip; or rather they obſerve it with a Jewiſh ſuperſtition. They believe in a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, but deny the eternity of hell-torments. They hold the

* Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. XV. fol. edit.

conteſted

conteſted tenet of free-will, and abhor the doctrine of original ſin, in ſo far as it regards the depravity of the human race, as equally abſurd and blaſphemous. Their ideas of the Divinity, to whoſe preſence they believe all men will ſooner or later be admitted, are in general liberal and elevating. As they do not allow merit to any but voluntary works they only adminiſter baptiſm to the adult, and that by immerſion. At the ſame time they think baptiſm, or at leaſt a belief in the Meſſiah, ſo eſſentially neceſſary to ſalvation, that they imagine the ſouls of dead Chriſtians are employed in another world, in converting thoſe who had not an opportunity, while in this, of hearing or embracing the glad tidings of the goſpel *.

Still more diſintereſted than the Quakers, the Dumplers never allow themſelves to engage in law-ſuits. One may cheat, rob, and abuſe them, without ever being expoſed to any proſecution: they diſclaim violence, even in caſes of ſelf-defence. Their appearance and mode of life is anſwerable to their mild, or rather tame and patient character. Nothing can be ſimpler than their dreſs. In winter it conſiſts of a long white woollen gown, from which hangs a hood, that ſerves the purpoſe of a hat; a coarſe ſhirt, thick ſhoes, and very wide breeches, or trowſers. The only difference in ſummer is, that the gown, which is faſtened round the waiſt with a belt, is of linen. The women are dreſſed in the ſame manner, with this difference only, that inſtead of trowſers they have petticoats. Their food is as plain as their attire: it conſiſts wholly of vegetables; not becauſe they think it unlawful to eat any other kind of food, but becauſe that degree of abſtinence is thought moſt comformable to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity, which proclaims peace, requires mortification, and abhors blood.

Every individual follows at Euphrates that branch of buſineſs which is preſcribed to him; nor do the women ſpend their lives in idleneſs, but occupy themſelves in many ingenious labours. The produce of their joint efforts is depoſited in a common ſtock, in order to ſupply the neceſſities of every one. This union of induſtry, has not only perfected the cultivation of their little territory, but eſtabliſhed manufactures, and all the arts neceſſary for the ſupport of the ſociety. It hath even furniſhed ſome ſuperfluities for exchange, not inadequate to the degree of population. Nor is that on the decline; for although the two ſexes live ſeparate at Euphrates, the Dumplers are far from renouncing matrimony. Thoſe who find themſelves diſpoſed to join in wedlock, muſt indeed leave the city; but they are ſupplied out of the public funds with whatever is neceſſary for their ſettling elſewhere. This they generally do as near as poſſible to the parent-city, that they may be the better enabled to ſend their children thither for education, and to hold occaſional communion with the godly †. Without ſuch a privilege, the Dumplers would be no better than monks, and muſt in time become either ſavages or libertines.

The moſt extraordinary circumſtance, as well as that moſt worthy of admiration, is the harmony that ſubſiſts between all the ſects eſtabliſhed in Penſylvania, notwithſtanding the diverſity of their religious opinions. It is a beautiful pro-

* Id. ibid.

† Mod. Univ. Hiſt. ubi ſup.

ſpect,

ſpect, to ſee men take and give an equal freedom of ſentiment; to ſee them live, if not as belonging to the ſame church, yet to the ſame Chriſtian religion; and if not related by one common religion, to preſerve ſuch an union of affections, as to manifeſt their alliance to the ſame great fraternity of mankind—as children of the ſame univerſal Father. The people of Penſylvania have always continued to live like brethren, becauſe they were permitted to think like men. To this delightful harmony muſt be attributed, in a greater meaſure, the rapid progreſs of the colony. At the concluſion of the late war, the population of Penſylvania amounted to upwards of two hundred and fifty thouſand white inhabitants; a number which muſt now be greatly increaſed, notwithſtanding the preſent diſtructive conteſt, as according to Dr. Franklin's calculation, the colony doubled itſelf formerly every fifteen years.

There were, at the ſame time, in the province thirty thouſand blacks; who, though better treated than any where elſe, were yet extremely unhappy. The conſideration of this circumſtance, induced the Quakers lately to ſet an example, which ought to form an æra in the hiſtory of religion and humanity. In one of their meetings, where every one of the faithful, women as well as men, who imagine themſelves moved by the impulſe of the Holy Spirit, have a right of ſpeaking, a brother, (who was himſelf undoubtedly inſpired on this occaſion) roſe and ſpoke to the following purport. "How long ſhall we have two conſciences, two meaſures, two ſcales?—one in our own favour, and one for the ruin of our neighbour, both equally falſe. Does it become us, Brethren, to complain, that at this moment the Britiſh parliament wiſhes to enſlave us, and to impoſe upon us the yoke of ſubjects, without leaving us the right of citizens?—No! we muſt ſtand ſelf-condemned; we muſt reform our own conduct, before we can arraign that of others. Have we not, for near a century paſt, been calmly acting the part of tyrants, by keeping in bonds of the hardeſt ſlavery, men who are by nature our brethren and our equals?—Thoſe unhappy men, whom the Creator had ſeparated from us by barriers ſo formidable, but whom our avarice has ſought after through ſtorms and ſhipwrecks, and brought away from the midſt of their burning ſands, breathing death to Europeans, or from their dark foreſts inhabited by tygers—what have they done to us, that they ſhould be thus treated?—What crime have they committed, that they ſhould be torn from a country which fed them without toil, and violently tranſplanted by us into a land where they periſh under the labours of ſervitude?

"Father in Heaven! haſt thou then created a family, the elder-born of which, after having ſeized on the property of their brethren, are farther reſolved to compel them with ſtripes, to manure with the blood of their veins and the ſweat of their brow, that very inheritance of which they have been robbed?—Miſerable men! whom we render brutes, in order to tyrannize over them; in whom we extinguiſh every finer feeling of the ſoul, that we may load their limbs with chains, and their backs with burdens; in whom we efface the image of the Creator, and the ſtamp of rationality.—Can human beings be thus degraded throughout their whole exiſtence by us, who are Chriſtians and Engliſhmen?—Engliſhmen! ye

people favoured of Heaven, reſpected on earth, and adored on the ſeas, would ye be free yourſelves, and tyrants over others at the ſame time?—No, Brethren! it is fit we ſhould at laſt be conſiſtent with ourſelves; let us ſet at liberty thoſe wretched victims of our pride and avarice; let us reſtore to the negroes that freedom which man has no right to take from man. May all Chriſtian ſocieties be induced by our example, to repair an injuſtice authoriſed by the crimes and the plunders of two centuries; and may the blacks, too long degraded, at length raiſe to heaven their arms freed from chains, and their eyes bathed in tears of gratitude. Ill-fated race! they have hitherto ſhed no tears but thoſe of affliction; to mourn their ſufferings, and contemplate the grave as an aſylum from miſery and deſpair, has, alas! been all their conſolation." This diſcourſe carried home conviction, at the ſame time that it awakened remorſe, and all the ſlaves in Penſylvania were ſet at liberty.

The people of this province are in general well made, and the women, if not handſome, of an agreeable figure. As they ſooner become mothers than in Europe, they ſooner ceaſe breeding. If the heat of the climate ſeems, on the one hand, to haſten the operations of nature, its inconſtancy weakens them on the other; for there is no place where the temperature of the ſky is more uncertain, ſeveral changes often happening in the ſame day. But as theſe changes have no dangerous influence upon the fruits of the earth, there is a conſtant plenty in Penſylvania, and an univerſal appearance of eaſe. Nor does the œconomy which is ſo generally attended to there, prevent both ſexes from being well cloathed and well fed. The families whoſe circumſtances are in any degree affluent, have all bread, meat, cyder, beer, and rum, and numbers are able to drink conſtantly, though commonly in moderation, French and Spaniſh wines.

Happily the pleaſing proſpect of this abundance is never diſturbed by the melancholy appearance of poverty. There are no poor in Penſylvania. All thoſe whoſe birth or hard fortune has left them deſtitute of reſources, are provided for out of the public treaſury. The ſpirit of benevolence is carried yet farther; it is extended to the moſt engaging hoſpitality. A traveller is welcome to ſtop at any houſe, without the leaſt apprehenſion of giving uneaſineſs, except that of regret for his departure. Nor is the proſperity of Penſylvania impaired by the oppreſſive burden of taxes, which in 1764 did not amount to fifteen thouſand pounds annually; and moſt of theſe were intended to repair the expences of the preceding war, and to ceaſe in a few years.

The virtuous poſſeſſors, and peaceful tenants of this province, which uſually renders them twenty or thirty fold for whatever they lay out upon it, are not reſtrained by the fear of want from the propagation of their ſpecies. There is hardly an unmarried perſon to be met with in Penſylvania, after the years that nature has preſcribed for the union of the ſexes; and the matrimonial ſtate is ſo much the more happy, and conſequently the more reverenced, as the freedom as well as the ſanctity of marriage, depends entirely on the will of the parties. They chuſe the lawyer and the prieſt rather as witneſſes, than as the means of cementing their engagements. When they meet with oppoſition from their relations, the

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two lovers go off on horſeback together: the man rides behind his miſtreſs; and in this ſituation they preſent themſelves before the magiſtrate, where the girl declares that ſhe has run away with her ſweetheart, and that they are come to be married. Such a ſolemn avowal cannot be rejected, nor has any perſon a right to give them any moleſtation. In all other caſes paternal authority is exceſſive. The head of a family, whoſe affairs are involved, is allowed to ſell his children to his creditors for a certain term of years *.

From that ceremony which leads to the propagation of the ſpecies, our views are naturally turned to the laſt offices required by humanity. It is a general obſervation, that plain and virtuous people, even thoſe that are ſavage and poor, pay great attention to the ordering of their funerals. The reaſon ſeems to be, that they look upon theſe laſt offices as duties; and thoſe duties as ſo many diſtinct proofs of that principle of love, which is very ſtrong in private families, while they remain in a ſtate but little removed from that of nature. It is not the dying man himſelf who exacts theſe offices or honours: his parents, his wife, his children voluntarily pay them to the aſhes of a father, a huſband, or a ſon, that has deſerved to be lamented. Thoſe ceremonies have always more numerous attendants in ſmall ſocieties than in large ones, in villages than in towns, in the country than in the capital; for although there are fewer families in the ſame ſpace, the conſequence of individuals there is much greater, and all the ties which connect them with each other, notwithſtanding their remote ſituation, are much ſtronger. Hence in Penſylvania, where moſt of the inhabitants may be ſaid to live ſeparately, and as it were within their own families, the higheſt honours are paid to the dead; a people who during their lives are the greateſt enemies to parade, forgetting all ſimplicity on ſuch occaſions, regulate their funeral pomp only by their affection, and the rank or fortune of the deceaſed.

Let us now inquire, whence Penſylvania gets the articles neceſſary for her conſumption, and by what means ſhe contrives to be ſo abundantly furniſhed with them. With the flax and hemp that is produced at home, and the cotton ſhe procures from the Weſt Indies, ſhe fabricates a great many ordinary linens and calicoes; and with the wool that comes from Europe, mixed with ſome of her own growth, ſhe manufactures many coarſe cloths. Whatever her induſtry is not able to furniſh, ſhe purchaſes with the produce of her territory. Her ſhips carry over to the Engliſh, French, Dutch, and Daniſh iſlands, biſcuit, flour, butter, cheeſe, tallow, vegetables, fruits, ſalt beef and pork, cyder, beer, and all ſorts of wood for building and other common purpoſes, under the denomination of lumber. The cotton, ſugar, coffee, rum, and money received in exchange for thoſe commodities, are ſo many materials for a freſh trade with the mother-country, and with other European nations, as well as with the neighbouring colonies. The Azores, Madeira, the Canaries, Spain, and Portugal, open an advantageous market for the corn and wood of Penſylvania, which they purchaſe with wine and ſpecie. The mother-country receives from Penſylvania iron, flax, flax-ſeed, leather, furs,

* Hiſt. Rev. of the Conſt. and Gov. of Penſylv.

linſeed-

linſeed-oil, bees-wax, and wood for ſhip building; for which it returns thread, cloths, ſilks, tea, Iriſh linens, India calicos, hardware, and various other articles of luxury or neceſſity *.

This trade is very conſiderable, in whatever light we conſider it; but as England, before the preſent troubles, ſold a greater quantity of merchandiſe to the colony, than ſhe purchaſed from it, ſhe may be conſidered as the gulph, in which all the ſpecie that Penſylvania drew from the other parts of the world was loſt. In the year 1770, Britain furniſhed goods to the amount of near five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, and imported commodities from Penſylvania to the amount only of about three hundred thouſand. It was impoſſible that the colonies could pay ſo conſiderable a difference, even though they had deprived themſelves of all the ſpecie which they received from the other markets; nor will they ever be able to do this, while the clearing of their lands requires ſo great a proportion of the produce. Such of our colonies as enjoy almoſt excluſively ſome branches of trade, namely rice, indigo, and tobacco, muſt have grown rich very rapidly; whereas Penſylvania, whoſe riches are founded on common agriculture, and the increaſe of its herds and flocks, will acquire them more gradually, but its proſperity will be fixed upon a more firm and permanent baſis.

Beſides their trade with Europe, the Weſt Indies, and the different European colonies ſettled on the American continent, the Penſylvanians carry on a conſiderable traffic with the neighbouring Indians. The Indian traders from Penſylvania generally ſet out in the beginning of May, and continue out three or four months. They buy the ſkins for which they trade, not from the Indians themſelves, but from a kind of brokers who are ſettled on their confines, and to whom they pay gold or ſilver for all they receive. Theſe ſkins are purchaſed originally chiefly from the Iroquois, whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention more particularly in the hiſtory of Canada, and who now conſiſt of ſix nations; namely the Mohawks, Onondagas, Senecas, Oneidas, Cayugas, and Tuſcaroras, an adventitious tribe, incorporated with the ancient Five Nations about the year 1720 †. Thoſe ſavages are far from being ſo heedleſs as is commonly imagined in regard to their own intereſt: they often put the Engliſh in mind, that the Delawar and Seſquehana Indians had been conquered by them, and therefore had no right to diſpoſe of their lands ‡.

Penſylvania, for the laſt four years before the preſent diſturbances, received, one year with another, about four hundred ſhips, and ſent out near an equal number. They chiefly arrived at Philadelphia, the capital, and were diſpatched from the ſame place. This famous city, whoſe very name revives every feeling of humanity, is ſituated at the conflux of the Delawar and Schuylkill, about one hundred and twenty miles from the ſea. Penn, its founder, who deſigned it for

* Douglaſs's Summary, part II. ſect. xiv.

† Some authors mention the addition of two other tribes; but this enumeration is only intended to obviate any confuſion that might ariſe from the Iroquois being ſometimes called the Five and ſometimes the Six Nations, without regard to any late incorporation, not generally known and acknowledged.

‡ Douglaſs's Summary, part II. ſect. xiv.

the

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the metropolis of a powerful ſtate, planned it with admirable judgment. He propoſed that it ſhould extend two miles in length between the rivers, and one in breadth; but its population has hitherto proved inſufficient to cover this extent of ground. The banks of the Delawar only are built upon, though without giving up the idea of the legiſlator, or deviating from his plan. Theſe precautions are highly proper, as Philadelphia muſt become the moſt conſiderable city in America: and for obvious reaſons: the colony, from its conſtitution, muſt neceſſarily increaſe greatly, as well as be improved in a very high degree; and its productions muſt chiefly paſs through the harbour of the capital before they can arrive at the ocean, to be wafted to other ſhores. For that purpoſe the rivers Delawar and Schulykill (the firſt of which is navigable, for veſſels of one ſort or other, upwards of two hundred miles) are highly ſervicable; and what may ſeem almoſt incredible, the Dutch, as far back as the year 1750, employed near eight thouſand waggons, each drawn by four horſes, in bringing the produce of their farms and manufactures to this general mart *.

The city of Philadelphia, when the original plan can be fully executed, is to compoſe eight parallel ſtreets, each of two miles in length; and theſe are to be interſected by ſixteen others, all a mile long, broad, ſpacious, and ſtraight, with proper ſpaces for public buildings. At preſent the houſes, which conſiſt of about two thouſand five hundred, do not extend above a mile and a half in length, on the weſt ſide of the Delawar, nor more than half a mile in breadth. In the centre is a ſquare of ten acres, round which moſt of the public buildings are diſpoſed. The ſtreets are in general fifty, and the two principal ones an hundred feet wide. The houſes, each of which has its garden and orchard, are commonly two ſtories high, beſides the ground floor, and are built either of brick or a ſort of ſoft ſtone, which grows harder by being expoſed to the air. From the two rivers are cut ſeveral canals, equally agreeable and beneficial. The quays are ſpacious and elegant, as well as commodious; the principal one, to which a veſſel of five hundred tons burden may lay her broadſide, being two hundred feet wide. The warehouſes, ranged along the banks of the river, are large, numerous, and convenient, and the docks for ſhip building no leſs ingeniouſly contrived for their particular purpoſes. In a word, Philadelphia is amply furniſhed with every advantage of nature and art, for the encouragement of commerce and the aſſiſtance of induſtry.

It is impoſſible to determine preciſely the population of this city, as the bills of mortality are not kept with any degree of exactneſs, and ſeveral ſects do not baptiſe their children: it is computed however, that in 1766, Philadelphia contained twenty thouſand inhabitants. As moſt of them are employed in the ſale of the productions of the colony, or in ſupplying it with what they draw from abroad, their fortunes muſt be very conſiderable; and as ſoon as the preſent troubles can be compoſed, the people muſt rapidly increaſe in a country where not above one fifth part of the land has been cleared. Trade muſt keep pace with

* Douglaſs's Summary, part II. ſect. xiv.

the progreſs of cultivation; and that promiſes every thing from the induſtry of a laborious and hardy race of men. Nor are the Penſylvanians attentive only to the uſeful or merely neceſſary arts: they have for ſome time aſpired, with no ſmall ſhare of emulation, after the ornamental. A public library was formed in 1742, under the direction of the celebrated Dr. Franklin; and in 1749, an academy was founded at Philadelphia, by a ſet of private gentlemen, in order to prepare the mind for the attainment of the liberal arts and ſciences. To a good ſet of books, in Latin, French, and Engliſh, is now added a complete aſſortment of mathematical inſtruments, and a very fine cabinet of natural curioſities. The academy has made no leſs progreſs. At firſt it only initiated the ſtudents in the belles lettres: but in 1764, a claſs of medicine was eſtabliſhed; and knowledge of every kind, and maſters in every ſcience will be provided, in proportion as the lands which are to furniſh their ſalary ſhall yield a greater produce.

Philadelphia, Newcaſtle, the place next in eminence, and all the towns and cities in Penſylvania, are entirely open. Nor is there any fortreſs in the whole province or territory. This is the neceſſary conſequence of the non-reſiſting principles of the Quakers, who have always maintained the chief influence in the public deliberations, though they do not form above one fifth part of the inhabitants of the colony. Theſe ſectaries cannot be too much favoured on account of their modeſty, probity, induſtry, and benevolence; but it muſt ſurely appear an error, or a misfortune, that ſo great a ſhare of the government ſhould have been placed in the hands of men, who hold tenets directly oppoſite to its principal end, the ſecurity of the community from abroad. To ſuppoſe the colony would never have any enemies, was ſuppoſing the world to be peopled with Quakers: it was encouraging the ſtrong to fall upon the weak; leaving the lamb to the mercy of the wolf, and ſubmitting the whole province to the mercy of the firſt tyrant, either foreign or domeſtic, that ſhould think proper to ſubdue it. We may therefore very ſafely conclude with a celebrated author *, whoſe opinions we have frequently had occaſion to reject, that ſince the Quakers by their principles make themſelves ſheep, they ſhould not be intruſted with the office, as they have not the nature of dogs.

It muſt however be owned, that the province of Penſylvania has ſuffered leſs by foreign enemies than any of our colonies. Before laſt war, it never loſt a man by any hoſtile attack. Then indeed the Indians, at the inſtigation of the French, made ſome inroads ſufficiently alarming. But though the very exiſtence of the colony was at different times threatened, no exhortations could awaken the inhabitants to a proper ſenſe of their danger; and it may be aſcribed to good fortune, rather than to any political foreſight or military precautions, that the country was not entirely pillaged and depopulated. It is therefore with pleaſure that we hear the Quakers have lately adopted leſs pacific ſentiments: though henceforth Penſylvania will have little to fear, ſhould the authority of Great Britain be fully reſtored in America, as it has Canada, no longer French, on its back, and is protected on one ſide by the provinces of New York and New Jerſey, and by thoſe of Virginia and Maryland on the other.

* Mr. Burke.

CHAP. VI.

Continuation of the Hiſtory of Virginia, from the Year 1624, with an Account of the Settlement of Maryland, and the Progreſs of both Colonies.

BOOK IV.

CHARLES I. having diſſolved the Virginia company, as we have already ſeen, in 1624, not only the government of that territory, but the territory itſelf returned to the crown. Charles, however, was far from taking advantage of this circumſtance to oppreſs the coloniſts, or to govern them with an arbitrary ſway. He appointed a governor and council, indeed, to be named by himſelf and his ſucceſſors, but he at the ſame time continued the aſſembly, conſiſting of repreſentatives from the different towns and counties, elected by the people; and, in order to invite ſettlers, he granted the uncultivated lands at the trifling quit-rent of two ſhillings the hundred acres, nor did he exact more from the inhabitants for thoſe that were already cleared. Adventurers flocked in crowds to Virginia; and as property, which had hitherto been fluctuating, was now eſtabliſhed on a firm baſis, new ſettlements roſe in every quarter, ſurrounded by flouriſhing plantations. But unfortunately for the thriving colony, Sir John Harvey, the firſt royal governor, behaved in ſo arbitrary a manner, that the planters found it neceſſary to ſeize his perſon, and ſend him home under confinement to England. Ever more willing to liſten to the complaints of his officers and miniſters, than to thoſe of his people, the miſguided Charles attempted to reſtore this object of public reſentment; but afterwards made more fully acquainted with the nature of his offence, or become more diffident of his own authority, which began to totter at home, he recalled Harvey, and appointed Sir William Berkley to the government of Virginia.

A. D. 1639.

Berkley was every way qualified for his office; but the colony had already ſuffered ſeverely from the late diſſentions, which having ſunk the character of the Engliſh in the eyes of the natives, had encouraged them to attempt a freſh maſſacre. To this as well as the former, they were excited by the terrible Oppechancanough, a man of uncommon abilities both of body and mind. Without having received any education, except what is common among barbarians, he found in his own genius the art of governing, as well as of commanding. Though it is not certain whether he had any title to hereditary ſway, he had found means to unite a great many tribes in his intereſt, who paid the moſt implicit obedience to his orders, and adored his very name. He complained that the Engliſh, contrary to the faith of treaties, had made ſeveral encroachments upon his territories; and obſerving that they had inconſiderately ſpread themſelves over a vaſt extent of country, without making any proviſion for their defence, he ordered his people to attack the out ſettlements, where they murdered about five hundred perſons, while he himſelf and his attendants cut off thoſe who were ſettled near the place of his reſidence, on York River.

Such

CHAP. VI. A. D. 1642.

Such was the ſtate of Virginia, when Berkley took poſſeſſion of the government. The entire deſtruction of the Indians, or of the Engliſh, ſeemed neceſſary to decide the conteſt. But the new governor, after providing againſt the moſt preſſing dangers, conceived hopes of reſtoring tranquillity by leſs ſanguinary means. As Oppechancanough, though now old and infirm, was the ſoul of the confederacy, he reſolved to ſeize the perſon of that fierce and implacable barbarian, and endeavour to conciliate the affections of the other chiefs. For this purpoſe he put himſelf at the head of a party of horſe, on underſtanding that the hoary chieftain was advancing into the Engliſh territory, and ſurpriſed him in Henrico county. Oppechancanough was carried to James Town, with an intention of ſending him to England; but the brutality of an Engliſh ſoldier ſaved him from that mortification, by baſely ſtabbing him in the back. While under confinement, he behaved with a magnanimity that would have done honour to the greateſt hero of antiquity. Obſerving, one day, when he had occaſion to go abroad, a great number of people, whom curioſity had aſſembled, ſurrounding him with inſulting looks and geſtures, he inquired for the governor. Berkley made no difficulty in appearing. "Had fortune ſo ordered it," ſaid the high-minded barbarian, "that you had fallen into my hands, you ſhould not have become the ſport of a rabble *."

The captivity, and more eſpecially the death of Oppechancanough, was followed by all the ſalutary conſequences which the governor had expected from it. The confederacy was not only broken, but the independent ſpirit of the natives ſeemed to expire with that great man; and Berkley, whoſe temper naturally inclined him to lenity, inſtead of taking advantage of their diſunited ſtate to extirpate them, a meaſure which muſt have obliged them to elect a new leader, wiſely took advantage of their dejection to diſunite them ſtill more, by entering into terms of pacification with the heads of the different tribes. But ſcarce was the tranquillity of the colony reſtored, when the civil wars which preceded the unhappy cataſtrophe of Charles I. and overturned the conſtitution of England, involved Virginia in new troubles. Berkley, who was equally loyal and brave, ſupported the declining cauſe of the crown, and Virginia became the aſylum of the oppreſſed royaliſts. The governor continued to protect them, even after the king's death; but ſome of the inhabitants either bought over, or wearied out with the inconveniencies they had ſuſtained, in conſequence of all intercourſe with the mother-country being prohibited, delivered up the colony to the parliament, at a time when it could have repelled the force ſent againſt it.

Berkley, unable to reſiſt the torrent, retired to his own eſtate, and Cromwell, become protector, appointed one Matthews to the government of Virginia. Nothing remarkable happened during his adminiſtration, or that of his two predeceſſors, after the ſubmiſſion of Sir William Berkley. This gentleman, to whoſe honour it is remarked, that his government was the laſt that acknowledged the uſurper's authority, and the firſt that threw it off, continued to live in retire-

* Hiſt. of Virginia, by a Virginian.

BOOK IV. A. D. 1659.

ment; and ſo grateful a ſenſe had the Virginians of his equitable adminiſtration, that on the death of Matthews, he was invited to reſume the government. But Berkley, far from yielding to ſo flattering a requeſt, declared that he would never hold an employment under any but the lawful heirs of the crown. Such an example of magnanimous loyalty, at a time when there was no proſpect of the reſtoration of the royal family, made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon the coloniſts, that they reſolved to a man to die in maintaining their allegiance to the king. Berkley no longer heſitated to aſſume the reins of government; and Charles II. was proclaimed in Virginia, before any ſtep was taken for his reſtoration in England *.

Happily the death of Cromwell, and the arrival of Charles in his native kingdoms, prevented the Virginians from ſuffering for their loyalty, which muſt otherwiſe have been conſtrued rebellion: but though Berkley was continued in the government, and otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed by particular marks of favour; though part of the king's coronation robes was compoſed of Virginia ſilk, as a particular mark of his affection for the colony, it did not derive that benefit which might have been expected from its early return to duty and allegiance. While the court, on one hand, inconſiderately granted to rapacious favourites, extenſive territories, which included the ſettled property of many obſcure coloniſts, the parliament, on the other, laid exceſſive taxes upon both the exports from and imports to Virginia. This double oppreſſion obſtructed all the reſources, and blaſted all the flattering hopes of the colony; and to complete its misfortunes, the ſavages who had never been ſufficiently humbled, took that opportunity to renew their incurſions.

Such a complication of misfortunes drove the Virginians to deſpair. Berkley, who had ſo long been their idol, was accuſed of wanting fortitude to reſiſt the oppreſſions of the mother country, and activity to repel the irruptions of the ſavages. In this extremity, the eyes of all men were turned towards a young officer of the name of Bacon, full of vivacity, eloquent, intrepid; of an inſinuating diſpoſition, a graceful perſon, and every way qualified to work upon the feelings of men, who were already ſufficiently prepared by their grievances, to liſten to any project that ſeemed to promiſe them relief. They choſe him as their leader againſt the Indians, and marching in a body to James town, obliged
A. D. 1666. the governor to ſign his commiſſion. As ſoon as Bacon had obtained this ſtamp of authority to his proceedings, he withdrew; and Berkley no ſooner found himſelf freed from the threats of the inſurgents, than he revoked Bacon's commiſſion, proclaimed him a traitor, and ordered all his followers to diſperſe. This ſentence, which was raſh and ſevere, brought matters to a criſis. Bacon and his men, who were ready to march againſt the Indians, advanced once more to James Town, where the militia were aſſembled, and all preparations made for the defence of the place. In their march, they treated the governor's friends and adherents as enemies, by deſtroying their plantations; and Berkley, on their ap-

* Ibid.

proach,

proach, finding himſelf too weak to oppoſe them, fled beyond the river Potowmack. CHAP. VI.

This retreat was conſidered by the inſurgents as an abdication of the government, which was conferred upon Bacon, who during ſix months diſpoſed of all things according to his pleaſure. Meanwhile Berkley, who maintained himſelf at the head of a ſmall body of troops which he had aſſembled in Maryland, and of ſuch of the Virginians as adhered to him, had received aſſurances of ſupport from England, and refuſed to make any conceſſions to the rebels. All things ſeemed to threaten a dangerous civil war, when the natural death of Bacon reſtored tranquillity to that colony, which his ambition had almoſt ruined; the eſtates of the loyaliſts being every where waſted, with the moſt deſtructive violence. The malcontents diſcouraged, and diſunited by the loſs of their chief, and intimidated by the accounts of the force that was arriving from England, were induced to ſue for pardon, which was readily granted them by Berkley, though it does not appear that he had any formal authority for that purpoſe. He behaved with more moderation when the rebels were at his feet, than when he was obliged to fly before them: no man ſuffered in his life or eſtate, except during the violence of the diſpute. Mercy inſured obedience; and a regiment of ſoldiers, intended to ſuppreſs the rebellion, kept the Indians in awe *. Since this memorable æra the hiſtory of Virginia is confined to its trade and plantations.—But before we ſpeak of thoſe, it will be proper to give ſome account of the ſettlement of Maryland, which produces entirely the ſame articles with Virginia. A. D. 1676.

We have already ſeen in what manner Sir George Calvert, ſome time principal ſecretary to James I. and afterwards created lord Baltimore, ſought an aſylum in Newfoundland, that he might enjoy the free exerciſe of his religion, which was that of the church of Rome, and alſo how he left that iſland on account of its ſterility. The court was then certainly very little inclined to treat the Catholics with ſeverity; but the laws themſelves, in regard to that ſect, were of a rigorous conſtitution, and the court could not in ſound policy relax them but with great reſerve, as the Puritans continually accuſed the royal family of a deſire of returning to popery. Theſe laws were executed with ſo little mitigation, even after the acceſſion of Charles I. who made greater ſtrides towards popery than his father, that lord Baltimore found it neceſſary to ſeek refuge a ſecond time in the New World. He retired with his family to Virginia, accompanied by a number of zealots of his own perſuaſion. But the Virginians being generally bigots to the church of England, did not uſe him ſo well as he expected: he therefore formed the ſcheme of an independent ſettlement, where he might enjoy liberty of conſcience himſelf, and be enabled to grant it to ſuch of his friends, as ſhould prefer an eaſy baniſhment with freedom, to the conveniencies of England, embittered as they were by the ſharpneſs of the laws, and the popular odium that hung over the papiſts. In this project he was encouraged by the temper of the court, with which he was well acquainted; and obſerving that A. D. 1627.

* Hiſt. Virginia, by a Virginian.

BOOK IV. the Virginia settlers, his new persecutors, had not extended their plantations farther north than Potowmack river, he petitioned for a grant of the vacant lands from the northern bank of that river, and from the bottom of Chesapeak Bay, to the lower counties on the Delawar, then part of New Netherlands *.

Of this territory, extending about an hundred and forty miles in length, and an hundred and thirty in breadth, George lord Baltimore obtained a promise; but he dying before the patent could be made out, it was granted to his son, Cecilius lord Baltimore, in 1632, under the name of Maryland †. Less zealous, as should seem, for the public exercise of his religion, though willing to connect his interests with those of the catholic faith, this young nobleman committed the settlement and the government of Maryland to his brother, Leonard Calvert. The first colony consisted of about two hundred persons, chiefly gentlemen of good condition, and Roman catholics. They arrived at Potowmack river in March 1634; and after ranging the neighbouring country, in search of a convenient station, they settled with the consent of the natives, at an Indian town called Yamaco, near the mouth of the river, to which they gave the name of St. Mary ‡.

This fortunate circumstance was still farther improved by the orderly behaviour of the colonists. Won by their mildness and benevolence, the savages contributed every thing in their power to forward the new establishment. The Indian women taught the English how to make bread of their corn; their men went out to hunt and fish with the settlers; they assisted them in the chace, and sold to them the game that they themselves had taken for a trifling consideration. Every thing, in a word, conspired to promote the prosperity of the infant colony; they had found a sort of town ready built, ground ready cleared for their subsistence, and no enemy to harrass them. But society knows no permanent tranquillity. The Virginians, as if by intuition, became early jealous of a colony, that was one day to become so formidable a rival to their country in commerce, and the chief bar to their opulence, by preventing a monopoly of their common staple, tobacco. They persuaded the Indians, that the people of Maryland had designs upon their liberty, and that they were not Englishmen, but Spaniards. The name of Spaniard is justly odious to an American: the Indians were alarmed; suspicion took place of confidence, enmity of affection; and the most inoffensive manners, accompanied with the greatest vigilance and precaution, only could have saved the settlers at St. Mary's from total ruin. They built a fort with the utmost expedition, and took every other necessary measure for their defence, at the same time that they continued to treat the Indians with all possible kindness and respect; so that partly by the awe of their arms, and partly by the returning confidence of the natives, all the machinations of their enemies were defeated.

* Douglass, part II sect. xv.

† This name was given to it by the king, on signing the patent, in honour of his consort, Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. of France.

‡ Douglass, part II. sect. xv.

Thus

CHAP. VI.

Thus ſecure in itſelf, the colony of Maryland was daily receiving acceſſions from abroad. As the Roman Catholics in England were more ſeverely perſecuted, in proportion as the intereſt of the court party declined, numbers conſtantly reſorted to their brethren at St. Mary's; and the lord proprietor omitted no care, nor withheld any expence, that could ſupport the old, or encourage the eſtabliſhment of new ſettlements, until the uſurpation overturned the government in England, and deprived him of his rights in America. Maryland remained under the governors appointed by the parliament and by Cromwell, till the reſtoration; when Charles lord Baltimore, ſon of Cecilius *, was reinſtated in the A. D. 1661. poſſeſſions of his father, which he ſuperintended in perſon, and cultivated with the ſame wiſdom, care, and moderation. No people could live in greater eaſe and ſecurity than thoſe of Maryland; and his lordſhip willing that as many perſons as poſſible might enjoy the benefit of his mild and equitable adminiſtration, gave his conſent to an act of aſſembly, which had originated from his own motion, A. D. 1664. for allowing perfect liberty of conſcience to all who profeſſed the Chriſtian religion, of whatever denomination.

In conſequence of this unlimited toleration, which was never violated in the ſmalleſt inſtance, a great number of people not only of the church of England perſuaſion, but Preſbyterians, Quakers, and all kinds of diſſenters, were encouraged to ſettle in Maryland, which hitherto had been almoſt entirely occupied by Roman catholics. But lord Baltimore, though guilty of no mal-adminiſtration, though the very model of a wiſe and virtuous governor, zealouſly devoted to the Romiſh communion, and attached to the houſe of Stuart, had the mortification to find the legality of his charter called in queſtion during the arbitrary reign of James II. and of being obliged to maintain an action at law for the property and juriſdiction of a province which had been formally ceded to his family by the crown, and which he himſelf and his father had peopled at a vaſt expence. This ungenerous attempt, which proved abortive, did not, however, ſhake the fidelity of lord Baltimore; yet the weak and deſpotic James, whoſe misfortune it was neither to know his friends nor his enemies, and to think that the royal authority, ſet up for the protection of the people, was ſufficient to juſtify every act of violence towards all claſſes of men, was preparing a ſecond time to deprive that nobleman of his inheritance, when he himſelf was deprived of a crown which he was unworthy to wear.

On the revolution in 1688, lord Baltimore had no reaſon to expect any favour from king William; but he met with more than James, though a brother catholic, intended him. William terminated the diſpute between that nobleman and his predeceſſor, in a manner worthy of his political character: he left the Baltimore family in poſſeſſion of their territorial revenues, but deprived them of their juriſdiction; and that they alſo recovered, on conforming to the eſtabliſhed religion, with as ample privileges as the crown has thought fit that any proprietor ſhould enjoy. The province, which is at preſent ſuppoſed to contain

* Douglaſs, ubi ſup.

fifty

BOOK IV.

fifty thouſand white people, and ſeventy thouſand blacks, is under the direction of a governor and council apointed by the proprietor, four repreſentatives from each of the fourteen counties, and four from the capital, or provincial town *. The proprietor, like the king in the royal governments, has a negative voice in all acts paſſed by the general aſſembly.

If Maryland were reunited to Virginia, as their common intereſt ſeems to require, little difference could be found between the climate, ſoil, or produce of the two colonies. They are ſituated between Penſylvania and Carolina, and occupy the great ſpace that extends from the ſea to the Allegany and Apalachian mountains. What is properly called Virginia, is bounded on the north by the river Potowmack; on the eaſt, by the bay of Cheſapeak; on the ſouth, by Carolina; and is two hundred and forty miles in length, and about two hundred in breadth. The air, which is damp on the coaſt, becomes light, pure, and ſubtle, on approaching the mountains. The ſpring and autumnal months are of an excellent temperature: in ſummer there are ſome days exceſſively hot, and in winter ſome extremely cold; but neither of theſe exceſſes laſt above a week at a time. The moſt diſagreeable circumſtance in the climate is the abundance of noxious inſects which it produces, like all the more ſoutherly parts of America. In balance of this inconvenience, however, the fields are naturally covered almoſt the whole year with a prodigious number of flowers and flowering ſhrubs, of colours ſo rich and various, and of a ſcent ſo fragrant, as is not perhaps to be equalled in any ſpot upon the face of the earth. The ſame gaiety ſeems alſo to extend itſelf to the winged tribe. The white owl of Virginia is far larger than ours, and is all over of a bright ſilver-coloured plumage, except one black ſpot upon his breaſt; and the Virginia nightingale, whoſe feathers are crimſon and blue, is acknowledged to be one of the moſt beautiful birds in nature. But there is another bird, the ſmalleſt of all the feathered creation, common if not peculiar to Virginia, which is yet more beautiful, and ſufficiently ſingular to merit a particular deſcription; namely, the *Humming Bird*. Its beak is long and pointed, like a needle, and its claws are not thicker than a common pin. On its head it has a black tuft of incomparable beauty. Its breaſt is of a roſe colour, approaching to ſcarlet, and its belly is white as milk. The back, wings, and tail are grey, bordered with ſilver, and ſtreaked with the brighteſt gold. The down which covers all its plumage, gives it ſo delicate an appearance, that it reſembles a velvet flower, whoſe beauty fades on the ſlighteſt touch. This charming bird lives entirely on the dew of flowers, fluttering continually from one to another, like a bee. Its flight produces a buzzing noiſe, reſembling that of a ſpinning-wheel. When tired, it lights upon the neareſt tree or buſh; reſts a few minutes, and flies again to the flowers. Who could imagine that ſo delicate a creature could be paſſionate and quarrelſome? Theſe birds are often ſeen fighting together with great fury and obſtinacy. The ſtrokes which they give with their beak are ſo ſudden and

* Douglaſs's Summary, part II. ſect. xv.

quick, that they are not diſtinguiſhable by the eye; and their wings move with ſo much agility, that they ſeem not to move at all.

All the domeſtic animals of Europe multiply prodigiouſly in Virginia and Maryland, and all ſorts of fruits, trees, and vegetables thrive there remarkably well. They produce the beſt wheat in all America. The ſoil, which is rich and fertile in the low lands, becomes more light and ſandy on advancing up the country, but is ſtill of a warm and generous nature as far as the Apalachian mountains. From theſe mountains flow an incredible number of large rivers, moſt of which are ſeparated from each other only by an interval of five or ſix miles. Beſides the fertility that their waters impart to the immenſe territory through which they paſs, they alſo make it infinitely more convenient for trade than any other part of the New World; and indeed than any country in the univerſe, where the communication has not been facilitated by artificial canals.

Moſt of thoſe rivers afford a very extenſive navigation for merchant ſhips, and ſome of them even for men of war. The Potowmack, for example, is navigable for near two hundred miles; the James, the York, and the Rappahannock, for upwards of eighty; and though the navigation on the other rivers varies, according as the cataracts are more or leſs diſtant from their mouths, they have ſo many creeks, and receive ſuch a number of ſmaller ſtreams, that water carriage is almoſt every where practicable, and the country is interſected in a manner that contributes equally to beauty and utility. All theſe navigable canals, formed by nature, meet in the bay of Cheſapeak, which reaches above two hundred miles within land, and is from ſeven to eighteen miles in breadth. It has between eight and nine fathom of water, both at its entrance and through its whole extent; and though it is full of ſmall iſlands, moſt of which are covered with wood, it is by no means dangerous, but affords a ſafe and commodious harbour, where all the ſhips in the world might ride with eaſe.

An advantage ſo extraordinary, which is common to Virginia and Maryland, has prevented the forming of any large towns in either of thoſe colonies. The planters, ſenſible that the ſhips could come up to their warehouſes, and that they might embark their commodities without going from their own doors, have diſperſed themſelves on the banks of the ſeveral rivers. In this ſituation, they found all the pleaſures of rural life, united to all the affluence that is brought into cities by trade; they found the facility of extending cultivation in a country that has no bounds, together with every aſſiſtance which the labours of agriculture receive from commerce. But the mother-country ſuffered a double inconvenience from this diſperſion of the coloniſts; becauſe her ſailors being obliged to collect their cargoes from theſe ſcattered habitations, were neceſſarily longer abſent, and becauſe her ſhips were expoſed to injury from the dangerous inſects, which, during the months of June and July, infeſt all the rivers in the more ſouthern parts of North America. Different attempts have therefore been made by government, in order to engage the coloniſts to eſtabliſh marts for the reception of their commodities: but the conſtraints of law have not proved more effectual than perſuaſion; and after all, it may be queſtioned, whether population and agricul-

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ture would not have loſt more, than commerce would have gained by a combined ſociety.

But be that as it may, it is certain that there are only two towns of any note in the two colonies; and even theſe, which are the ſeat of government, are of no great importance. Williamſburg, the capital of Virginia, and Annapolis, the provincial town of Maryland, the one raiſed on the ruins of James Town, the other on thoſe of St. Mary, are neither of them ſuperior to an Engliſh village of the ſecond rate. The college of Williamſburg, however, the town-houſe, and the church, are three of the fineſt buildings in Britiſh America; and Annapolis is well conſtructed, and pleaſantly ſituated on the banks of the river Severn.

Even the want of towns, the conſequence of the conveniency of navigation, has been attended, as is the caſe in all human affairs, with a mixture of good and evil. The multiplicity of habitations, at the ſame time that it prevented the cities from becoming populous, has alſo prevented any artiſts or manufacturers from being formed either in Maryland or Virginia. This is a good to the mother-country. With all the materials neceſſary to ſupply moſt of their wants, and even to furniſh ſeveral of their ſuperfluities, they are ſtill obliged to import from Europe their cloths, ſilks, linens, hats, hardware, cabinet-work, and even furniture of the moſt ordinary kind. Theſe numerous and general expences, together with their luxurious manner of living, have prevented the inhabitants from arriving at that degree of opulence which they muſt otherwiſe have attained, in conſequence of their various and lucrative exports; corn, cattle, hemp, flax, hides, furs, walnut and cedar plank, but eſpecially tobacco.

This is an aboriginal American plant or herb, and was every where in uſe among the natives before the arrival of the Europeans. When at its full growth, it is about the height of an ordinary man. The ſtalk is ſtraight, hairy, and viſcous; the leaves alternate, thick, flabby, and of a yellowiſh green colour. They are larger at the bottom than towards the ſummit of the plant, which requires a rich, deep, and binding ſoil. The culture is in the following manner.—The ſeeds of the tobacco are ſown upon beds of fine mould. When it has grown to the height of two inches, and has got at leaſt half a dozen leaves, it is gently pulled up in damp weather, and tranſplanted into a ground diſpoſed into little hillocks, like an hop-garden, where the plants are commonly placed at the diſtance of three feet from each other. The tobacco now requires continual attention. The weeds which grow round it muſt be carefully plucked up; when it approaches to its full ſize, it muſt be topt, in order to prevent it from growing too high; it muſt be ſtript of all ſprouting ſuckers; the leaves which grow too near the bottom of the ſtalk, thoſe that are in the leaſt inclined to decay, and thoſe which the inſects have hurt, muſt all be picked off, and the whole number reduced to ten or twelve at moſt.

The tobacco is allowed to remain about four months in the ground, after the tranſplantation, which is commonly made in May. As it advances towards maturity, the light green of the leaves is changed into a kind of ſpeckled brown; they

they alſo become curved; their ſcent grows ſtronger, and is felt at a great diſtance. The plants are then ripe, and muſt be cut. When collected, they are laid in heaps upon the ſame ground that produced them, to ſweat for one night; next day they are carried to warehouſes, conſtructed in ſuch a manner, that the air may have free acceſs to them on all ſides. There they are left ſeparately ſuſpended as long a time as is neceſſary to dry them properly; then they are ſpread upon hurdles, and well covered over; in which ſtate they are allowed to remain a week or two, in order to ferment. At laſt the plants are ſtript of their leaves, which are either made up in hogſheads, or formed into rolls.

Of all the countries in which tobacco has been planted, either in the Old or New World, there is none where it has anſwered ſo well as in Virginia and Maryland. As it was the ſole object of the firſt planters, they often cultivated more than they could find ſale for, and were by that means reduced to the greateſt inconveniencies; but the uſe of this herb has long been ſo general, that they have been obliged to increaſe the number both of the whites and blacks employed in the culture of it. The number of white people in Virginia is computed at ſeventy thouſand, and that of the blacks at an hundred thouſand. The population of Maryland is little inferior: it cannot contain leſs, as already obſerved, than fifty thouſand whites, and ſeventy thouſand blacks. The quantity of tobacco which the two colonies raiſe is nearly in proportion to their population: the produce of Virginia, eſtimated at a medium, for the laſt five years before the preſent troubles, amounted to about ſixty thouſand hogſheads, of eight or nine hundred weight each, and that of Maryland to about forty thouſand.

Naturaliſts diſtinguiſh various kinds of tobacco, but merchants only two; namely, Aranokoe, from Maryland and the northern parts of Virginia; and *ſweet-ſcented*, from the ſouthern parts of Virginia, but more particularly from York and James rivers *. The ſweet-ſcented is by much the deareſt, and is chiefly conſumed in England and the ſouthern countries of Europe. The Aranokoe, which is ſtrong and hot in the mouth, in ſmoking, ſells very well, however, in the markets of Holland, Germany, and the other northern countries, where it is even prized on account of its coarſeneſs, which fits it for leſs delicate organs.

The tobacco trade employed about three hundred ſhips, moſt of which belonged to the mother country; the two colonies received near a million ſterling for their produce; the revenue was benefited to the amount of at leaſt ſix hundred thouſand pounds, by the duties on the tobacco conſumed in the Britiſh dominions; and an export of two thirds of the original quantity, returned an immenſe ſum to England, which repaid the whole with its manufactures. The interruption of this trade is now ſeverely felt, by our merchants as well as our miniſters, and the total loſs of it muſt inflict a deep wound in the national proſ-

* The difference ſeems to ariſe merely from the ſoil. The ſweet-ſcented, which is produced in ſandy lands, is beſt for ſmoking when new, or only from two to three years old; but the Aranokoe, or that from ſtiff land, if kept five or ſix years, much exceeds the former. Douglaſs, part II. ſect. xv.

perity

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perity. But Great Britain can never ſuffer more, ſhould ſhe even be obliged to purchaſe her tobacco from foreigners, inſtead of enjoying the ſuperlative advantage of monopolizing ſo lucrative a branch of commerce, than Virginia and Maryland at preſent ſuſtain, by being deprived of a ready and ſecure market for their ſtaple commodity. Nor does Carolina ſuffer leſs by a conteſt, equally ruinous to the colonies and the mother-country.

CHAP. VII.

Account of Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.

CAROLINA, which is bounded on the north by Virginia, on the ſouth by Georgia, on the weſt by the Miſſiſippi, and on the eaſt by the Atlantic ocean, is near five hundred miles in length, and about three hundred in breadth. The Engliſh found their right to it on the diſcovery of John Cabot, and it was long conſidered as a part of *South Virginia*. The Spaniards in conſequence of ſubſequent diſcoveries, comprehended it in their Florida; and the French proteſtants, as we have already ſeen, attempted to eſtabliſh themſelves in this country, under the patronage of the celebrated admiral de Coligny. The firſt attempts of the Engliſh to ſettle in America, under the auſpices of Sir Walter Raleigh, were alſo made, as we have had occaſion to notice, in the bay of Roanokoe in the ſame country. But all theſe different undertakings failed; and by an unaccountable caprice, while leſs fertile regions were cultivated with ardour, there was not a ſingle European ſettled in Carolina in 1660, when Charles II. made a grant of that extenſive and rich territory to the earl of Clarendon, the duke of Albemarle, the lords Craven, Berkley, and Aſhley, afterwards earl of Shaftesbury, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkley, and Sir George Colleton.

The plan of government for this new colony was drawn by the famous Mr. Locke, under the eye of the noble author of the *Characteriſtics*, his friend and patron, lord Aſhley. Theſe two philoſophers, who were alike friends to mankind, and to that moderation and juſtice which ought to be the rule of their actions, made univerſal toleration the baſis of their legiſlation; but not daring openly to attack the prejudices of the times, motives of religion and humanity were ſubſtituted, in place of argument, for the moſt reaſonable and ſalutary of all political maxims. It was therefore obſerved in the following words, no leſs ſoothing than artful, "That ſince the natives of Carolina are utter ſtrangers to Chriſtianity, but whole idolatry, ignorance, or miſtake, give us no right to expel or uſe them ill; and as thoſe who remove from other parts to plant there, will unavoidably be of different opinions concerning matters of religion, the liberty whereof they will expect to have allowed them, and it will not be reaſonable for us on that account to keep them out; therefore, that ſure peace may be maintained amid the diverſity


95
90
Osages
Osages R.
Marameg R.
ILLINOIS
Sioux R.
Arkansas R.
White R.
Red R. Fran.s
Mississipi River
Canjouis
ARKANSAS
Red R.
Pekinimaha
Cahinoa
Akansas
Yasous R.
Ox R.
Black R.
Nacaches
Natchitoches
Tasinsas
CHACTAS
Adayes
Rd. Rosalia R.
Red R.
WEST
Chetimachas
Cape
North
Woods Bay
Mouths of the Missisipi
GULF OF ME
90 Degrees of Longitu


An Exact Map
of
NEW JERSEY, PENSYLVANIA,
NEW YORK,
MARYLAND & VIRGINIA,
from the latest
Surveys.
British Statue Miles.
PENSYLVANIA
NEW JERSEY
MARYLAND
VIRGINIA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Long Island
DELAWAR BAY
CHESAPEAK BAY
PHILADELPHIA
Baltimore
Fredericksburg
Cape May
Cape Henlopen
Cape Charles
Cape Henry
Rehoboth Bay
Fenwicks Lete
Sinepuxhen
Chingoteque
Matompeak
Parramore Island
Reeves Island
Matchapungo Island
Hog Island Inlet
Rack Island Inlet
Rack Island
Mochen Island
Smiths Island
Pocomoke R.
Matomkin
Point Lookout
Tangier Sound
Somerset
Worcester
Accomack
Northampton
Sussex
Kent
Cecil
Queen Anne
Talbot
Dorchester
Caroline
Delaware
Chester
Lancaster
York
Cumberland
Franklin
Bedford
Northumberland
Berks
Montgomery
Bucks
Philadelphia
Burlington
Monmouth
Ocean
Gloucester
Salem
Cumberland
Cape May
Atlantic
Hunterdon
Somerset
Middlesex
Essex
Morris
Sussex
Warren
Amboy
Trenton
Brunswick
Princeton
Elizabeth Town
Newark
Staten Island
Sandy Hook
Navesink Hills
Shrewsbury
Shark R.
Squan R.
Barnegat Inlet
Barnegat Beach
Little Egg Harbour
Great Egg Harbour
Hereon Beach
Ludlows Beach
7 Mile Beach
Gold Spring
Whorekill Road
Lewes
Indian Cedar Swamp
Snow hill
Pocomoke R.
Matomkin
Indian Creek
Windmill Pt
Stingray Pt
Plankbank River
Hooper Island
Tangier Island
Watkins Point
Annapolis
Queens Town
Oxford
Choptank R.
Nanticoke R.
Wicomico R.
Patapsco R.
Patuxent R.
Potomack R.
Rappahannock R.
York River
James River
Elizabeth River
Norfolk
Portsmouth
Hampton
Williamsburg
Newcastle
Delaware
Susquehanna R.
Allegany Mountains
West Branch of the Susquehanna
Wyoming Falls
Nescopeke
Shamokin
Mackeys Hill
Shamokin Falls
Armstrongs Tuscarora Mountain Hill
Kittatinny Mountains
Carlisle
Harrisburg
Middletown
Lancaster
Reading
Pottsgrove
Pottstown
Norristown
Germantown
Trenton
Burlington
Bordentown
Princeton
Brunswick
Amboy
Staten Island
Long Island
Hempstead Harbour
Oyster Bay
Hunnington
Brookhaven
Bryam River
Rye
New York
Hudsons River
Delaware River
Susquehanna River
Potomack River
Rappahannock River
York River
James River
Chesapeak Bay
Delaware Bay
Atlantic Ocean
Frankstown
Reys Town
Shippensburg
Conewago R.
Williams Ferry
Monocacy River
Patapsco River
Falls
Baltimore
Annapolis
Queens Town
Oxford
Choptank R.
Nanticoke R.
Wicomico R.

of opinions, and that our agreement or compact with all men may be duly and faithfully obſerved, the violation of which, on what pretence ſoever, cannot be without great offence to Almighty God, and great ſcandal to the true religion which we profeſs; and alſo that Jews, Heathens, and other diſſenters from the purity of the Chriſtian religion, may not be ſcared, and kept at a diſtance from it; but by having an opportunity of acquainting themſelves with the truth and reaſonableneſs of its doctrines, and the peaceableneſs and inoffenſiveneſs of its profeſſors, may by good uſage and perſuaſion, and all thoſe convincing methods of gentleneſs and meekneſs, ſuitable to the rules and deſigns of the goſpel, be won over to embrace, and unfeignedly receive the truth:"—for theſe reaſons liberty of conſcience was ſecured to them, but with this reſervation; that "no perſon above ſeventeen years of age ſhall have any benefit or protection of the law, who is not a member of ſome church or profeſſion, having his name inſerted in ſome religious records."

In conſequence of this extenſive toleration, Carolina was rapidly peopled by diſſenters, who were at that time labouring under great inconveniencies from the act of uniformity, in the mother-country. But unfortunately for the infant colony, the civil code, by a ſingularity not to be accounted for in Engliſhmen and philoſophers, was by no means ſo favourable to the liberties of mankind, as its eccleſiaſtical conſtitution. It gave to the eight proprietors, and to their heirs, not only all the rights of a monarch, but alſo, in a great meaſure, thoſe of legiſlators. The court, compoſed of this ſovereign body, or their delegates, and which was called the *Palatine Court*, was inveſted with the right of nominating to all employments and dignities, and even with that of conferring nobility, but under new and ſingular titles. They were to create for example in each county, two Caziques, each of whom was to be poſſeſſed of ſix thouſand acres of land, and one Landgrave, who was to have twenty-four thouſand. The perſons on whom theſe honours ſhould be conferred, were to compoſe the *upper houſe* of aſſembly, and their poſſeſſions were to be made unalienable; a circumſtance totally inconſiſtent with ſound policy. They had a right, however, to let out a third part of their eſtate for three lives, in order to raiſe portions for younger children. The *lower houſe* was compoſed of the deputies from the ſeveral counties and towns. Over the whole preſided the palatine, or governor; who, in conjunction with his council, had the power of ordering all the inhabitants to take up arms, on the ſhorteſt notice.

The defects of a conſtitution, too complicated for an infant eſtabliſhment, and in which the powers of the ſtate were ſo unequally divided, began ſoon to be diſcerned. The greater part of the proprietary lords, influenced by deſpotic principles, uſed every endeavour to eſtabliſh an arbitrary government: the coloniſts, on the other hand, not ignorant of the natural rights of mankind, exerted themſelves with equal zeal to avoid ſervitude; and from this ſtruggle of oppoſite intereſts aroſe an inevitable confuſion, which put a ſtop to every uſeful exertion of induſtry. The whole province, diſtracted with quarrels, diſſentions, and tumults, was incapable of making any progreſs in cultivation, though great im-

provements had been expected from the peculiar advantages of its ſituation. Nor were theſe evils ſufficient to procure from the proprietors redreſs; which, at length, aroſe only from the exceſs of the evils themſelves.

Lord Granville, who was palatine of Carolina in 1705, formed the reſolution of obliging all the non-conformiſts, who compoſed more than two thirds of the people, to embrace the forms of worſhip eſtabliſhed in England, under penalty of being deprived of their civil privileges. This act of violence, though diſavowed and rejected by the mother-country, inflamed the minds of the people; and in 1720, while that animoſity was ſtill ſubſiſting, the province was attacked by ſeveral bands of ſavages, driven to deſpair, by a continued courſe of the moſt atrocious inſults and outrages. Theſe unhappy men, however, were vanquiſhed in their purſuit of vengeance, and moſtly cut off: but the relief which this triumph procured the coloniſts, ſerved only as a prelude to the fall of their oppreſſors, inſtead of ſtrengthening their authority. The proprietors, who had refuſed to contribute to the expences of an expedition, the immediate benefit of which they claimed to themſelves, were conſtrained to ſurrender their rights to the Britiſh parliament, in order to prevent the total ruin of a colony, which they had never known how to govern. Lord Carteret only retained his eighth ſhare in the property, which comprehends an immenſe tract in the northern part of the province; the reſt, making a virtue of neceſſity, accepted of the trifling equivalent, of twenty-five thouſand pounds, both for the property and juriſdiction.

This revolution happened in the year 1728; when, for the more commodious adminiſtration of affairs, the province was divided into two governments, under the names of North and South Carolina. The conſtitution of the colony was at the ſame time rendered ſimilar to that of Virginia, and the other colonies under the juriſdiction of the crown. Peace was ſoon after eſtabliſhed with all the neighbouring nations of Indians; with the Cherokees, the Creeks, and the Cataubas. From this æra, and not earlier, we muſt date the true proſperity of Carolina; which being ſecure from abroad, and no longer diſturbed by inteſtine quarrels, has ſince continued to advance, with aſtoniſhing rapidity in trade, population, and improvement.

There is not perhaps, in all the New World, a climate equal to that of Carolina. Spring and autumn, the two ſeaſons which in moſt countries only moderate the exceſs of thoſe which they follow and precede, are here truly delightful. The heats of the ſummer are not exceſſive, and the cold of the winter is only felt in the mornings and evenings. The fogs, which are unavoidable on a coaſt of any length, are commonly diſperſed before the middle of the day; but on the other hand, here as in almoſt every part of North America, the changes of weather are ſo ſudden and violent, as to oblige the inhabitants to obſerve a regularity in their diet and dreſs, which would be unneceſſary in the ſame latitudes, on the old continent. Another inconvenience peculiar to this part of the new continent, is that of being expoſed to hurricanes, though leſs frequent and violent than in the iſlands; and Carolina, towards the Atlantic, is deſtitute of that

that beauty which reſults from a certain degree of irregularity of ſurface, and is eſſential to a proper variety in the diſpoſition of natural objects. A vaſt melancholy, and uniform plain, extends from the ſea ſhore four ſcore or an hundred miles within land. At this diſtance the country begins to riſe, and further on affords a more pleaſing proſpect, as well as a purer and drier air.

The whole territory, on the arrival of the Engliſh, was one immenſe foreſt, reaching as far as the Apalachian mountains. It conſiſted chiefly of large trees, growing as chance had ſown their ſeeds, without order or deſign, at unequal diſtances, and not encumbered with underwood; on which account more land could be cleared in Carolina in a week, than in England in a month. The ſoil is various. On the coaſt and near the mouths of the rivers which fall into the ſea, it is frequently covered either with uſeleſs and unhealthy moraſſes, or compoſed of a pale light ſandy earth, which produces nothing: it is extremely barren in one part, and in another, eſpecially among the numberleſs ſtreams that interſect the country, it is remarkably fertile. Even at a conſiderable diſtance from the coaſts, there are found large tracts of white land, covered entirely with pines. Theſe are called *pine-barrens*, and reputed the worſt land in the province; yet this baſe ſpecies of land is favourable to the culture of one of the kinds of indigo, produces tolerable crops of maize, and when it lies low, ſo as to be flooded, anſwers well for rice. Even the pines turn to conſiderable account in the production of tar and turpentine; but the land is ſtill more rich, where the trees are more valuable. The grounds which bear the oak, the walnut, and the hickery, is a dark ſand intermixed with loam, and will yield the greateſt crops for many years, without any manure. Towards the mountains and riſing grounds, in the interior part of the country, theſe varieties are leſs obſervable: there the land is every where rich, and fitted for all the purpoſes of human life.

Nor is the ſoil of Carolina leſs adapted to grazing than agriculture. Thouſands of horned cattle are bred here, which go out in the morning without a herdſman to feed in the woods and wilds, and return home at night of their own accord. This domeſtic regularity is the effect of ſociability and natural affection. The calves are kept in fenced paſtures; and the cows called back by a deſire to viſit their young, bring along with them the reſt of the herd. The hogs range in the ſame manner, and return like the cattle, by having ſhelter and ſome food provided for them at the plantation. The ſheep are leſs plenty than the black cattle and hogs, neither is their fleſh equally good, and their wool is very coarſe. The beef is not contemptible, though much inferior to that of England, and the pork is the fineſt in the world.

Though South Carolina, beſides eſtabliſhing a conſiderable barter-trade with ſavages for furs, hath acquired a manufacture of linens by means of ſome French refugees, and invented a new kind of ſtuff by mixing the ſilk it produces with its wool, yet its progreſs is chiefly to be attributed to the produce of rice and indigo. The firſt of theſe articles is ſaid to have been brought there by accident: a ſhip, on her return from India, ran aground on the coaſt. She was partly laden with rice; which being thrown on ſhore by the waves, grew up, and

BOOK IV. flouriſhed without culture. This unexpected good fortune led the coloniſts to attempt the cultivation of a commodity, which the ſoil itſelf ſeemed to invite them to raiſe. Their ſucceſs however, was long inconſiderable by reaſon of their being obliged to ſend their crops directly to the mother-country, even when they were to be again reſhipped for the markets of Spain and Portugal. The charges incident on this regulation were ſo great, and the price ſo moderate, that the cultivation of rice hardly repaid the expences of the planter; but ſince the year 1730, when the parliament relaxed the act of navigation, and permitted rice to be ſent directly to any port to the ſouthward of Cape Finiſterre, the growth of the commodity has been more than doubled, though indigo has been added to the exports of Carolina

They cultivate three ſorts of indigo in this province; and theſe demand the ſame variety of ſoils. The French, or Hiſpaniola indigo, will only flouriſh in a deep rich ſoil; and therefore, though an excellent ſort, is little cultivated in the maritime parts of Carolina, which, as already obſerved, are generally ſandy. No part in the known world, however, is more fit to produce it than the ſame country, an hundred miles backwards; but there too it is neglected on another account: it hardly bears ſo ſharp a winter as that of the interior parts of Carolina. The ſecond ſort, which is the falſe Guatimala or true Bahama, bears the winter better; is a more tall and vigorous plant; yields a greater quantity of dye from the ſame compaſs of ground; is contented with the worſt ſoil in the province, and is therefore more cultivated than the former, though inferior in quality. The third ſort is the wild indigo, which is indigenous here. This, as it is a native of the country, anſwers the purpoſes of the planter better than any other; whether he regards the hardineſs of the plant, the eaſineſs of the culture, or the quantity of the produce.

With reſpect to the quality, the planters are not perfectly agreed among themſelves: they cannot yet diſtinctly tell, when the faults of the indigo are to be attributed to the nature of the plant, when to the ſeaſons, which have much influence upon it, or when to ſome defect in the manufacture. One thing, however, is certain, that the indigo of Carolina ſcarce bears half the price of the Guatimala, and is ſold much cheaper than that of Hiſpaniola; but the Engliſh coloniſts, notwithſtanding this diſadvantage, need only peace and induſtry to ſupplant both the French and Spaniards in every market. The goodneſs of their climate, the extent of their lands, the plenty and cheapneſs of their proviſions; the opportunity of ſuplying themſelves with utenſils, and of procuring ſlaves: every thing, in a word, conſpires to flatter them with the hope, that, as their country is the pleaſanteſt and moſt fertile, it will alſo become the richeſt part of the Britiſh dominions.

Nor are the people of North Carolina leſs ſanguine in their expectations. Though this is the country of which the Engliſh firſt took poſſeſſion in the name of Elizabeth, and one of the fineſt territories in North America, whether we regard the climate or the ſoil, it was very late in being ſettled. But in proportion as the lands in the neighbouring colonies became more ſcarce, thoſe who

who were not able to purchaſe them, or could not find a convenient ſtation vacant, betook themſelves to a country where they could get lands without purchaſe, and in any ſituation that a romantic imagination could ſuggeſt, or an irregular fancy deſire. Refugees and adventurers of other kinds availed themſelves of the ſame reſource. Order and property were eſtabliſhed at the ſame time; and this colony with fewer advantages than South Carolina, obtained a greater proportion of European inhabitants.

The firſt people whom chance diſperſed along the coaſts of this uncultivated region, confined themſelves to the breeding of cattle and the cutting of wood, which were taken off their hands by the New England traders. At length, beſides wood, they contrived to make the pine-tree yield them tar and turpentine. The turpentine is drawn ſimply from inciſions made in the tree, from as great an height as a man can reach with a hatchet, and which meet in a point at the bottom, where they pour their contents into a veſſel placed to receive them. This is the whole proceſs. Tar requires a more troubleſome apparatus. A circular floor of clay is prepared declining a little toward the centre, and from this is laid a pipe of wood, the upper part of which is even with the floor, and reaches ten feet without the circumference. Under the end of the pipe the earth is dug away, and barrels placed to receive the tar as it runs. On the floor they piled up a large quantity of pine wood, ſplit in pieces, and ſurrounded by a wall of earth, leaving only a ſmall aperture at the top, where fire is firſt ſet to it. When the wood begins to burn, this opening alſo is covered, in order to prevent the pine from being too quickly conſumed: a ſufficient heat is only left to make the reſin diſtill copiouſly, without being exhauſted by the force of the fire. The heat is tempered at pleaſure, by running a ſtake into the wall of clay, and giving it air, or confining it more, as occaſion ſhall require.

Tar is converted into pitch by boiling it in large iron kettles ſet in furnaces, or by burning it in clay pits, dug in the earth, and hardened for the purpoſe. But though the quantity of pitch, tar, and turpentine, made in North Carolina, is very conſiderable, it was found inſufficient for the maintenance of the inhabitants, even when exchanged to the beſt advantage; they therefore proceeded to the culture of grain, and for a long time were contented with maize, as their neighbours in South Carolina were firſt obliged to be, as wheat was there not only ſubject to mildew, but found to exhauſt itſelf in ſtraw. This at leaſt was, and ſtill in ſome meaſure is the caſe of all the land near the ſea-coaſt; but ſeveral experiments having proved to the inhabitants of North Carolina, that their territory did not expoſe them to the ſame inconveniency, they ſucceeded ſo far in the cultivation of wheat, that they were even able to furniſh a conſiderable exportation. Rice and indigo have been lately introduced into this colony, in order to join the harveſts of Africa to thoſe of America, and the commodities of Aſia to thoſe of Europe. But the preſent troubles, by obſtructing exportation, have unhappily given a ſevere check to theſe valuable cultures, while yet in their infancy, and conſequently a fatal blow to the future proſperity of North Carolina.

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Great things, however, muſt ſtill be expected from a territory ſo extenſive and fertile, one twentieth part of which is not yet cleared, as ſoon as the inhabitants ſhall return to a ſenſe of their duty, and the diſturbances in the neighbouring colonies ceaſe. The only obſtruction to the improvement of Carolina, in ſuch event, will be the want of a commodious inland navigation: for of ten navigable rivers that water the two provinces of which it is at preſent compoſed, none of them will admit veſſels higher than ſixty miles by reaſon of certain impracticable falls; and the mouths of the rivers in North Carolina do not admit veſſels above ſeventy or eighty tons burden, except one at Cape Fear; ſo that larger veſſels are obliged to lie off in a ſound called Ocacock, which is formed between ſome iſlands and the continent. By reaſon of this inconvenience, North Carolina has properly no town or harbour; Edenton, the ancient capital, being only an inconſiderable village; and that which has been built on the river Neus, in order to ſupply its place, is of little more conſequence. The largeſt and moſt valuable part of its exports are therefore conveyed to Charles Town, the capital of South Carolina.

This town is admirably ſituated at the confluence of two navigable rivers, Aſhley and Cooper, and is ſurrounded by the moſt beautiful plantations in the colony, of which it is the centre. It is one of the largeſt, the beſt built, and by much the gayeſt city in Britiſh America. All the luxuries of life may there be enjoyed among a lively and polite people. It conſiſts of about twelve hundred houſes, and may contain about twelve thouſand inhabitants, of all characters and conditions. It is regularly, and pretty ſtrongly fortified, both by nature and art. But the diſadvantage which Charles Town labours under, in not being able to admit into its harbour ſhips of above two hundred tons burden, will in all probability make it loſe its preſent ſplendour. It will likely be deſerted for Port Royal, on the ſouthern confines of the province, which can admit veſſels of all ſizes, and in any number. There a ſettlement has already been formed, named Beaufort, which promiſes to be the firſt trading town in this part of America. Beſides the productions of North and South Carolina, that will partly be ſent to its market, it will alſo receive thoſe of Georgia, to which it is contiguous.

The Britiſh miniſtry obſerving, in 1732, that a large tract of land, on the ſouthern confines of Carolina, and included within the original grant of Charles II. lay waſte and unoccupied, reſolved to erect it into a ſeparate province; and a plan was formed for making it ſubſervient to many beneficial purpoſes. It was expected to prove a barrier againſt the Spaniards and Indians, as well as nurſery for raiſing wine, oil, and ſilk. The name of Georgia, in honour of the king, was accordingly given to the whole territory, which was veſted in truſtees for the term of twenty one years, at the end of which the property in chief was to revert to the crown. This country, which lies between the rivers Savannah and Altamaha, extends only about ſeventy miles along the ſea-coaſt, from north to ſouth; but it widens in the more remote parts, to above one hundred and fifty, and is near three hundred in length, from the ſea to the Apalachian mountains.

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In purſuance of their liberal views, the miniſtry obtained a grant of ten thouſand pounds from the parliament, in order to enable the truſtees to tranſport indigent perſons of blameleſs character to Georgia, and to ſupport them, till ſuch time as they ſhould be able to provide for themſelves. A much larger ſum was procured by private ſubſcriptions, which they were permitted to raiſe; and Mr. Oglethorpe, a gentleman who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the houſe of commons, by his taſte for great deſigns, by his zeal for his country, and his paſſion for glory, was pitched upon to direct theſe public contributions, and to carry into execution the deſign for which they were beſtowed. Deſirous of maintaining that reputation which he had ſo juſtly acquired, he reſolved to conduct the firſt coloniſts to Georgia in perſon. There he arrived in January 1733, and fixed his people on a deſirable ſpot, about ten miles diſtant from the ſea, in a beautiful and fertile plain on the banks of the Savannah.

This riſing ſettlement was called Savannah, from the river; and inconſiderable as it was in its infant ſtate, it ſoon became the capital of a flouriſhing colony. It conſiſted at firſt of no more than an hundred perſons, but before the end of the year, the number was augmented to upwards of ſix hundred; and in 1735, the population of Georgia was increaſed by the arrival of ſome Scotch highlanders. Their natural courage induced them to accept of ſome lands that were offered them on the ſouthern frontier, near the river Altamaha, in order to form an eſtabliſhment that might prove a defence to the colony, when neceſſary, againſt the attacks of the Spaniards of Florida. There they built the towns of New Inverneſs and Frederica, and ſeveral of their countrymen came over and ſettled among them. A number of German proteſtants driven out of Saltzburg, by the intemperate zeal of a fanatical prieſt, alſo embarked for Georgia about the ſame time, in order to enjoy peace and liberty of conſcience. At firſt they ſettled in the neighbourhood of the capital; but afterwards judging it proper to be at a greater diſtance, they went as far down as the mouth of the river Savannah, where they built a town called Ebenezer.

In theſe four ſettlements, ſome people were found more inclined to trade than agriculture: they therefore ſeparated themſelves from the reſt in order to build the city of Auguſta, on the banks of the Savannah, two hundred and thirty-ſix miles diſtant from the ſea. The neighbouring territory is fertile in an extraordinary degree; but though that circumſtance adds to the conveniency of the ſettlers, it was not the motive which induced them to fix upon this ſituation. The conveniency of trading with the Indians led them to fix here; and their project was ſo ſucceſsful, that as early as 1739, ſix hundred people were employed in that trade only. The Indian nations contiguous to Auguſta, which is a fortified place, are the upper and lower Creeks, the Chickeſaws, and the Cherokees; four of the moſt numerous and powerful tribes in North America. They trade not only with Georgia, but alſo with Virginia and the two Carolinas. Their exchanges are chiefly made in deer ſkins, their furs being of an inferior ſort, and by no means plenty. This trade, in itſelf ſufficiently tempting, was rendered

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ſtill more deſirable, by means of the river Savannah, which admits veſſels of good burden as high as the walls of Auguſta.

The mother-country had reaſonably formed the higheſt expectations from a colony favoured with ſo many advantages, and towards whoſe advancement ſhe had contributed ſo much, both in men and money. How great then was her ſurpriſe, in 1742, when ſhe received information, that there remained in Georgia ſcarce a ſixth part of the inhabitants ſhe had tranſported thither!—and that even thoſe, diſcouraged by the difficulties under which they laboured, were deſirous of ſettling elſewhere. The cauſes of this deſertion were inquired into, and diſcovered. The conſtitution of Georgia carried in its boſom the ſeeds of decay. The government, together with the property of the colony, had been ceded, as already obſerved, to individuals for a term of years. The example of Carolina ought to have prevented this imprudent plan; but nations do not always learn to profit by their paſt miſtakes, any more than private men. An enlightened adminiſtration, though checked by the watchful eye of the people, is not able to guard againſt every abuſe of its confidence. The Britiſh miniſtry, in the preſent inſtance, though zealouſly attached to the public welfare, ſacrificed the intereſt of the nation to the rapacious views of intereſted individuals.

The firſt uſe that the truſtees of Georgia made of the unlimited power with which they were veſted, was to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of legiſlation that made them entire maſters not only of the police, the juriſprudence, and finances of the colony, but even of the lives and properties of the inhabitants. As great inconveniencies had been found to ariſe in other colonies from large poſſeſſions, it was thought proper in Georgia to allow each family only fifty acres of land, and no one perſon could become poſſeſſed of more than five hundred, under any condition whatſoever. Nor were the ſettlers permitted to mortgage theſe lands, or even to diſpoſe of them by will to their female iſſue. This laſt regulation of making only the male iſſue capable of inheritance, was ſoon aboliſhed by the truſtees themſelves, from a ſenſe of its being grievous beyond meaſure in an infant colony, where the land muſt neceſſarily for ſome time, be the ſole wealth of the family. But there ſtill remained too many checks upon emulation, which alone can give proſperity to a new eſtabliſhment, in a diſtant and uncultivated region.

As men are ſeldom induced to leave their native country, for one where the conveniencies of life are enjoyed in leſs perfection, unleſs with ſome extraordinary proſpect of future advantage, there ſhould always be ſomething of vaſtneſs in the object preſented to their view. This will draw them, by powerfully ſtriking their imagination; and they will be encouraged to perſevere in the paths of induſtry, by the hopes of aggrandiſement. But if certain narrow limits are fixed, which no degree of induſtry can paſs, all men of propriety or ſpirit will be diſcouraged from engaging in ſuch a ſettlement; or if they ſhould be induced by any accidental circumſtance to embark themſelves in an undertaking ſo little calculated to attract the human heart, their natural activity will ſoon become languid, for want of motives to rouſe, or to perpetuate its exertions.

The ſmall portion of fifty acres, which was the moſt aſſigned to any family, the common lot being only twenty-five, without any regard to the quality of the ſoil, muſt neceſſarily have produced this effect in Georgia.

Several other errors ſtill affected the original plan of this colony, and prevented its increaſe. The taxes impoſed upon the moſt fertile lands in our colonies are very inconſiderable; and even theſe were not levied, till the ſettlements had acquired ſome degree of vigour and proſperity: but from its infant ſtate, Georgia had been ſubjected to the fines of a feudal government, with which it might be ſaid to be in a manner fettered. The revenues raiſed by this kind of tenure increaſed prodigiouſly, in proportion as the colony extended itſelf; and the truſtees, blinded by a ſpirit of avidity, did not perceive, that the ſmalleſt taxes impoſed upon the trade of a populous and flouriſhing province, would much ſooner enrich them, than the largeſt fines laid upon a waſte and uninhabited territory. But their grant was only for twenty years; and, as if theſe had been but twenty days, they were attentive only to preſent advantage.

To this ſpecies of oppreſſion was added another; which, incredible as it may ſeem, might ariſe from a ſpirit of benevolence. The planters of Georgia were not allowed the uſe of ſlaves. As the colonies of Virginia and Carolina, where they have now multiplied ſo exceſſively, were eſtabliſhed without their aſſiſtance, it was thought that a colony, which was meant to be the bulwark of all our American poſſeſſions towards the ſouth, ought not be peopled by negroes; a ſet of men who could not be in the leaſt intereſted in the defence of thoſe, by whom they were held in ſervitude. This regulation, however, in ſome reſpects ſo rational and humane, was made without a due attention to the climate and ſoil of Georgia, and the inconveniencies to which Europeans, unſeaſoned to the country, muſt be expoſed in clearing the lands which were eſſential to their ſubſiſtence, beneath a burning ſun. The conſequence was, that the greater part of the hours of labour, all the middle of the day, was ſpent in idleneſs, which brought certain want along with it.

This indolence, which ſo many obſtacles contributed to produce, found a further excuſe, in another prohibition that had been impoſed. The diſorders occaſioned by the uſe of ſpirituous liquors over all the continent of North America, induced the truſtees of Georgia to forbid the importation of rum. That prohibition, though well intended, deprived the coloniſts of the only liquor, or at leaſt the only one they were able to purchaſe, that could correct the bad qualities of the waters of the country, which were generally unwholeſome, by running through a vaſt extent of foreſt; and of the only means they had to reſtore the extraordinary waſte of ſtrength and ſpirits, neceſſarily occaſioned by continued labour in a hot climate. This recruit was at leaſt neceſſary, to enable them to cultivate their lands without the help of negroes. But the prohibition of rum was further detrimental to Georgia, by depriving the coloniſts of their natural ſhare in the commerce of the Weſt Indies: it in a manner ſhut them out from the only market for their moſt valuable commodities, their corn, cattle, and wood, as they

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could not take in return, what they moſt wanted, and what would have rendered their condition eligible, the rum of thoſe iſlands.

The Britiſh government at length perceiving, how much theſe defects in the political conſtitution of Georgia had prevented the progreſs, and diminiſhed the population of the colony, revoked the grant to the truſtees, annulled the particular regulations; and placed it on the ſame footing with Carolina. Inſtead of being dependent on the caprice of a few individuals, it became one of the national poſſeſſions, and though a leſs extenſive territory, and leſs fertile ſoil, will ever prevent it from rivaling Carolina, while it cultivates only the ſame commodities, namely, rice and indigo, it has other reſources. The climate, and even the ſoil of Georgia, promiſe great advantages from the culture of ſilk, and the planting of vines and olives. But mankind muſt be provided with the neceſſaries of life, before they can think of its ſuperfluities. It was therefore neceſſary that the inhabitants of Georgia ſhould begin with the raiſing of corn, the breeding of cattle, and the culture of ſuch mercantile productions as were certain to ſucceed, before they carried their experiments in the more lucrative, but doubtful articles, to any great length. Nor is there any reaſon to deſpair of their raiſing ſilk, and producing wine in ſuch plenty, as will make Georgia one of the moſt valuable provinces in North America.

All theſe advantages will happily be increaſed by the acquiſition of Florida; a province, which from its vicinity, muſt neceſſarily influence the proſperity of Georgia, at the ſame time that it forms its ſecurity, and quiets all our apprehenſions on account of the diſproportionate number of negroes in a frontier colony. Under the name of Florida, as we have frequently had occaſion to remark, the ambition of Spain comprehended all the coaſt of North America, from Mexico to its moſt northern extremity; but fortune which ſports with the vanity of nations, as well as of individuals, has long ſince confined within narrower limits this vague deſcription of a country to which the Spaniards had no right, if priority of diſcovery has any thing to ſay in ſuch a queſtion. Florida, which for upwards of a century paſt has conſiſted only of the peninſula formed by the ſea on the channel of Bahama, between Georgia and Louiſiana, was diſcovered in 1497, by the famous John Cabot, to whom England is ſo much indebted for her American claims, if not for her poſſeſſions.

The different attempts of the Spaniards to conquer this country from the natives, their jealouſy of any European nation ſettling in it, and the maſſacre of the French proteſtants, have been already related *. After de Gourgues had taken vengeance on the murderers of his countrymen, in 1568, the Spaniards kept quiet poſſeſſion of Florida, till their coaſts were viſited by Sir Francis Drake, who reduced all their ſettlements near the ſhore. Thoſe ſettlements never deſerved the name of colonies; they were little more than Spaniſh garriſons, ſupported at a conſiderable expence, in order to prevent the population of a country abounding with all the conveniencies of life, and capable of yielding moſt of its

A. D. 1565.

* Book IV. chap. ii.

luxuries.



J. Lodge fculp.

The People of FLORIDA Sacrificing their first Born to the Sun.

luxuries. St. Matheo or St. Juan, continued to be their moſt northerly ſettlement; and though it is ſituated on a navigable river, and in an agreeable and fertile plain, it was ſuffered to go to decay, and would in all probability have been finally abandoned, had they not diſcovered the *ſaſſafras* in its neighbourhood.

This tree, which is a native of America, is of a better ſpecies in Florida than in any other part of the New World. It grows equally in the vicinity of the ſea, and upon the mountains, but always in a ſoil that is neither too dry nor too damp. It is ſtraight and lofty, like the fir-tree; it has no branches, and its top is formed ſomewhat in the ſhape of a cup. It is an ever green, and its leaves reſemble thoſe of the laurel. Its flower, which is yellow, is infuſed for drinking in the manner of tea. Its root, which is well known in trade, being very ſervicable in medicine, ought to be ſpungy, light, of a greyiſh colour; of a ſharp, ſweetiſh, and aromatic taſte, and ſhould have the ſmell of the fennel and aniſe.

Theſe qualities give the ſaſſafras the virtue of promoting perſpiration, reſolving thick and viſcous humours, and relieving palſies and catarrhs. It was formerly much uſed in venereal complaints; and the firſt Spaniards who ſettled in Florida would probably have fallen a ſacrifice to this laſt diſorder, without the aſſiſtance of ſuch a powerful remedy. At leaſt they muſt have ſunk under thoſe dangerous fevers, to which they were generally ſubject at St Matheo. But the natives taught them that, by drinking in a morning faſting, and at their meals, water in which ſaſſafras had been boiled, they might depend on a ſpeedy recovery; and the experiment, on trial, proved ſucceſsful. St. Matheo, however, never emerged from its original poverty and obſcurity, the neceſſary conſequences of Spaniſh indolence and ſuperſtition, in every country that does not yield the precious metals.

St. Auguſtine, which ſtands fifteen leagues to the ſouth of St. Matheo, on the ſame coaſt, and which was founded, as we have ſeen *, by that blood-thirſty fanatic, who butchered the French proteſtants at the former, then called Fort Caroline, is a place of more conſequence. This town, which at laſt came to conſiſt of about eight hundred houſes, was ſcarcely eſtabliſhed, when it was reduced by Sir Francis Drake, that ſcourge of the Spaniſh nation. It underwent a ſimilar fate in 1665, being pillaged by Capt. Davis, at the head of a reſolute party of Buccaneers. In 1702, an attempt was made by Col. Moore to annex it to the Britiſh ſettlements. This gentleman, who was governor of Carolina, permitted himſelf to be perſuaded by the aſſembly to undertake the reduction of all the Spaniſh poſſeſſions in Florida. He accordingly ſet out at the head of ſuch a force as the province was able to furniſh, conſiſting of five or ſix hundred Engliſh, and ſeven hundred Indians, and ſat down before St. Auguſtine, after having laid every thing waſte before him; but when he was on the point of accompliſhing his enterpriſe, the arrival of ſome Spaniſh ſhips to the relief of the garriſon, induced him to raiſe the ſiege, and retire with the utmoſt precipitation to Carolina, to the no ſmall diſgrace of the Britiſh arms, as it is doubtful if the Spaniards would have dared to attack him.

A. D. 1586.

* Book IV. chap. ii.

The people of Carolina were ſo much diſcouraged by this repulſe, that they made no ſecond attempt to reduce Florida; but in 1740, general Oglethorpe, governor of Georgia, renewed the attempt with all the force he was able to collect, though by no means adequate to the undertaking. The Spaniſh governor, who was an officer of abilities and experience, having intelligence of the deſigns formed by the Engliſh, had augmented his garriſon to near a thouſand men, all well-diſciplined ſoldiers, and taken every other precaution which his knowledge in the art of war dictated. He had in particular laid traps for general Oglethorpe, by abandoning a number of out-poſts. Theſe, though of no conſequence to the defence of the place, were entered in triumph by the Engliſh commander, and garriſoned with Britiſh troops, to the great diminution of his ſtrength; a circumſtance of which the Spaniſh governor made ſuch good uſe, that he cut off an hundred and thirty of our people poſted in the Negro Fort, under the conduct of Col. Palmer. This unfortunate incident immediately turned the ſcale againſt the beſiegers, who were farther diſcouraged by the fruitleſs toil of erecting batteries in the iſland of Euſtatia, which were found incapable of making any impreſſion upon the fort. Senſible of the diſadvantages under which he laboured, and that purſuing his project could anſwer no other end but that of ſacrificing the lives of a number of brave men, and giving the Spaniards further cauſe of triumph, general Oglethorpe raiſed the ſiege of St Auguſtine, to the great diſappointment of the nation, which had formed the moſt ſanguine expectations from the enterpriſe. It was hoped that our ſouthern ſettlements would not only have been ſecured againſt any attacks from the Spaniards by land, but that we ſhould thenceforth be able to annoy their plate-fleets, in returning by the channel of Bahama.

Some Scotch Highlanders, who accompanied general Oglethorpe, ſuffered greatly in attempting to cover the retreat of the provincial and Britiſh troops. Many of them were cut off, in violation of the laws of war, and the rights of humanity; but an officer, who had peculiarly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour, was ſpared by the Indians who fought among the Spaniards, although only that he might be reſerved to undergo thoſe frightful torments, which they inflict upon ſuch of their priſoners as ſeem entitled by their bravery to that awful mark of eſteem. The Highlander, on ſeeing the tortures that awaited him, is ſaid to have addreſſed the blood-thirſty multitude in the following words:—"Heroes and patriarchs of the weſtern world, ye are not the enemies for whom I fought; but ye have been the conquerors, and have a right to vengeance. This right I do not call in queſtion. The chance of war has put me in your power: make what uſe you pleaſe of your victory; but as it is cuſtomary in my country to offer a ranſome for one's life, liſten to a propoſal not unworthy of your attention.

"Know, gallant Americans! that in the land to which I owe my birth, as in yours no doubt, there are ſome men who poſſeſs a ſuperior knowledge of the ſecrets of nature. One of thoſe ſages, to whom I am connected by the ties of kindred, imparted to me, when I became a ſoldier, a charm to make me invulnerable. You muſt have obſerved, how I eſcaped all your well directed darts. Without ſuch a charm, would it have been poſſible for me to have ſurvived

vived all the mortal blows aimed at my body? For I appeal to your own valour, to teſtify that mine has ſufficiently exerted itſelf, and that I have not ſhrunk from any danger. Life is leſs the object of my requeſt, than the glory of having communicated to you a ſecret of ſo much conſequence to your ſafety, and of rendering the braveſt people upon earth invincible. Suffer me only to have one of my hands at liberty, in order to perform the ceremonies of enchantment, of which I will now make trial upon myſelf before you."

The Indians liſtened with eagerneſs to this diſcourſe, which was flattering both to their warlike character, and their turn for the marvellous. After a ſhort conſultation, they untied one of the priſoner's arms. This was no ſooner done, than the Highlander laying bare his neck, after having rubbed it, and uttered ſome words accompanied with magic ſigns, begged that they would put his broad-ſword into the hands of the moſt expert and ſtouteſt man among them; then inclining his body, he cried with a chearful voice, "Obſerve, O gallant Indians! an inconteſtable proof of my ſincerity. Thou, warrior, who doeſt now wield my keen-cutting blade, ſtrike! with all thy ſtrength. Far from being able to ſever my head from my body, thou wilt not even wound the ſkin of my neck."

Scarce were theſe words uttered, when the Indian champion, aiming the moſt violent blow, ſtruck off the head of the Highlander to the diſtance of twenty feet. The ſavages aſtoniſhed, ſtood for ſome minutes motionleſs, contemplating the bloody corpſe of the ſtranger; then turned their eyes on each other, as if to reproach themſelves for their blind credulity. Admiring, however, the artifice which the priſoner had made uſe of, in order to avoid the torture by haſtening his own death, as well as the gallantry which he had diſplayed in battle, they beſtowed on his body the funeral honours of their country *.

The Spaniards, who in all their progreſs through America, were more employed in deſtroying the inhabitants, than in building towns, or cultivating the earth, had no ſettlements in Florida worth naming beſides thoſe already mentioned, except one in the Bay of Penſacola, on the frontiers of Louiſiana. A good harbour, with ſome abatement in regard to the entrance, and an improvable ſoil within land, conſpired to make this the moſt conſiderable place on the weſt ſide of the peninſula, belonging to the crown of Spain. Theſe three ſettlements, with two others of leſs account, diſperſed over a ſpace ſufficient to have formed a great kingdom, did not contain more than three thouſand inhabitants, ſurpaſſing each other in ſloth and poverty, when Florida was ceded to the crown of Great Britain, by the treaty of Paris in 1763; and as moſt of thoſe miſerable men choſe to retire to Cuba, the country was received in a condition almoſt altogether deſolate.

Great hopes have, however, been entertained from a territory ſo large, and ſo capable of improvement as Florida, whoſe limits are extended even to the Miſſiſippi,

* This ſtory is adopted from Raynal, who does not himſelf atteſt its authenticity; and if it ſhould prove to be a fable, it is at leaſt one of thoſe that ſerve rather to embelliſh, than debaſe the page of hiſtory.

BOOK VII. by the ceſſion which France has made of part of Louiſiana. England had long been deſirous of poſſeſſing this portion of the American continent, and from a variety of motives. She was deſirous of ſecuring her ſouthern colonies againſt the dangerous neighbourhood of the Spaniards, too often combined with the French and Indians; ſhe was ambitious of ſharing in the lucrative fur-trade, carried on in the neighbourhood of the Miſſiſippi; and ſhe was above all anxious of approximating her ſettlements to Mexico, the ſeat of the precious metals, great part of which ſhe did not doubt of being able to attract by a contraband traffic. The two firſt objects have been gained, nor is the laſt to be deſpaired of; but an advantage ſo precarious and illiberal, is by no means ſuited to the views of a great power. Cultivation alone can render the ſettlements of a commercial people flouriſhing.

Senſible of this truth, the parliament has given every encouragement to agriculture, in one of the fineſt provinces of the Britiſh empire; which has been divided into two governments, under the names of Eaſt and Weſt Florida. It is not eaſy to conjecture to what degree of ſplendour ſo much indulgence, with time and good management, may raiſe the Floridas, but appearances are highly promiſing. The air is healthy, and the ſoil fit for every kind of culture. The firſt trials of rice, cotton, and indigo, were attended with ſuch ſucceſs as greatly increaſed the number of the ſettlers. Nor have ſucceeding attempts contradicted thoſe early experiments; but the Floridas are not yet ſufficiently peopled, to attain diſtinction as planting colonies. Planters were pouring in from the neighbouring provinces, and induſtrious inhabitants from all the proteſtant countries in Europe, before the preſent unhappy diſturbances deadened activity and enterpriſe in all our ſettlements, by rendering all property inſecure; and as ſoon as theſe diſturbances ſhall be compoſed, it cannot be doubted but Florida will acquire that conſequence among the Britiſh poſſeſſions in America to which it is intitled by its natural advantages, its climate, its ſoil, and its poſition.

CHAP. VIII.

The Diſcovery and Settlement of Louiſiana *by the* French.

WE have already ſeen the French ſettle themſelves in Canada. When they became more fully acquainted with that boundleſs region, they diſcovered the ſtream, and afterwards the mouth of the Miſſiſippi. To the beautiful and level country, which lies on both ſides of that river, and extends above five hundred leagues in length, and two hundred in breadth, from New Mexico to the Apalachian mountains, they gave the name of Louiſiana, in honour of Lewis XIV. In their accounts of the diſcovery and ſettlement of this country, from

from which the higheſt expectations were formed, the French writers are pompous and prolix; but a conciſe narration of the moſt intereſting particulars, will be ſufficient for our purpoſe.

Being told by the diſtant ſavages, that to the weſt of Canada there was a great river, which flowed neither to the north nor to the eaſt, the enterpriſing ſpirit of the French coloniſts was roufed. They very reaſonably concluded, that it muſt empty itſelf into the Gulph of Mexico, if its courſe was ſouthward; and if weſtward, into the South Sea. A communication with either of thoſe, was of ſufficient importance to deſerve ſome inquiry. The undertaking was committed to one Jolyet, an inhabitant of Quebec, a man of ſenſe and experience, and to the jeſuit Marquette, whoſe virtues were reſpected by all the ſavage nations of Canada. Theſe two men, equally upright in their intentions, maintained the moſt friendly harmony during their reſearches. They went together from the lake Michigan, entered the river of the Foxes, which empties itſelf into that lake, and ſailed up almoſt to the head of the river, notwithſtanding the currents, which render the navigation difficult. After ſome days march, they arrived at the river Ouiſconſing, on which they embarked; and holding ſtill weſtward, came to the Miſſiſippi, and ſailed down the ſtream of that river, as far as the country of Akanſas, about the thirty-third degree of north latitude. A. D. 1673.

The zeal of theſe adventurers would have carried them further, but they were in want of proviſions; and it would have been otherwiſe imprudent to venture very far into an unknown country, with only three or four men. Beſides, they were fully convinced, that the river which they had found diſcharged itſelf into the Gulph of Mexico. They therefore reſolved to return to Canada; and on entering the river Illionois, they found the Indians of that name pretty numerous, and diſpoſed to enter into a friendly intercourſe with the French nation. Marquette remained among them to cultivate thoſe good diſpoſitions, while Jolyet returned to Quebec, where he communicated to the governor all the information they had procured, without concealing or exaggerating one particular.

Among the inhabitants of New France at that time, was a Norman named La Salle, who was equally deſirous of procuring a great fortune, and of eſtabliſhing a brilliant reputation; who was alike fond of wealth and fame. This man had ſpent his younger years among the Jeſuits, where he had acquired that activity, enthuſiaſm, and firmneſs, with which thoſe fathers were ſo capable of inſpiring their diſciples; eſpecially when they met with young men of keen parts, with whom they were fond of recruiting their order. La Salle, whoſe genius was of the moſt bold and enterpriſing kind, fond of ſeizing every opportunity to offer himſelf to diſtinction, and anxious even to ſeek out ſuch occaſions, perceived with pleaſure that the governor of Canada neglected to purſue the diſcovery of the Miſſiſippi. Determined that it ſhould not be loſt for want of ſpirit, he embarked for Europe, went to the court of Verſailles, and was liſtened to almoſt with admiration, at a time when both the prince and the people were ſmit with the love of glory and greatneſs. He returned to A. D. 1627.

Quebec

BOOK VIII. Quebec loaded with honours, and with orders to profecute the undertaking that had been ſo happily begun *.

Such a commiſſion was La Salle's ſupreme wiſh; yet did not his ardour, on obtaining it, tranſport him beyond the bounds of moderation and prudence. In order to ſecure ſucceſs to his ſcheme, he proceeded with the greateſt caution. The diſtance was conſiderable, from the moſt ſouthern French ſettlements in Canada, to the banks of the river that was to be the object of inquiry. It was a matter of the utmoſt conſequence to ſecure this tract. La Salle's firſt ſtep therefore was to erect ſeveral fortified ſtations, which took up more time than he imagined, the work being often interrupted by unforeſeen accidents. At length, when time and
A. D. 1681. caution had diſpoſed every thing favourable to his hopes, he embarked on the Illionois, entered the Miſſiſippi, and ſailed down the ſtream of that river, till he was perfectly ſenſible that it emptied itſelf into the Gulph of Mexico.

This information was of the utmoſt conſequence; and La Salle, who well knew its value, and the benefit which might be derived from it, haſtened back to Quebec. Nor did he remain long there: he took the firſt opportunity to return to France, in order to propoſe to the court the diſcovery of the Miſſiſippi by ſea, and the eſtabliſhment of a colony, which could not fail to be of infinite importance in that vaſt country of which he had taken poſſeſſion in the name of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. His plan was approved of; and he obtained four ſhips, of different ſizes, with about two hundred and fifty perſons, of all conditions, and of both ſexes, and an ample ſupply of proviſions, as well as of European goods, for the Indian trade. But he miſſed the object of his voyage, by ſteering too far to the weſtward; and after fruitleſsly traverſing the coaſt for ſome time, he landed in the Bay of St. Bernard, an hundred leagues beyond the mouth of the Miſſiſippi. That error might have been repaired; but La Salle, who was of an haughty and ſevere temper, had quarrelled with Beaujeu, the commander of his little fleet; and being unwilling to owe any obligation to him, he permitted him to depart with the largeſt veſſel, and the greater part of the military ſtores, without once ſoliciting him to ſtay, or employing one ſoothing expreſſion to incline him to ſuch a meaſure. In this obſtinacy he was encouraged by an idea which he had formed, that the river he had entered muſt be a branch of the Miſſiſippi, and that he ſhould be able to accompliſh his deſign without any other force than what he ſtill poſſeſſed. But he was ſoon undeceived in his conjecture. Nor did he profit by that experience: inſtead of ſeeking for guides among the ſavages, who would have directed him to the place of his deſtination, he choſe to go nearer to the Spaniards, and inform himſelf relative to the viſionary mines of St. Barbe, which had ſo long and ſo unprofitably employed their ſearch. He was wholly occupied with this romantic project, when his aſſociates, no longer able to bear the hardſhips to which they were expoſed, in conſequence
A. D. 1664. of his violent and tyrannical diſpoſition, no leſs than his ambitious views, conſpired

* Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV.

againſt

againſt his life, and ſhot him from an ambuſcade, after having maſſacred two of his attendants.

The death of La Salle occaſioned the utter ruin of his enterpriſe. The ruffians who had murdered him, fell by each other's hands. Several of the company incorporated with the natives, and many of them periſhed of hunger and fatigue. The greater part of thoſe who ſurvived ſhared a worſe fate. The Spaniards of New Mexico, being informed of the French undertaking, had advanced up the country, in order to oppoſe it. Into their hands many of the diſperſed adventurers fell, and were ſent to the mines, where they miſerably periſhed, in digging that gold which they had already ſuffered ſo many hardſhips in ſearching after, and which had tempted them from their native ſoil. Thoſe who had ſhut themſelves up in the little fort that had been erected, fell into the hands of the ſavages. Only ſeven Frenchmen eſcaped to Canada by land, to relate the melancholy fate of their companions, and the failure of the enterpriſe in which they had been engaged *.

Theſe diſaſters made the French, for ſome years, reſign all thoughts of Louiſiana; but the attention of the court was again called back, in 1699, to an object which had formerly inſpired ſuch ſanguine hopes. Theſe hopes were revived by M. Iberville, a gentleman of Canada, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſome very bold and fortunate attempts in Hudſon's Bay, in l'Acadie, and Newfoundland. He was diſpatched from Rochfort with two ſhips, and entered the Miſſiſippi on the ſecond of July 1699. After ſailing up the river ſufficiently high to take a full view of the beauty and fertility of its banks, he contented himſelf with erecting a ſmall fort, and proceeded to another place to ſettle his colony.

Between the mouth of the Miſſiſippi and Penſacola, a ſettlement then newly founded by the Spaniards in Florida, lies a coaſt of near forty leagues in extent, and every where ſo flat, that ſhips of burden cannot come within four leagues of the ſhore, nor even the lighteſt brigs within two. The ſoil, which is compoſed entirely of ſand, is equally unfit for agriculture and the breeding of cattle. Nothing grows there but a few cedars and fir-trees. The climate is ſo exceedingly hot, when the ſun ſhines upon thoſe ſands, that in ſome ſeaſons it would be inſupportable, were it not for a light breeze which ſprings up regularly about nine or ten in the morning, and never ceaſes till towards evening. In this extenſive tract is a place called Biloxi, from the name of a ſavage nation that formerly ſettled there. That ſpot, the moſt barren and inconvenient on the whole coaſt, was made choice of for the reſidence of the few men that accompanied Iberville, and who had been allured by the moſt ſanguine expectations.

On his return to France, however, he found no difficulty in bringing over a new colony, which he ſettled thirteen leagues to the eaſt of Biloxi, not far from Penſacola. The banks of the Mobile, a river of ſome extent, but which is no where navigable except for boats, were thought worth inhabiting. Nor was the barrenneſs of the adjacent lands deemed a ſufficient objection to ſuch a meaſure;

* Id. ibid. Joutel. Charlevoix. Hennepin.

BOOK IV.

it being conjectured that the connexions which might be formed with the Spaniards and neighbouring Indians, would compenſate all theſe diſadvantages. An iſland oppoſite to the mouth of the Mobile, at the diſtance of four leagues, offered a harbour, which might be conſidered as the ſea port of the new colony. It was named the Iſle of Dauphin, and was very convenient for unloading the French goods, which it had before been neceſſary to ſend aſhore in boats. This iſland, though a barren one, was ſoon peopled, and became the principal ſettlement in Louiſiana; until the ſands, by which it had been originally formed, were heaped up to ſuch a degree as to deprive it of its port, the only advantage that had given it any degree of reputation.

A colony eſtabliſhed upon ſuch a barren ſhore, without vaſt commercial reſources, which this never found, could not poſſibly make any progreſs; and the death of Iberville, its founder, who glorioufly periſhed in the ſervice of his country, put an end to the ſmall remaining hopes of the ſettlers. France was then ſo deeply engaged in an unſucceſsful war in Europe, that no aſſiſtance could be expected from her. The coloniſts thought themſelves entirely forſaken by the mother-country; and thoſe who entertained any hopes of bettering their condition in another place, went in queſt of a more convenient ſituation. The few whom neceſſity compelled to ſtay behind, ſubſiſted upon vegetables, or by means of excurſions among the Indians. In the midſt of this miſery, the Iſle of Dau-

A. D. 1710. phin was pillaged by an Engliſh privateer *; and twenty-eight wretched families formed the whole inhabitants of the colony, when M. Crozat petitioned for, and obtained the excluſive trade of Louiſiana, in 1712.

Crozat, according to an author very able to judge of human characters †, was one of the few men born for great undertakings. He poſſeſſed a ſuperiority of talents and ſentiments, which enabled him to execute the greateſt deſigns, and to engage in the moſt ordinary buſineſs for the ſervice of the ſtate, being deſirous to derive all his fame from the glory of his country. The ſoil of Louiſiana was not the object of this active genius. He could not be ignorant of the barrenneſs of thoſe tracts already ſettled, nor does it appear that he had any idea of attempting to improve them, or of diſcovering lands more fertile. His intention was to open communications both by ſea and land with Old and New Mexico; to pour in all kinds of European merchandiſe upon thoſe parts, and to draw in return the produce of the Spaniſh mines. The country he had requeſted appeared to him, as it has to others, the natural and neceſſary mart for this rich commerce; and all the ſteps taken by his agents were directed to that end. But being undeceived, by ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, he relinquiſhed

A. D. 1717. his ſcheme, and reſigned his privilege to a company, whoſe progreſs aſtoniſhed the world for a time; and, like a meteor, diſappeared as ſuddenly as it had riſen to view.

* Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. XIV. This attack is ſaid to have been made in conſequence of an idea that the French of Louiſiana were poſſeſſed of immenſe treaſures, which they concealed from the world, and which enabled Lewis XIV. to carry on his expenſive wars.

† Raynal.

This

This company was formed by the famous Law, a native of Scotland, who had made it his buſineſs from his earlieſt years to obſerve attentively the different powers of Europe, to examine their ſeveral ſprings, and to calculate the ſtrength of each. He was ſingularly ſtruck with the confuſion into which the ambition of Lewis XIV. had thrown the kingdom of France. To remedy this evil, appeared a taſk worthy of his daring genius, and he flattered himſelf that he could accompliſh it. The greatneſs of his idea recommended it to the court, and the French miniſtry. His plan was, by ſpeedily paying off the national debt, to clear the public revenue of the enormous intereſts which abſorbed it. The introduction of paper credit could alone effect this amazing revolution; and the exigencies of the ſtate ſeemed to require ſuch an expedient. The public creditors came into the new ſcheme the more readily, as they knew they might at any time change their notes for ſhares in the company. On the other hand, there appeared no doubt but the company would be able to anſwer their ſeveral engagements; ſince, independent of the produce of the taxes which were to centre in their hands, as a company of finance, they had opened a new channel, as a commercial company, through which immenſe riches were expected to flow. CHAP. VIII.

From the year 1538, when the celebrated Ferdinando de Soto periſhed on the banks of the Miſſiſippi, it was generally believed that the neighbouring country contained inexhauſtible treaſures. It was doubtful, indeed, where thoſe treaſures were to be found; but ſtill their exiſtence was leſs or more credited, and the celebrated mines of St. Barbe, were talked of with rapture. If they ſeemed to be forgotten awhile, that temporary neglect ſerved only to quicken the attention of mankind towards them, when by any accident or artifice the fable was revived. Law availed himſelf of this credulity, and endeavoured to encourage and increaſe it by myſterious reports. It was whiſpered, as a ſecret, that theſe and many other mines, had at length been diſcovered, but that they were much richer than even fame had reported them. In order to give the greater weight to this deceitful rumour, ſo induſtriouſly propagated, and which had already gained too much credit, a number of miners were ſent to Louiſiana, in order to dig the imaginary treaſure, with a body of troops ſufficient to defend them, and protect the precious produce of their toils.

The impreſſion which this ſtratagem made upon a nation naturally fond of novelty, is altogether inconceivable: every one was eager to obtain a ſhare in the new company; and every ſpeculation, ſcheme, and expectation, was directed to the ſame channel. The Miſſiſippi became the grand object, and the ultimate end of all purſuits *. The adventurers were not content with a bare aſſociation with

* Mr. Law had prevailed in transferring in 1718, all the privileges of the Eaſt India company to the Miſſiſippi, or Weſt India company, and in conſolidating both under the more ſimple title of the India company. In July following the company obtained a grant of all the profits ariſing from the coinage of gold and ſilver for nine years, in conſideration of twenty-five millions of ſpecie advanced to the government. An arret about the ſame time was publiſhed, enabling the directors of the bank to iſſue two hundred and forty millions in bank-bills, which made the whole ſtock of the company conſiſt of four hundred millions of livres; and though no dividend

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with the company which had obtained the diſpoſal of Louiſiana: they were eager to obtain large tracts of land for plantations; which, it was repreſented, would in a few years yield an hundred times the ſum laid out upon them. Whether they were blinded by motives of avarice, or acted from conviction, or were ſeduced by flattery, certain it is that thoſe who were accounted the moſt intelligent men in the nation, the richeſt, and the higheſt in repute, were the moſt forward in forming theſe ſettlements. Others were induced by their example; and thoſe whoſe fortunes would not allow them to become proprietors, ſolicited to have the management of the plantations of others, or even to be permitted to work in them.

During this general infatuation, all perſons who offered themſelves, whether natives or foreigners, were promiſcuouſly and careleſsly crowded into ſhips. They were landed upon the ſands of the Biloxi, where they periſhed by thouſands of want and vexation. They might have been conveyed up the Miſſiſippi, and landed immediately in the country they were to clear; but the conductors of the enterpriſe never thought of ſending proper boats for that purpoſe. Even after they found that the ſhips coming from Europe could navigate that river, the head quarters ſtill continued to prove fatal to thoſe numerous and deluded victims, doomed to fall a ſacrifice to a political impoſture. New Orleans had been founded in 1718, but the head quarters were not removed thither for four years after; that is, till hardly any of thoſe miſerable people remained, who had been ſo unfortunate as to quit their native country, in ſearch of imaginary wealth.

A. D. 1722.

But at this period, when it was too late, the charm was diſſolved, and the mines vaniſhed, with the other viſionary advantages. Nothing remained but the ſhame of having been miſled by chimerical notions. Louiſiana ſhared the fate of thoſe extraordinary † men who have been too highly extolled, and are afterwards puniſhed for their unmerited fame, by being degraded below their real worth. This enchanted country was now held in deteſtation, and execrated, as the ſink of ruin. Its very name became a reproach. The Miſſiſippi became the terror of freemen as well as of men of property: no recruits could be found to ſend thither, except ſuch as were taken from gaols and houſes of correction. It became the receptacle of the loweſt and moſt profligate ſet of men in the kingdom. What could be expected from a ſettlement compoſed of ſuch perſons?—Vicious men will neither people a country, nor labour, nor continue long in one place, unleſs attached by very extraordinary advantages.

had yet been made, every ſhare that had been purchaſed for one hundred livres, now ſold for nine hundred. The romantic ſchemes which this infatuation produced are incredible. The madneſs at length prevailed ſo far, that the company offered to lend to the government the ſum of one hundred and fifty millions ſterling. Even that enormous ſum was inſufficient to diſcharge the public debt: the miniſtry, however, availed themſelves of the phrenſy to get into their hands almoſt all the ready money in France; and when the bubble burſt, and the people came to their ſenſes, they found them all almoſt all beggars.

† Mr. Law, who held the high office of comptroller-general of the finances, was obliged to abſcond; and the ſeals were taken from M. d'Argenſon, his principal aſſociate in the Miſſiſippi ſcheme.

Louiſiana

Louiſiana afforded no ſuch advantages to men alike void of induſtry and property. Many of the miſerable wretches tranſported thither, went to the Engliſh or Spaniſh ſettlements, to exhibit the melancholy view of their diſtreſs and poverty. Others wandered wild in the woods, till hunger and wearineſs put an end to their exiſtence. Nothing was yet begun in the colony, though twenty-five millions of livres had been ſunk in ſettling it. The managers of the company, who advanced this vaſt ſum, ridiculouſly pretended that in the capital of France they could lay the plan of ſuch eſtabliſhments as were fit for America. From the company's office they pretended to regulate and direct all the inhabitants of Louiſiana, and impoſed various reſtraints upon them, all for the emolument of the excluſive charter. Had they granted certain encouragements to citizens of character, who ſhould ſettle in a country, valuable though deteſted, by ſecuring to them that liberty which every man covets; that property which every man has a right to enjoy in the fruits of his own labour, and that protection which is due from every ſociety to its members, Louiſiana would have worn a very different appearance. Proprietors well informed of their real intereſt, and planters zealous to improve their property, directed by the circumſtances of the times and of the place, would have eſtabliſhed more extenſive, permanent, and profitable ſettlements, than any the company could poſſibly form with all their treaſures, diſpenſed and managed by agents, who could neither have the knowledge requiſite to conduct ſo many, and ſuch various operations, nor be influenced by any immediate intereſt in their ſucceſs. The French miniſtry, however, thought it conducive to the welfare of the ſtate, to leave the concerns of Louiſiana in the hands of the company; which was under the neceſſity of exerting all its intereſt to obtain permiſſion to alienate that part of its property, and even to purchaſe ſuch liberty, in 1731, by paying down the ſum of one million four hundred and fifty thouſand livres *. A. D. 1725.

It will now be proper to take a view of the climate and ſoil of Louiſiana, and of thoſe events that were not immediately connected with the affairs of the Miſſiſippi company, as well as of the future progreſs of the colony.—In a country ſo extenſive, the climate cannot be every where the ſame; but in this famous territory, it was in no place found to be ſuch as might have been expected from its latitude. Lower Louiſiana, though under the ſame parallels with the coaſt of Barbary, is little hotter than the South of France; and thoſe parts of it, which are ſituated in the thirty-fifth and thirty-ſixth degrees of latitude, are no warmer than the northern provinces of the mother-country. This phœnomenon, which ſeems ſo extraordinary to a common obſerver, may be accounted for by a naturaliſt from the thick foreſts which prevent the rays of the ſun from heating the ground; the numberleſs rivers, which keep it conſtantly damp; and the winds which blow from the north, over a vaſt extent of land.

The ſky in Louiſiana, however, is ſeldom clouded. The ſun, which gives life to all things, ſhines almoſt every day. When it rains, the ſhowers are

* Raynal, liv. xvi.

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heavy, but they ſeldom happen; and the want of them is amply compenſated, by copious dews. The air in general is pure, but much more ſo in upper than lower Louiſiana. In this happy country, the women are bleſt with a pleaſing figure, and the men, tall and erect, are leſs ſubject to diſorders in the vigour of life, and have fewer infirmities in old age than the Europeans. Nor is the ſoil inferior to the climate. The country naturally abounded with wild fruits, very pleaſing to the taſte: it furniſhed a liberal proviſion for a great number of birds and wild beaſts; and in conſequence of that plenty, a luxuriant ſupply of food for man, the meadows or ſavannahs, on which no art or labour had been beſtowed, being covered with herds of deer and buffaloes. Perhaps no trees in the world can be compared with thoſe of Louiſiana for height, variety, and thickneſs; and ſince the ſoil has been tried in different diſtricts, it has been found fit for all kinds of culture.

The ſource of that celebrated river, which divides this immenſe country almoſt into equal two parts, from north to ſouth, has never yet been diſcovered. The boldeſt travellers have not advanced higher than about an hundred leagues above the falls of St. Anthony. Thence to the ſea, which is near ſeven hundred leagues, the navigation is not liable to be interrupted; and the Miſſiſippi, after being augmented by the influx of the Illinois, the Miſſouri, the Ohio, and a great many ſmaller rivers, maintains an uninterrupted courſe till it falls into the Gulph of Mexico. Here the ſea throws up a prodigious quantity of mud, leaves of reeds and plants, boughs and ſtumps of trees, waſhed down by the river in its boundleſs courſe. Theſe different materials being driven backwards and forwards, and collected together, by the oppoſite actions of the ſtream and the tide, form themſelves into a ſolid maſs, continually tending to the elongation of this vaſt continent: and a variety of circumſtances conſpire to prove, that the bed of the Miſſiſippi is already extended near an hundred leagues, and that its bottom is almoſt recent ground, ſince not a ſingle ſtone is to be found in it.

Another ſtill more ſtriking ſingularity is, that the waters of this great river, when once diverted from their channel, never return into it. The reaſon of ſuch a phœnomenon is not inexplicable. The Miſſiſippi is annually ſwelled by the melting of the northern ſnows, which begins in March, and continues for about three months. The bed of the river being very deep at the upper part, it ſeldom overflows on the eaſt ſide till it comes within ſixty leagues of the ſea, nor on the weſt till within an hundred leagues; in a word, not till after it has reached the low lands, which we conjecture to be recently formed. Thoſe muddy grounds, like all others that have not yet acquired a due conſiſtence, produce a prodigious quantity of large reeds, in which all extraneous bodies waſhed down the river are entangled. All theſe bodies uniting together, and augmented by the ſlime that fills up the interſtices, in proceſs of time compoſe a maſs which raiſes the banks of the river higher than the adjacent grounds; ſo that the waters having once departed from the general ſtream, are prevented

from the poſſibility of returning into their former channel, and muſt force a paſſage for themſelves, through the ſands, into the ſea.

When the breadth and depth of the Miſſiſippi alone are conſidered, the navigation appears to be eaſy; but it is, in truth, quite otherwiſe. It is very tedious, even in coming down; becauſe it would be dangerous, on many accounts, by night in dark weather, and becauſe the light canoes made of bark, which are ſo convenient on all other North American rivers, are uſeleſs upon this. It requires larger boats, which are of courſe heavier, and not ſo eaſily managed; and as it is always full of trees that fall from its own banks, or float into it from the other rivers which it receives, the boats, without the utmoſt precaution, are in continual danger of ſtriking againſt the boughs, or roots, of ſome tree lying under water. The difficulties are ſtill greater in going up the river.

At a certain diſtance from land, before the mouth of the Miſſiſippi, care muſt be taken to keep clear of the floating wood, that comes down from Louiſiana. The coaſt is ſo flat, that it cannot be ſeen at the diſtance of two leagues; and it is not eaſy to get up to it. The river empties itſelf into the ſea by a great number of openings. Theſe openings are continually varying, and moſt of them have but little depth of water. When a veſſel has happily ſurmounted all thoſe obſtacles, ſhe may ſail, without much difficulty, for ten or twelve leagues, through an open and ſandy country, But on advancing farther, the banks on each ſide are covered with thick foreſts, which wholly intercept the winds, and ſuch a dead calm prevails, that it commonly takes a month to ſail ſixty leagues. The difficulty is increaſed on ſailing beyond the foreſts; ſo that the reſt of the navigation on a ſtream ſo rapid, and ſo full of currents, is performed in boats that go with oars and ſails, and which after all their united efforts, though they ſet out by break of day, are thought to have made a good progreſs, if they have advanced five or ſix leagues by the cloſe of the evening *. The Europeans engaged in this navigation, are attended by ſome Indian huntſmen, who follow by land, and ſupply them with ſubſiſtence during the three months and an half that are employed in ſailing from one extremity of the colony to the other.

Theſe difficulties are great, and muſt ever prove a prodigious diſcouragement to trade; but they are almoſt the only obſtacles that the French had to ſtruggle with, in forming ſettlements in the vaſt region of Louiſiana. The Engliſh coloniſts of Virginia and Carolina, on the eaſt, were too aſſiduouſly employed in their plantations, to neglect them for the pleaſure of ravaging diſtant regions. The Spaniards, unfortunately for themſelves, were leſs peaceably diſpoſed in the weſt. The deſire of removing an intriguing neighbour, whoſe reſtleſs diſpoſition might one day prove dangerous to them in New Mexico, induced them in 1720, to project a ſettlement far beyond the lands which, till that time, had formed their boundary. The numerous caravans that were to compoſe this new colony, ſet out from Santa Fé, with all the requiſites for a permanent eſtabliſhment. They directed their march towards the Ozages,

* Charlevoix. Raynal.

whom

whom they wanted to induce to join with them in extirpating an Indian nation, who were neighbours and enemies to the Osages, and whose territory the Spaniards wanted to occupy: but they accidentally mistook their way, and came directly to that nation whose ruin they were meditating; and mistaking the Missouris (for so the devoted Indians were called) for the Osages, communicated their designs to them without reserve.

The chief of the Missouris, who by this singular mistake, was made acquainted with the danger that threatened himself and his people, dissembled his resentment. He told the Spaniards, that he would gladly concur in promoting the success of their undertaking, and only desired two days to assemble his warriors. When they were armed to the number of two thousand, they fell upon the Spaniards, whom they had amused with feasting, dancing, and hunting: they found their guests fast asleep, and massacred them all, without distinction of age or sex, except the chaplain, who owed his preservation to the singularity of his dress, and those arts which the Romish priests very generally possess, of suiting the savage, and working on the untutored mind.

This catastrophe having secured the tranquillity of the colony, on the side where it was most threatened, it was in little danger of molestation except from the savages; nor were these much to be feared. The natives of Louisiana were divided into a variety of nations; none of them very populous, and all at enmity with each other, though separated by immense deserts. Most of them had a fixed abode, and they generally worshipped the sun. Their houses were only made of leaves interwoven with each other, and fastened to a number of stakes. Those who did not go quite naked were covered only with the skins of wild beasts. They lived upon the produce of hunting and fishing, upon maize, and some spontaneous fruits. Their customs were nearly the same with those of the other savages of North America; but their character was less warlike than that of the Canadians, and some of them were under the dominion of chiefs who exercised an absolute authority over them.

This was more especially the condition of the Natchez, the only nation worthy of particular notice. A difference of rank took place among them with which the northern tribes were altogether unacquainted. Some families were reputed noble, and enjoyed hereditary dignity. The body of the people were considered as vile, and formed only for subjection. This distinction was marked by appellations which intimated the high elevation of one class, and the ignominious depression of the other. The former were called *Appellatives*, the latter the *Stinkards*. The Great Chief, in whom the supposed authority was vested, is reputed a being of superior nature, and the brother of the Sun, the sole object of their worship. They approach him with religious veneration, and honour him as the representative of their Divinity. His will is a law, to which all submit with implicit obedience. If affronted with any one, it was only necessary for him to say, "Rid me of that dog!"—and his commands were instantly executed. The lives of his subjects are so absolutely at his disposal, that if any one



The Outside of the Great Temple of the Sachies.

one thinks he has incurred his displeasure, he comes with profound humiliation, and offers him his head *. The wife of the GREAT SUN, as this political and religious ruler was called, is vested with an authority no less absolute than himself. Nor does their tyranny end with their lives: their principal officers, and favourite servants are sacrificed at their tombs, that they may be attended in the next world by the same persons who ministered to them in this; and such is the reverence in which they are held, that those victims welcome death with exultation, deeming it a recompence of their fidelity, and a mark of distinction, to be selected to accompany their deceased master or mistress †. CHAP. VIII.

It is truly surprising that the Natches, though themselves but little advanced beyond the neighbouring tribes in civility and improvement, should have tasted of the worst calamities incident to polished nations. But when by any accident or artifice, a divine origin is assigned to the prince, the people soon become abject, and superstition serves to complete the plan of despotism. The superstition of the Natches was, however, of the most liberal kind. The Sun, as already observed, was the chief object of religious worship among them. In their temples, which were constructed with some magnificence, and decorated with various ornaments, according to their mode of architecture, they preserved a perpetual fire as the purest emblem of their Divinity. Ministers were appointed to watch and to feed the sacred flame. Festivals returned at stated seasons, which were celebrated by the whole community, with solemn but unbloody rites; and the first function of the Great Sun, who like the Incas, was head of the religion as well as of the state, is an act of obeysance every morning to that luminary whose name he bears ‡. His mode of performing this is somewhat singular, and may be considered as a curious example of the union of barbarism with a refined superstition. He stands in the door of his cabin, with his face towards the east, and as soon as he perceives the rays of the sun begin to break forth, he howls three times, prostrating himself as often on the earth ‖.

As the country inhabited by the Natches lay on the banks of the Mississippi, and was alike pleasant and fertile, it drew the attention of the first Frenchmen, who sailed up that river. Far from opposing their design of settling among them, the Natches assisted them in it; and a mutual exchange of good offices laid the foundation of a lasting peace between the two nations. This might have been perpetuated, had not the avidity of the French weakened the connexion: they at first desired only to traffic for the productions of the country, but afterwards set their own price upon them, and at length, they found it would be more convenient to have them for nothing. Their audacity and avarice, in a word, increased to such a degree, that they drove the old inhabitants from the fields they had cleared and cultivated.

These acts of tyranny incensed the Natches. In vain had they recourse to entreaties, and to force. Every expedient was either useless or prejudicial to them.

* Dumont. Charlevoix. † Ibid. ‡ Charlevoix. Dumont. ‖ Ibid.

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At length, driven to despair, they endeavoured to engage all the eastern Indians, with whose dispositions they were well acquainted, to join in the common cause of vengeance; and towards the end of the year 1720, they succeeded in forming an universal league, the object of which was the assassination of all their oppressors at the same instant. As the art of writing was unknown to the confederate nations, they agreed to count a certain number of bits of wood. One of these was to be burnt every day, and the last was to be the signal for the massacre.

The wife of the Great Chief was informed of the plot; and as she had conceived a general affection for the French, in consequence of her intimacy with certain individuals, she mentioned it several times to the commanding officer in the neighbourhood, and acquainted him with all the particulars. This intelligence was disregarded; but still she persisted in her resolution of rescuing from ruin those strangers, whom certain attachments had conspired to render dear to her. What is truly extraordinary, however, though her regard had its origin in personal liking, and unlawful love, and might therefore be supposed to be confined to particular objects, or at least to those settled in her own territory, she determined, by an uncommon stretch of benevolence, to save the persons she had never seen, at the peril even of those with whom she was acquainted, and who had inspired her with the fondest emotions!—Her authority, as wife of the Sun, gave her free access to the temple, where the bits of wood were deposited; and satisfied with the intelligence which she had given to the French that were settled near her, she took away one or more of those counters every morning, though she by that means hastened the destruction of her incredulous friends, in order to preserve the lives of the rest—of the greater number, though unknown to her. Every thing happened as she had feared, if not foreseen.

The Natches, on the day indicated by the signal agreed upon, not doubting but all their allies were at that instant exhibiting the same horrid tragedy, fell upon the French in their territory, and massacred them: but as the bits of wood had not been stolen from the other conspirators, all remained quiet every where else; and this circumstance alone saved the feeble colony. In case of an attack, they had nothing to oppose to their enemies but a few rotten pales, ill defended by a handful of undisciplined vagabonds, almost unarmed. But Perrier, in whom the government was then vested, did not lose that presence of mind which courage inspires. The less he was able to resist, the more haughtiness he affected. This appearance of confident security had such an influence upon the Indians, that, either from fear of being suspected, or in hopes of pardon, many of the conspirators joined with him to destroy the Natches. The whole people were either made prisoners or put to the sword, after a gallant resistance: their houses were burnt; their territory was laid waste; and no vestige of them was left, but the place which they had formerly occupied *.

* Charlevoix. Du Pratz. The Great Sun, and about four hundred of his subjects, among whom were many of the chief nobility, were carried to St. Domingo to be the associates of the miserable and depressed herd of African slaves. Du Pratz. No provocation can justify such inhumanity.

A few

A few of the unfortunate Natches, however, who had happily made their eſcape, took refuge among the Chickaſaws, the moſt warlike nation in Louiſiana. This nation had entered with greater warmth than the reſt into the league againſt the French; and their undaunted and generous ſpirit made the laws of hoſpitality, which are inviolable among ſavages, ſtill more ſacred to them, ſo that no perſon dared at firſt to inſiſt on their delivering up the Natches, to whom they had afforded refuge, as it was ſuppoſed that death would be the reward of the meſſenger: but Bienvielle, who ſoon after ſucceeded Perrier in the government of Louiſiana, had the boldneſs to demand that thoſe fugitives ſhould be put into his hands. The Chickaſaws treated the requeſt with diſdain; and by that means expoſed themſelves to the danger of extermination, the whole forces of the colony, combined with the Chactaws, one of their own nations, being ſent againſt them. Theſe forces formed two ſeparate bodies; one of which was repulſed, with great ſlaughter, before the principal fort of the Chickaſaws, and the other was defeated in the open field. A ſecond attempt was made, about four years after, to ſubdue them with freſh troops from Europe and Canada, as well as by a combination of all the friendly Indians; but the Chickaſaws continued to maintain their independency with their former intrepidity, till ſome fortunate incidents brought on an accommodation *. Since that time, nothing has diſturbed the repoſe of Louiſiana.

CHAP. VIII.

A. D. 1734.

A. D. 1736.

A. D. 1740.

The coaſts of this extenſive country, which are all ſituated on the Gulph of Mexico, are in general flat, often overflowed, and every where covered with fine ſand, as white as ſnow. The French never eſtabliſhed either forts or ſettlements on theſe barren coaſts, to the weſt of the Miſſiſippi. To the eaſt of it ſtands Fort Mobile, on the banks of the river of the ſame name, the courſe of which extends one hundred and thirty leagues. It was intended as a check upon the Chactaws, the Alibamons, and ſome ſmaller tribes of Indians; in order to retain them in alliance with France, as well as to ſecure their fur-trade.

The Miſſiſippi, as already obſerved, empties itſelf into the ſea by a number of outlets. Theſe are not always found in the ſame ſituation: ſeveral of them are at times dry, and moſt of them will only admit ſmall veſſels; but there is one that can receive ſhips of five hundred tons burden. On the channel through which they muſt ſail, a kind of citadel is built, called La Blaiſe. About twenty leagues higher are two forts, which flank both ſides of the river. Though in themſelves not remarkably ſtrong, they would be able to obſtruct the paſſage of an hundred ſhips, as only one ſhip could advance at a time, and even that could neither caſt anchor nor come to a mooring at this place. The firſt ſettlement that preſents itſelf, on the Miſſiſippi, is New Orleans, at thirty leagues diſtance from the ſea. It was began, as we have ſeen, in 1717, but made no progreſs till 1722, when it became the capital of the colony.

At this period was traced out the plan of a handſome city, which has been gradually, and as it were inſenſibly raiſed. The ſtreets are all ſtraight, and croſs

* Du Pratz.

each

each other at right angles. They form fixty-five detached pieces of ground, each of three hundred feet fquare, and fubdivided into twelve allotments for as many inhabitants to build upon. The huts which formerly covered this great fpace, are now tranfformed into commodious houfes, moftly built with brick. They are all furrounded by canals, which communicate with each other. This was thought a neceffary precaution againft the floods. New Orleans, intended to be the center of all intercourfe with Louifiana, ftands on the eaft fide of the Miffiffippi, and the landing is fo eafy that the largeft fhips need only form a little bridge with planks, in order to unload their goods; but when the waters are high it is requifite that they fhould haften their departure, as the quantity of wood which floats down the river at that feafon would accumulate in the anchoring place, and cut the largeft cables afunder.

The plantations are ranged in an uninterrupted line, on both fides of the Miffiffippi. Below New Orleans they extend but five leagues, and are not very confiderable. Near the mouth of the river, the land begins to diminifh in width, and continues to narrow all the way to the fea. On this neck of land, nothing is to be feen but lands and marfhes, which afford no fhelter to the human fpecies, and are only fit for the reception of water fowl and mufquitoes. The plantations up the Miffiffippi, reach ten leagues above the town. The moft diftant have been cleared by fome Germans, who with indefatigable labour have erected two villages, inhabited by the moft induftrious men in the colony.

In all this extent of fifteen leagues of cultivated land, the river has been embanked, in order to preferve the grounds from the floods, which return regularly every fpring. The bank is fecured by broad ditches, cut round every field, to drain off the waters which might otherwife overthrow the ftrongeft dike. Throughout the whole cultivated fpace the foil is very muddy, and extremely proper for productions which require a moift fituation. When it becomes neceffary to break up any frefh ground, the great reeds, with which it is over-run, are cut down; and as foon as dry, they are fet on fire. If the earth is afterwards but ftirred in the ſlighteſt manner, it produces great crops of rice, Indian corn, and all forts of grain, pulfe, or other vegetables that are fown upon it, except wheat, which exhaufts itſelf in ſtraw, from the too great luxuriancy of the foil.

Moſtly the habitations, which are ſcattered along the banks of the river, might have been more judiciouſly diſpoſed at the diſtance of half a league, on ſome of the little eminences which are frequent in the neighbouring country. A more pure air and a good bottom would have been found there; and probably wheat would have ſucceeded, when the woods had been cleared. The fertility of the grounds, if left open to the annual inundations of the river, would have exceeded all belief; becauſe the waters, as they ſubſided, would conſtantly have enriched them with a freſh ſupply of ſlime, which muſt greatly have promoted vegetation. Both ſides of the Miſſiſippi would, in a courſe of years, have been adorned with extenſive paſtures, covered with innumerable herds and flocks, as well as with a range of gardens, orchards, plantations

plantations of rice, and fields of every other ſort of grain, ſufficient for the maintenance of a numerous people. CHAP. VIII.

This glorious proſpect might have been extended from New Orleans all over the lower Louiſiana; and thus a ſecond France would have appeared in America: but inſtead of ſuch extenſive improvement, only ten leagues above that city, begins an immenſe deſert, where, in an extent of thirty leagues, appear but two wretched towns, inhabited by ſavages. At the extremity of this deſert ſtands a place called Point Coupée, which is in a peculiar manner the work of European induſtry. Here the Miſſiſippi formerly made a conſiderable bend; and ſome Frenchmen, by deepening the bed of a rivulet, which ran behind a point of land, brought the waters of the river into it. In this new channel they flowed with ſuch impetuoſity, that they entirely cut off the reſt of the point of land; by which circumſtance the navigation has been made ſhorter by fourteen leagues. The old channel was ſoon dry, and covered with ſuch large trees as aſtoniſhed all who had ſeen them grow up. This happy change of courſe gave life and vigour to one of the fineſt ſettlements in Louiſiana. The inhabitants, ſettled on both ſides of the river, have enriched, as well as embelliſhed their plantations, with all kinds of European fruit-trees, none of which have degenerated. For their own conſumption they cultivate rice and maize, and for exportation cotton and tobacco. The ſale of their timber is likewiſe a lucrative branch of trade.

Above Point Coupée, about twenty leagues, falls into the Miſſiſippi, on the weſt ſide, the Red River; on which ſtands a fort built by the French, thirty-five leagues from its influx. The deſign of this fort was to convey into Louiſiana the gold and ſilver of New Mexico, which had already circulated near that place; but every ſuch hope vaniſhed, on ſurveying the poverty of the neighbouring Spaniards, and their little intercourſe with richer places. The only advantage reaped from that eſtabliſhment, and no contemptible one, was a plentiful ſupply of horſes and horned cattle, which were ſcarce in Louiſiana. But ſince they have multiplied in the latter country, the poſt on the Red River has continued to decline; nor is the colony of the Natches in a more flouriſhing ſtate.

This ſettlement, which is at the diſtance of an hundred and ten leagues from the ſea, was the moſt favourable that Iberville could meet with in ſailing up the river. He ſaw no ſpot more eligible for the capital of the intended colony. All who ſurveyed it after him, were equally delighted with the advantages that it offered. The climate is healthy and temperate, the ſoil fit for tobacco, cotton, indigo, and every kind of culture. The land is high enough to be in no danger from the inundations, and the country open, extenſive, well watered, and within reach of every ſettlement that has been made. Its diſtance from the ocean is no impediment to the arrival of ſhips. So flattering a proſpect very ſoon engaged five hundred men to ſettle in the country of the Natches; where their intolerable rapacity, inſolence, and cruelty, occaſioned their total deſtruction, in the manner already related, by the hands of the exaſperated ſavages. Thoſe who came after to ſupply their place, and avenge their death, did not raiſe this ſettlement beyond

BOOK IV.

its former condition; and the defolate country of the Natches remains a ſtriking monument of the deſtructive rage of Gallic tyranny, without having benefited even the tyrants.

An hundred and twenty leagues above the colony of the Natches, is that of the Akanſas, which would have been very conſiderable, if the nine thouſand Germans raiſed in the Palatinate, with a view to form it, had arrived there ſafe. They were a ſober induſtrious people, but all periſhed before they reached the place of their deſtination. The Canadians who fixed there, in coming down the river, found a delightful climate, a fruitful ſoil, with eaſe and tranquillity. As they had been accuſtomed to live with ſavages, they were not averſe from marrying the daughters of the Akanſas; and theſe alliances were attended with the happieſt conſequences. There never was the leaſt coolneſs between the two nations, united by theſe intermarriages, though ſo different from each other in manners. They have continued to live in that train of commerce, and that intercourſe of good offices, which the fluctuating ſtate of their affairs occaſionally required, and mutual intereſt rendered neceſſary.

The like harmony, though in an inferior degree, ſubſiſts between the Illinois and the colony ſettled in their country, at three hundred leagues diſtant from the Akanſas. This nation, the moſt northern in Louiſiana, was conſtantly at war, and always in danger of being deſtroyed by the Iroquois, when the French arrived among them from Canada. Theſe ſtrangers, who were renowned for their valour in that part of the New World, were favourably received by the Illinois; and their intereſt was courted by the nation, as being able to make the moſt vigorous oppoſition againſt, if not to help them to humble an old and inveterate enemy. The French have ſo much increaſed, that they fill ſix conſiderable villages, while the natives, who were formerly very numerous and widely extended, are now confined to three towns, which do not contain above two thouſand inhabitants. Both have forſaken the river which took its name from the people, in order to ſettle towards the ſouth of it, on the more pleaſant and fertile banks of the Miſſiſippi. This colony, which has made great progreſs, and the fertility of whoſe territory it is impoſſible to exaggerate, is become the granary of Louiſiana, and might ſupply an infinitely more conſiderable population.

The population of Louiſiana, as a colony, has ever indeed been ſmall. It never exceeded five thouſand white people, including twelve hundred ſoldiers, who compoſed the military force of the colony *. Theſe people, however, were not compoſed of the dregs of Europe, which France had ſent over to Louiſiana, during the prevalence of Law's ſyſtem. All thoſe abandoned men had fortunately periſhed, without leaving any poſterity; and the new coloniſts, their ſucceſſors, were robuſt men, who migrated from Canada, or diſbanded ſoldiers, who had prudently preferred the labours of agriculture to a life of idleneſs, the natural conſequence of pride and prejudice. Every inhabitant received from the government not only a piece of ground, with ſeed to ſow it, but likewiſe a

* Raynal, liv. xvi.

muſket,

muſket, an axe, a mattock, a cow and a calf, and a cock and ſix hens, with a plentiful ſupply of proviſions for three years *. Some officers, and a few men of ſubſtance, had improved theſe advantages by laying out large plantations, which employed about ſix thouſand ſlaves; but the produce of their labour was very inconſiderable. The annual exports of the colony never exceeded two hundred thouſand crowns †.

Louiſiana, however, would probably have attained a much higher degree of proſperity had it not been for an original error in the mode of granting lands. Every one who ſolicited not only obtained them, but with a permiſſion of ſettling, according to his own capricious fancy, in a boundleſs country, at the diſtance often of an hundred leagues from any other plantation; whereas had they fixed in a common centre, they would have profited by mutual aſſiſtance, lived harmoniouſly under the ſame laws, and have enjoyed all the advantages of a well regulated ſociety. As population increaſed the lands would have been cleared to a greater extent; and inſtead of a few hords of ſavages, France would have beheld a thriving colony, which might in time have become a great and powerful nation, and proved of infinite advantage to the parent-ſtate.

The French, who purchaſe annually from foreign powers, ſeventeen millions weight of tobacco, might eaſily have been ſupplied with that commodity from Louiſiana. Twelve or fourteen thouſand men ſkilled in the cultivation of it, would have furniſhed a ſufficient quantity for the conſumption of the whole kingdom. The government entertained ſuch hopes, when it ordered all the tobacco plantations in Guiana to be deſtroyed. Convinced that the lands in that province were adapted to more important and richer cultures, and could produce neceſſary articles of greater conſequence, they thought it would be equally advantageous to the mother-country and the colony, to ſecure to Louiſiana, then in its infant ſtate, a market for tobacco; but when Law, the projector of this ſcheme, fell into diſcredit, his moſt rational plans were laid aſide, and ſhared the ſame fate with thoſe which were merely the offspring of a diſordered imagination. The farmers of the revenue, who were gainers by the miſtake, omitted nothing to continue it; and this, adds Raynal, is not one of the ſmalleſt miſchiefs which the *finance* has done to the monarchy.

The profit ariſing to the colony from tobacco, would have made it ſenſible of the advantages that might be derived from the ſpacious and beautiful meadows, with which Louiſiana abounds. They would ſoon have been covered with cattle, whoſe hides would have amply ſupplied the mother-country with leather, and whoſe fleſh, when ſalted, might have been diſpoſed of in the Weſt India iſlands. Horſes and mules, multiplying in the ſame proportion as the horned cattle, would have freed the French colonies from that dependence which they have always had upon the Engliſh and Spaniards for thoſe neceſſary articles.

As ſoon as the coloniſts had begun to exert themſelves, they would have proceeded from one branch of induſtry to another: they could not poſſibly have

* Id. ibid. † Raynal, ubi ſup.

avoided

avoided ſhip-building, becauſe the materials were at hand. The country was covered with wood fit for the hull, and the fir trees which grow in great plenty along the coaſt, would have afforded maſts and yards, as well as tar for the making of pitch. Hemp might eaſily have been raiſed in ſufficient quantity for the ſails and rigging. Nothing perhaps need have been imported but iron; and it is even more than probable, that there are iron mines in Louiſiana. The foreſts being felled for thoſe purpoſes, without any expence, and even with advantage, the ground would have been laid open for corn, cotton, indigo, flax, or olives; and even the culture of ſilk might have been proſecuted with ſucceſs, when once the colony had been ſufficiently populous to attend to an employment which the mildneſs of the climate, the increaſe of mulberry trees, and ſome fortunate trials had invited them to undertake. What might not, in a word, have been expected from a country, where the air is temperate, the ſoil fertile, and the lands ſuſceptible of improvement boundleſs?

Had Louiſiana reached that degree of proſperity which it was capable of attaining, the mouth of the Miſſiſippi would have been rendered more eaſy of acceſs; and this might have been effected by attending conſtantly to it, without incurring any great expence. For that purpoſe it would have been ſufficient to have ſtopped up all thoſe ſmaller outlets, which are rather a hindrance than a help to navigation, with the floating trees waſhed down by the ſtream. The whole body of the waters being thus confined to one channel, it would have become deeper at the mouth of the river, and the bar which almoſt ſhuts it up, would probably have been entirely removed. The largeſt ſhips might then have ſailed into the Miſſiſippi with more eaſe and ſafety than the ſmalleſt do at preſent; and as a farther means of facilitating navigation, the thick foreſts that intercept the winds might have been felled, and the paſſage up the river rendered leſs tedious. New Orleans would have become a populous city; and every art, ſcience, and uſeful improvement, would have ſucceſſively appeared to form a flouriſhing and vigorous colony in one of the fineſt countries in the univerſe.

But France overlooked all theſe advantages, when ſhe ceded to Spain that part of Louiſiana which remained to her, after the peace of 1763; when it was ſtipulated, "that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic majeſty, and thoſe of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, on the continent of America, ſhall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Miſſiſippi from its ſource to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of that river and the lake Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the ſea; and for this purpoſe the moſt Chriſtian king cedes, in full right, and guarantees to his Britannic majeſty the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he poſſeſſes, or ought to poſſeſs, on the eaſt ſide of the river Miſſiſippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the iſland in which it is ſituated, which ſhall remain to France, provided that the river Miſſiſippi ſhall be equally free, as well to the ſubjects of Great-Britain as to thoſe of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its ſource to the ſea, and expreſsly that part which is between the ſaid iſland of New Orleans,

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Orleans, and the weſt bank of that river, as well as the paſſage both in and out of its mouth *."

Not only the French nation, but all Europe were aſtoniſhed at this conceſſion: how great then was their ſurpriſe, in 1769, when they were informed that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty had ceded the remainder of that fine country, which alone could compenſate his former loſſes, to the crown of Spain!—It may long perhaps remain a political problem whether this tranſfer, of people as well as territory, deteſtable in a moral view, is not alike detrimental to both kingdoms; to the one, by giving up what ſhe ought to have retained, to the other, by accepting what ſhe cannot keep, and what muſt in the mean time prove a burthen to her.

But whatever influence this tranſaction may have upon the intereſts of France and Spain, we cannot doubt of its beneficial conſequences to Great-Britain. Our ſouthern colonies are, by that means, not only freed from a dangerous neighbour, but approximated to the Spaniſh ſettlements: an advantage of itſelf of no ſmall import, as it opens the way for a beneficial commerce; and in caſe of a rupture with the court of Madrid, we will now find little difficulty in extending our conqueſts to the bottom of the Gulph of Mexico. This is a ſtill nearer approach to New Spain, the great fountain of treaſure and fertility, and will lead to ſtill more important advantages. Old and New Mexico, indeed, ſeem neceſſary to complete the Britiſh empire in America; and there is no doubt but the iſthmus of Darien will one day mark the boundary between the Engliſh and Spaniſh poſſeſſions in the New World.

Whether thoſe poſſeſſions will then belong to the mother-countries, is a queſtion not eaſy to be ſettled, and a thing rather to be wiſhed than hoped for. It is, however, highly probable, that the preſent unnatural alliance of our colonies with a foreign and arbitrary power, will make them ſenſible of their natural and neceſſary connexion with Great Britain; and that ſhe will at leaſt continue to enjoy the excluſive benefit of their trade, as long as they ſtand in need of European commodities.—But before we enter on that unhappy conteſt, whoſe progreſs will enable us to judge more diſtinctly of this matter, we muſt carry forward the hiſtory of New England, as well as that of New France.

CHAP. IX.

New England from the Year 1691, when the Maſſachuſets New Charter was granted, and the other Colonies ſettled on the ſame Foundation on which they ſtood at the Beginning of the preſent Troubles.

NO ſooner did the fanatical ſectaries of Maſſachuſets Bay find themſelves in ſecurity, in conſequence of the charter granted them by king William, than their perſecuting ſpirit began again to ſhew itſelf; but being now reſtrained by the

* Treaty of Paris, Article VII.

BOOK IV. A. D. 1692

laws from imbruing their hands in the blood of the Quakers and Anabaptiſts, their religious fury took a new direction, and running through the colony, like an infection, exhibited one of the moſt extraordinary ſpectacles recorded in hiſtory.

One Mr. Paris, miniſter of Salem, having two daughters, who were troubled with convulſions, accompanied with extraordinary ſymptoms, he conjectured that they were bewitched; and having, in conſequence of this idea, caſt his eyes upon an Indian woman who lived as a ſervant in his family, he compelled her by harſh treatment to acknowledge her intercourſe with the devil, and that ſhe was the cauſe of the diſorders that had awakened his ſuſpicions. The unhappy wretch was committed to priſon, and the alarm of witchcraft ſpread. Other women, troubled with ſimilar complaints, began to believe that they were bewitched alſo. Perſons in an ill ſtate of health in general, but eſpecially thoſe who are affected with ſuch diſtempers as draw the eyes of the world upon them, are fond of diſcovering ſupernatural cauſes for their maladies. In the preſent caſe, there was likewiſe perhaps a ſhare of malice, or the gratification of private reſentment; for among the perſons firſt accuſed was one Mr. George Burroughs, formerly miniſter of Salem, but who on account of certain religious diſputes, had differed with his flock, and left them. Other accuſations left equal room for ſuſpicion.

Mr. Burroughs was tried for witchcraft, along with two others, by a ſpecial commiſſion of oyer and terminer, directed to ſix gentlemen of the beſt fortunes, and reputed to be perſons of the beſt underſtanding in the colony. Before theſe gentlemen was exhibited a piece of evidence the moſt weak and childiſh, the moſt repugnant to itſelf, and to the common-ſenſe of mankind, that ever diſgraced any court of juſtice, yet by thoſe judges, on that evidence, and the verdict founded upon it, this miniſter, a man of moſt unexceptionable character, and two others, men irreproachable in their lives, were ſentenced to ſuffer death, and hanged accordingly. The bodies of theſe victims of popular madneſs were ſtript naked, and thrown into a pit, half covered with earth, and there left to the diſcretion of the birds and wild beaſts. Soon after, ſixteen more perſons were convicted on the ſame evidence, and ſuffered in like manner; the greater part of whom died in the moſt examplary ſentiments of piety, and with the ſtrongeſt proteſtations of their innocence. One man refuſing to plead to ſuch an infamous charge, ſuffered the puniſhment which the law directs in that caſe, by a ſlow preſſure to death.

Powerfully affected by theſe ſhocking examples, the imagination of the people was wholly occupied with gloomy and horrid ideas. The moſt innocent and ordinary actions were metamorphoſed into magic rites; and the fury of the populace increaſed, in proportion as this gloom of imagination gathered. The contagion ſpread with rage and rapidity into every corner of the country. Neither the tenderneſs of youth, the infirmities of age, virgin modeſty, the ſacredneſs of the miniſtry, fortune, honour, virtue, nor public employments, were any ſecurity againſt the accuſations of a people infatuated with a viſionary ſuperſtition. Children of eleven years old were taken up on ſuſpicion of witchcraft; young girls were ſtript naked, and their bodies examined with the moſt indecent curioſity

ſity for *magical teats*; and thoſe ſcorbutic ſtains common on the ſkins of aged perſons, were called the *Devil's nips*, and conſidered as indiſputable evidence of connexion with the infernal power. As ſuch indeed they admitted every idle and flying report, and even the ſuppoſed appearance of ghoſts, which they honoured with the name of *ſpectral evidence* *.

The torture completed what theſe extraordinary teſtimonies wanted; a number of unhappy victims being driven to confeſs whatever their tormentors thought proper to dictate to them. Some women declared that they had been lain with by the Devil, and others avowed things equally abſurd and abominable. In a word, it is more eaſy to imagine than to expreſs the deplorable ſtate of a colony, where all men's lives depended upon the caprice and folly of diſordered minds; where fanaticiſm, malice, and revenge, had full opportunity of gratifying themſelves in a moſt ſanguinary manner, by an inſtrument that was already prepared, and to which the public phrenzy gave a certain and deſtructive effect. As a further evil, the wretches who were expoſed to the torture, being preſſed to diſcover their accomplices, no leſs warmly than to acknowledge their own guilt, named people at random; and theſe imaginary accomplices in an imaginary crime, were treated in the ſame cruel manner, on this extorted evidence, as thoſe from whom it had been drawn, and new accomplices were named.

Terror and conſternation ſeized upon all men; no man in ſuch a ſtate of ſociety being ſure of his life a moment. Some prevented accuſation, by voluntarily charging themſelves with witchcraft, and ſo eſcaped death; for it is remarkable that of all the perſons who pleaded guilty, not one ſuffered capitally. Others fled the country, and many were preparing to fly: the priſons were crowded, and people were daily executed; but their blood ſeemed only to make their perſecutors ravenous of more, and the number of witches and the bewitched increaſed every hour, till Dudley Bradſtreet, a magiſtrate who had committed forty perſons for the crime of witchcraft, fatigued with ſo diſagreeable an employment, and aſhamed of the ſhare he had taken in it, refuſed to grant any more warrants. But what was the conſequence?—The witch-perſecutors and witneſſes accuſed him and his wife of having killed nine perſons by their ſorceries; and they were obliged to fly out of the province, in order to ſave their lives. The madneſs, however, was now at its height. A jury, ſtruck with the affecting behaviour and ſolemn aſſurances of the innocence of Rebecca Nurſe, a woman of great piety and virtue, ventured to acquit her; but the judges ſent them out again, and in an imperious manner forced them to find her guilty, and ſhe was hanged immediately †.

The magiſtrates and miniſters of New England, whoſe prudence and authority ought to have been employed in healing this diſtemper, and aſſuaging its fury, had hitherto ſerved only to inflame it: they had encouraged the accuſers, aſſiſted at the examinations, and extorted the confeſſions of witches. None ſignalized his zeal more on this occaſion than Sir William Phips, the governor, who being

* Mather. Neal. Douglaſs. † Ibid.

a man

BOOK IV. a man of low education, was a dupe to vulgar prejudices. Dr. Increaſe Mather, and Dr. Cotton Mather, the pillars of the New England church, were equally ſanguine; and ſeveral of the moſt popular miniſters, after twenty perſons had been executed for witchcraft, addreſſed Sir William Phips, thanking him for his pious zeal, and exhorting him to proceed in ſo laudable a work, as the weeding of the Lord's garden.

Encouraged in this manner, the perſecutors did not know where to ſtop, nor the judges how to proceed. Aſhamed of ſome late deciſions, they diſcouraged farther proſecutions, on which they themſelves were accuſed. The neareſt relations of Dr. Increaſe Mather were involved, and witchcraft began to
A. D. 1693. approach even the governor's family. It was now high time to give things another turn: the accuſers were reſtrained by authority; one hundred and fifty perſons who lay in priſon were diſcharged; two hundred more under accuſation, were paſſed over; and thoſe who had received ſentence of death were reprieved, and in due time pardoned. A few moments of cool reflection ſhewed the people the groſs deluſion and ſtupid phrenzy by which they had been borne away. They looked back with horror on thoſe executions which they had enjoyed with tranſport: they ſaw the ſaints of Chriſt in the very perſons whom they had condemned as the aſſociates of hell, and were filled with ſorrow and regret, as well as with ſhame, for what they had done. A general faſt was appointed, in order to ſupplicate the Almighty "to pardon all the errors of his ſervants and people in a late tragedy, raiſed amongſt them by Satan and his inſtruments *."

This violent paroxyſm of fanatical fury, carried off ſo much of the virulence of the old puritanical humour, that the people of New England became ſomewhat like the reſt of mankind in their manners: nor did any thing remarkable occur in any of the provinces, till the preſent unhappy conteſt routed that jealous ſpirit of independency, which had lain ſo long dormant, and which has communicated its rage to all the neighbouring colonies. The hiſtory of New England therefore, from the period of which we are treating, to that æra, affords few intereſting events; and thoſe worthy of notice are chiefly connected with the hiſtory of Canada, in which they ſhall be related. But the commerce, population, and manufactures of New England demand our immediate attention.

This country, bounded on the north by Canada, on the weſt by New York, and on the eaſt and ſouth by Nova Scotia and the ocean, extends full three hundred miles along the ſea coaſt, and upwards of an hundred into the continent, though not above ſixty of that width is cultivated. It lies between the forty-firſt and forty fifth degrees of north latitude; and therefore is almoſt ten degrees nearer the equator than the greater part of Britain, yet the winter begins earlier, laſts longer, and is infinitely more ſevere in New than in Old England. The ſummer, on the contrary, is extremely hot, and even more fervently ſo than in countries which lie under the ſame parallels in Europe. Both the heat and the

* Dr. C. Mather.

cold, however, are now far more moderate, and the temper of the air in all reſpects better, than when it was firſt ſettled. The cutting down of the woods, and the opening of the grounds, by giving a free paſſage to the winds, have carried off thoſe noxious vapours which were prejudicial to the health of the firſt inhabitants. The ſky is generally clear, both in ſummer and winter, and the weather ſteady. Two months frequently paſs without the appearance of a cloud. The rains are heavy, but of ſhort continuance.

The ſoil of New England is various, but no where rich, except in what they call interval lands. Few European fruits, however, have there degenerated. It is even ſaid, the apple has improved. At leaſt it has multiplied exceedingly, and made cyder a more common drink in this province than in any other country in the world. All European roots and garden ſtuff have alſo proſpered, but corn has not ſucceeded ſo well. The wheat is apt to be blighted, barley is an hungry grain, and the oats are lean and chaffy; but the maize or Indian corn, which makes the ordinary food of the common people, flouriſhes exceedingly. The ear of this plant is about a ſpan in length, conſiſting of eight or more rows of grain, according to the goodneſs of the ground, with about thirty grains in each row. On the top of the ear hangs a ſort of flower, not unlike a taſſel of ſilk, of various colours; white, blue, greeniſh, black, ſpeckled, ſtriped, which gives the maize as it grows a very beautiful appearance. The grain is of all the colours that prevail in the flower, but moſt frequently yellow or white. The ſtalks grow to the height of ſix or eight feet, and are of a conſiderable thickneſs. They are jointed like a cane; and at each of thoſe joints ſhoot out a number of leaves, like flags, that make very good fodder for cattle. The ſtalk is ſupplied with a juice as ſweet as that of the ſugar-cane; but from repeated experiments, it appears to be incapable of being rendered uſeful *.

This grain is generally ſowed in little ſquares, and requires a very attentive cultivation. The ſoil in which it flouriſhes moſt is a light ſand, with a ſmall intermixture of loam. A peck of ſeed is ſufficient for an acre, which, at a medium, produces about twenty-five buſhels. The Indians have various methods of uſing this corn; but the moſt common is to dry it high, without burning, to ſift and beat it in mortars into fine meal, which they either eat dry or mixed with water. The Engliſh bake it into bread in the ſame manner as flour, though with the beſt food made from it is called *Samp*, which is prepared thus: the corn being ſteeped in water for half an hour, is beat in a mortar until it is thoroughly cleared of the huſk, then ſifted, boiled, and eaten with milk, or butter and ſugar, like rice. This is not only an agreeable but a wholeſome and ſtrengthening diet †. The people of New England alſo brew good ſtrong beer from maize; and their method of malting it green, points out an experiment which might perhaps be improved to advantage by the maltſters of Great-Britain. The greater part of their beer, however, is made of molaſſes, hopped; with an infuſion frequently of the tops of the ſpruce fir.

* Winthrop's Letter to the Royal Society. † Ibid.

Beſides maize and other kinds of grain, the New England people raiſe a large quantity of flax, and have made experiments in the culture of hemp, by no means unſucceſsful. An acre of their beſt land produces about a ton of this commodity, but the ſoil is ſoon exhauſted. Hemp probably requires a climate more uniformly warm than that of New England; for although the greater part of our hemp is brought from the northern countries, it is in the more ſouthern provinces of Ruſſia that the beſt which we receive is produced. Horned cattle are numerous in New England, and ſome of them very large. Hogs are alſo plenty, and particularly excellent; and ſheep are more numerous there, and both their fleſh and wool of a better quality, than in any other part of the New World. The common breed of horſes is ſmall. But theſe little animals are remarkably hardy, and pace naturally, though in no very graceful manner, but with ſuch ſwiftneſs as muſt appear altogether incredible to thoſe who have not experienced it.

According to the moſt exact calculations, the number of people in New England before the beginning of the preſent troubles, was eſtimated at four hundred thouſand ſouls, including a ſmall mixture of Negroes and Indians. They may be proportioned in the following manner: Maſſachuſets Bay, two hundred and twenty thouſand; Connecticut, one hundred and ten thouſand; Rhode Iſland, forty thouſand; and New Hampſhire, thirty thouſand. This population, which greatly exceeds that of any other of our colonies, may be chiefly aſcribed to the equal diviſion of property; for although there are in New England ſeveral gentlemen poſſeſſed of conſiderable landed eſtates, which they let to farmers, or manage by their ſtewards or overſeers, the great body of the people is compoſed of a ſubſtantial yeomanry, who cultivate their own freeholds, without a dependance upon any ſuperior but Providence, or any aid but their own induſtry.

Theſe freeholds generally paſs to the children of the proprietors in the way of gavel kind, or to heirs general, without any diſtinction of elder and younger; a circumſtance which prevents them from being ever almoſt able to emerge out of their original happy mediocrity. Other good effects flow from this method of inheriting: it makes the people more ready to remove into the uncultivated parts of the country, where land is ſtill to be had at an eaſy rate, and in large portions. In no part of the world are the middling claſs of people ſo independent, nor do they any where poſſeſs ſo many of the conveniencies of life as in New England. This commodious and deſirable equality of fortune, joined to their religious principles, and their form of government, has at all times given them a republican caſt, and a turbulence of ſpirit which, though at times ſubdued, has long aſpired after independent juriſdiction. The terror of the arms of the mother-country, and the danger from the French in Canada, only could have kept New England ſo long in the form of a province, or Britiſh colony, under the controul of Britiſh laws.

Though the arts and manufactures have been carried to a greater degree of perfection in New England, than in any other of our colonies, they have not made an equal progreſs with agriculture. The firſt which was attempted, as formerly obſerved,

obſerved, was that of ſhip-building, which maintained for a long time a great reputation. The veſſels that came out of the New England docks were highly eſteemed; becauſe the wood of which they were compoſed was found much cloſer, and leſs apt to ſplit, than that of the ſouthern provinces. But ſince the year 1740, the demand has continued to decreaſe, by reaſon of the little attention paid to the wood uſed, and its application to other purpoſes. In order to prevent this inconvenience, it was propoſed to forbid the cutting of any timber for ſhip-building within ten miles of the ſea; but ſuch a regulation, though ſalutary, has never been put in force.

The diſtilling of rum has ſucceeded better in New England than the building of ſhips. The opportunity which the coloniſts had of importing vaſt quantities of molaſſes from the Weſt Indies, in exchange for their various commodities, gave riſe to this branch of trade. The molaſſes were at firſt uſed for ſeveral purpoſes in their original ſtate: at length the people of Boſton learned to extract beer, and afterwards ſpirit from them. With this ſpirit, which is an inferior ſort of rum, they ſoon ſupplied almoſt the whole conſumption of our American colonies; the Indian trade there, and the vaſt demands of their own, the Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland fiſheries, as well as thoſe of the Guinea trade. Nor did the baſe quality of their rum diminiſh its ſale, as it was ſold remarkably cheap.

The ſame circumſtance has ſupported and increaſed the making of hats. Though this manufacture was limited by the Britiſh parliament to the internal conſumption of the colony, the merchants have found means to elude the law, and to ſmuggle large quantities into the neighbouring ſettlements. New England ſells no cloths, but it buys very few. Of the wool of their flocks, which is of a ſtaple ſufficiently long, though not ſo fine as that of the mother-country, the coloniſts make many ſtuffs, cloths, and coarſe drabs, admirably adapted for the ordinary wear of country people. Nor are they ſtrangers to the linen manufactory.

A number of Preſbyterians, expelled from the north of Ireland by the rapacity of their landlords, in conſequence of an affinity in religious ſentiments, made New England their aſylum, in preference to more fertile colonies. That ſkill in the linen manufactures, which they brought along with them, procured them a favourable reception; and meeting with due encouragement, they ſoon exerciſed their induſtry to the great advantage of the colony. They made large quantities of cloth, and of a very good kind, of the flax of the province. Their principal ſettlement is a conſiderable town, and in compliment to them, named Londonderry.

The mother-country, whoſe political meaſures have not always correſponded with that wiſdom which might be expected from her councils, has omitted nothing to thwart thoſe ſeveral manufactures; which, it muſt be owned, have rendered the trade of New England of very little benefit to Great Britain. But the legiſlature did not perceive, that as New England has properly no ſtaple commodity, thoſe Britiſh ſubjects who were employed in clearing this conſiderable portion of the North American continent, ſo beneficial to our Weſt India iſlands, muſt be reduced to the neceſſity of abandoning ſo deſirable a country, unleſs

they could procure, by their ſkill and induſtry, from among themſelves, the things of general uſe, and of immediate demand. Nor would even this reſource have been ſufficient for their ſupport, if good fortune and ingenuity had not opened to them ſeveral other channels of profit, the origin and progreſs of which we muſt endeavour to trace.

The firſt external reſource which they found, as we have already had occaſion to notice, was in the fiſhery. It has been encouraged to ſuch a degree, that a regulation has taken place, in conſequence of which, every family that can declare it has lived upon ſalt fiſh for two days in the week during a year, is exempted from part of the public taxes. Mackarel is caught only in the ſpring, at the mouth of the Pentagonet, a conſiderable river, which empties itſelf into the Bay of Fundi, towards the eaſtern extremity of New England; but in the very centre of the coaſt, and near Boſton, the cod fiſh is at all times found in ſuch plenty, that Cape Cod, notwithſtanding the ſterility of its ſoil, is one of the moſt populous parts in the province. Not ſatisfied, however, with the fiſh found in its own latitudes, New England ſent every year before the preſent diſturbances, about two hundred veſſels, from thirty-five to forty tons burden, to the Great Bank of Newfoundland, and to Cape Breton. Theſe veſſels generally made three voyages in a ſeaſon, and brought back at leaſt ninety-nine thouſand hundred weight of cod. Larger ſhips alſo ſailed from the ſame ports, in order to exchange proviſions for the fiſh caught by the Engliſh ſettled on the frozen and barren ſhores of Newfoundland.

All this cod was afterwards diſtributed in the ſouthern parts of Europe and America. Nor is fiſh the only article with which the Britiſh iſlands in the Weſt Indies were ſupplied from New England. It furniſhed them beſides with horſes, oxen, hogs, ſalt beef and pork, butter, tallow, cheeſe, flour, biſcuit, Indian corn, peas, apples and pears, cyder, and wood of all kinds. The ſame commodities paſs into the iſlands belonging to the other European powers; ſometimes openly, ſometimes clandeſtinely, but always in ſmaller quantities during peace, than in times of war. Honduras, Surinam, and other parts of the American continent, are alſo markets open to New England; whoſe veſſels likewiſe viſit Madeira and the Azores, whence they import wines and brandies, in exchange for fiſh and corn.

The ports of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, were wont to receive annually ſixty or ſeventy New England ſhips, laden with cod, wood for ſhip-building, naval ſtores, corn, and fiſh-oil. Many of theſe veſſels carried back olive-oil, ſalt, wine, and money immediately to America, in defiance of a poſitive ſtatute, commanding the ſhips ſo employed to touch at ſome of the ports of Great Britain in their way home; in order to prevent them from making their returns in foreign manufactures, againſt which the legiſlature cannot guard too carefully. The ſhips that do not return to the port whence they take their departure, are generally ſold in that where they diſpoſe of their cargo. They have frequently no particular deſtination, but are freighted indifferently for every merchant and every port, till they meet with a proper purchaſer.

The

The mother country received from this colony maſts and yards for the royal navy, planks, potaſhes, pitch, tar, turpentine, fiſh oil, a few furs, and in years of ſcarcity, ſome corn. The amount of all theſe articles, together with the other exports of New England, was very conſiderable; but beſides the trade which ſhe carried on with her own productions, ſhe appropriated to herſelf part of the produce both of North and South America, by undertaking to convey the ſeveral exchanges made between theſe countries. On this account, the New England men are conſidered as the Dutch of the New World. But notwithſtanding ſuch animated exertions, and their great frugality, the people of this colony have never been able to diſcharge their debts: they have never been able to pay exactly for what they received from the mother-country, either of her own manufacture or of foreign produce and ingenuity; all which articles uſed to amount annually to about four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, and their trade was evidently on the decline, before the commencement of the preſent troubles. They were rivalled by the other colonies in almoſt every article, except maſts and yards, and theſe were become ſcarce. Their commerce, however, was ſtill ſufficient to employ ſix thouſand ſailors, and five hundred ſhips, beſides fiſhing and coaſting veſſels.

Almoſt all theſe ſhips took their departure from Boſton, the capital of Maſſachuſets Bay, the chief city in New England, and the only one worthy of a particular deſcription. This city is ſeated on a peninſula, about four miles long, at the bottom of a delightful bay, which reaches about eight miles within land. The opening of the bay is ſheltered from the impetuoſity of the waves by a number of rocks which riſe above the water, and from the winds by twelve ſmall iſlands, moſt of which are inhabited. Theſe dykes and natural ramparts, will not allow above three ſhips to enter the port together. Towards the end of the laſt century a regular fortification, named Fort William, was erected in one of the iſlands which form this narrow channel. That fortification mounts an hundred pieces of large cannon, which are diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, that they can rake any ſhip fore and aft, before it is poſſible for her to bring her guns to bear againſt the place. A league further on is a very high light-houſe; the ſignals from which, in caſe of an invaſion, are perceived and repeated by the forts along the whole coaſt; and Boſton has beſides its own light-houſes, which ſpread the alarm to all the inland country. If a fleet ſhould even be able to paſs the artillery of Fort William, it would receive a ſevere check from a couple of batteries, which being erected to the north and ſouth of the town, command the whole bay; and would at leaſt afford time for all the ſhips in the port to take ſhelter from cannon ſhot, in Charles River.

Boſton harbour is ſo large, that five or ſix hundred veſſels may anchor in it ſafely and commodiouſly. At the bottom of the harbour is a magnificient pier, near two thouſand feet in length; by means of which ſhips are enabled to unload their goods without the help of a lighter, and to depoſit them in the warehouſes, ranged on the north ſide. The head of this pier joins the principal ſtreet in the town, which, like moſt of the others, is ſpacious and well built.

The city itſelf appears in the form of a creſcent, at the extremity of the bay, and forms an agreeable and ſtriking proſpect from the ſea. According to the bills of mortality, which are become the only foundation of political arithmetic, it contained about thirty thouſand inhabitants in the year 1770; and the houſes, furniture, dreſs, food, and manners of the people nearly reſembled thoſe of Old England.

Such was Boſton, the moſt populous and beſt fortified city in Britiſh America before the preſent troubles. It has already ſuffered ſeveral alterations, and will moſt likely undergo more; but theſe we ſhall have occaſion to notice in relating the military tranſactions between the colonies and the mother-country. In the mean time we muſt relate the events which led to thoſe; the ſtruggles of Great Britain with France in America, and the ſecurity procured to our ſettlements, in conſequence of the conqueſt of Canada.

CHAP. X.

Canada *and the adjacent Iſlands from the building of* Quebec *to the Concluſion of the late War, with an Account of the principal military Tranſactions between* Great Britain *and* France *in* North America.

WHEN the French had eſtabliſhed themſelves in Canada by the building of Quebec, which they found admirably calculated by its ſituation to ſerve as a place of retreat, in caſe of any diſaſter, as well as a port for receiving ſupplies from Europe, they began to look abroad on that immenſe country which offered itſelf to their view, and into whoſe boſom they had been conducted by the great river St. Laurence. Every thing in this rude part of the New World appeared grand and ſublime. The boundleſs proſpect diſcovered only dark, thick, and deep foreſts, the ſize of whoſe trees was a ſufficient proof of their antiquity. Numberleſs rivers came from remote regions to water that extenſive territory. The intervals between them were full of lakes, four of which meaſured from two to five hundred leagues in circumference. Theſe inland ſeas, as they may be called, communicated with each other; and after forming the fineſt navigable canal in the univerſe, conſiderably increaſed the bed of the ocean by opening the gulph of St. Laurence.

Nature here appeared in ſuch luxuriant majeſty as commanded veneration and reſpect. A thouſand wild graces broke upon the ſight, far ſuperior to the artificial beauties of more cultivated regions. Here the imagination of the poet or painter would have been elevated, roufed, and filled with thoſe ideas which leave a laſting impreſſion upon the mind; and the coloniſts, whoſe views were otherwiſe directed, found the air highly favourable to human life. Nor does this temperature loſe any thing of its wholeſomeneſs by the ſeverity of a long and intenſely cold winter; the rigour of which muſt in ſome


An Exact Map
of the
Five Great Lakes,
with Part of
Pensilvania, New York, Canada
and
Hudsons Bay Territories.
From the best Surveys.
Nation
the Bea
Monsonis
L. of the Woods
or Rain Lake
L. Tcamaniouen
Cam
Long Lake
L. Missisagan
or Buade
R. St. Louis
West B
R. St. Hunters
Ouadoba R.
Malaminican R.
Falls of R. St. Anthony
R. St. Peter
Chapewa R.
L. Pepin
Out
Fort la Sueur
Miles R.
Ouisconsin R.
Fort Rouillet
Wood R. or Quicapous R.
Mas
Mine R.
Macaret R.
or Yellow R.
Mississipi R.
Rocky R.
Quicapous
Moingona R.
Barren Hills


An Exact Map of the FIVE GREAT LAKES with Part of Pensilvania, New York, Canada and Hudsons Bay Territories. From the best Surveys.
CANADA
NEW SOUTH WALES
JAMES'S BAY
Christinaux or Killistinos
Nation of the Bear
Monsonis
Abitibis
Bay Compania
LAKE SUPERIOR
LAKE HURON
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
Outagamis
Mascoutens
Twightwies
Illinois
Hurons
Iroquois
Mesisesagues
Adirondacs
PENSILVANIA
NEW YORK
Albany R.
Albany Fs
Henley Factory
Moose Fs
Abitibis
Lake Abitibis
Hudsons Bay
Christinaux Lake
Lake of the Woods or Rain Lake
Long Lake
L. Superior
L. Michigan
L. Huron
L. Ontario
L. Erie
Detroit R.
Niagara R.
Niagara Falls
Falls of Niagara
Fort Niagara
Fort Frontenac
Fort Detroit
Fort St Joseph
Fort Miamis
Fort Pitt
Albany
Oswego
Onondago
Cayugas
Senekas
Tuscarora
Mohawks
Onydoes
Oneyouths
Delaware R.
Susquehanna R.
Ohio R.
Mississippi R.
Illinois R.
Wisconsin R.
Missouri R.
Red River
Red R.
Assiniboin R.
Saskatchawin R.
Michipicoten R.
Albany R.
Moose R.
Ottawas R.
Ottawas Lakes
Ottawas
Chippewas
Pottawatamies
Hurons
Miamis
Twightwies
Illinois
Mascoutens
Outagamis
Kickapous
Sakis
Foxes
Menomonies
Winebagoes
Ilinois R.
Thakiki R.
Wabache R.
Miamis R.
Quiatanon
Ouiatanon
Kiskakon
Kaskaskias
Cahokias
Peoria
Peoria Lake
Fort Chartres
St Louis
St Louis R.
Missouri R.
Mississippi R.
Illinois R.
Wisconsin R.
Fox R.
Rock R.
Barren Hills
Prairie du Rocher Fs
Fort de Chartres
Fort Miamis
Fort Ouiatanon
Fort St Joseph
Fort Pontchartrain
Fort Frontenac
Fort Niagara
Fort Detroit
Fort Pitt
Fort Albany
Fort Rupert
Moose Fs
Albany Fs
Charlton Fs
Henley Factory
Albany R.
Moose R.
Rupert R.
Nodway R.
Abitibis R.
Lake Abitibis
L. Nikkikish
L. Mistassins
L. Bigoen
L. Temiscamingue
Temiscamingue R.
Lake Nipisin
Nipisin R.
Long Portage
Hudsons Bay
Bay Compania
Bay des Tremens
Rivers that run into Hudsons Bay
Rivers that run into the Lakes
Rivers that run into the Mississippi
Rivers that run into the Missouri
Rivers that run into the Ohio
Rivers that run into the Mexicana Gulf
Rivers that run into the Gulf of St Laurence
Rivers that run into the Atlantic Ocean
Rivers that run into the Red River
Rivers that run into the Assiniboin R.
Rivers that run into the Saskatchawin R.
Rivers that run into the Michipicoten R.
Rivers that run into the Albany R.
Rivers that run into the Moose R.
Rivers that run into the Ottawas R.
Rivers that run into the Detroit R.
Rivers that run into the Niagara R.
Rivers that run into the Delaware R.
Rivers that run into the Susquehanna R.
Rivers that run into the Ohio R.
Rivers that run into the Illinois R.
Rivers that run into the Wisconsin R.
Rivers that run into the Missouri R.

ſome meaſure be imputed to the woods, lakes, and mountains with which the country abounds, to the elevation of the land, and the direction of the winds, which blow from north to ſouth, over ſeas of eternal ice.

The inhabitants of this ſharp and bleak climate were, however, thinly clad. Before their intercourſe with the French, a cloak of buffalo or beaver ſkin, bound with a leathern girdle, and ſtockings made of a roe-buck ſkin, were the whole of their dreſs. The additions which they have ſince made, though not very conſiderable, give great offence to their old men, who are continually declaiming againſt the degeneracy of the manners, and the effeminacy of new cuſtoms, with as much energy as the moſt rigid moraliſt in the moſt corrupted country in Europe. Few of theſe ſavages knew any thing of agriculture. They only cultivated maize, and that they left entirely to the management of the women, as being below the dignity of independent men. It was their bittereſt imprecation againſt an enemy, that he might be reduced to till the ground for a ſubſiſtence. Sometimes they employed themſelves in fiſhing; but their thief delight, and the occupation of their whole life, was the chace. Hunting, which is nearly allied to war in its nature, proved the ſource of perpetual hoſtilities between the different Indian tribes, by which the country was inhabited: they were continually quarrelling about their boundaries, or breaking out into violences in the purſuit of their game.

The Iroquois, who it is ſaid had been ſubject to the Algonquins, being rouſed by the murder of their principal huntſmen, while aſleep, had broke from their ſervitude; and having learned to approach like foxes, to attack like lions, and to fly like birds, as they expreſs themſelves, were no longer afraid to encounter their oppreſſors. They therefore carried on war againſt them with a degree of rancour proportioned to their reſentment, and the injuries they had ſuſtained. This war, which had become general, was at its height, when the French made their firſt appearance in Canada. The Montagnez, who inhabited the lower parts of the river St. Laurence; the Algonquins, who were ſettled on its banks, from Quebec to Montreal; the Hurons, who were diſperſed about the lake that bears their name; and ſome leſs conſiderable nations, who roved about in the intermediate ſpace, were all inclined to favour the ſettlement of the ſtrangers. Theſe ſeveral nations, combined againſt the Iroquois, and unable to withſtand them, imagined that they might find in their new gueſts an unexpected reſource. From the opinion which they entertained of the French, as juſt as if formed upon a thorough knowledge of their character, they flattered themſelves that they could engage them in their quarrel; and they were not diſappointed. Champlain, who ought to have availed himſelf of the ſuperior knowledge of the Europeans to effect a reconciliation between the ſavage Americans, did not once attempt it. He warmly eſpouſed the intereſts of his neighbours, and accompanied them in purſuit of the enemy.

The country of the Iroquois was near eighty leagues in length, and more than forty in breadth. It was bounded by lake Erie, lake Ontario, the river St. Laurence, and the countries now known by the names of New York and Pen-

BOOK IV.

ſylvania. The ſpace between theſe vaſt limits was watered by ſeveral fine rivers, and inhabited by five nations, which could bring about twenty thouſand warriors into the field. Under the general name of Mohawks or Iroquois, they formed a kind of league or aſſociation, not unlike that of the United Provinces or the Swiſs cantons. Their deputies met once a year, to hold the feaſt of union, and to deliberate on the intereſts of the commonwealth.

Though the Iroquois did not expect to be again attacked by enemies whom they had ſo often vanquiſhed, they were not unprepared when the confederated
A. D. 1610. forces advanced againſt them. The engagement was begun with equal hopes on both ſides; the one relying on their uſual aſcendency, the other on the aſſiſtance of their new ally, whoſe fire-arms could not fail of inſuring victory, over a ſavage herd unacquainted with their deſtructive power: and indeed no ſooner had Champlain and the few Frenchmen who accompanied him, made one diſcharge, which killed two chiefs of the Iroquois, and mortally wounded a third, than the whole army fled in the utmoſt amazement and conſternation. This alteration in the mode of attack induced them to think of altering the mode of de-
A. D. 1611. fence. In the next campaign, they therefore judged it neceſſary to entrench themſelves, in order to elude the force of weapons to which they were ſtrangers. But this precaution proved ineffectual: their entrenchments were forced by the Indians, under cover of a briſk fire from the French, who were more numerous than in the firſt expedition. The Iroquois warriors were almoſt all either killed or taken priſoners; for thoſe who eſcaped from the field, were precipitated into a river and drowned *.

This nation, or confederacy of nations, might now perhaps have been entirely deſtroyed, or at leaſt compelled to ſue for peace, had not the Dutch, who had formed in their neighbourhood the colony of Nova Belgia, furniſhed them with arms and ammunition. Intereſt, which has at all times been the ruling paſſion of the Dutch, induced them to this meaſure; the furs taken by the Iroquois from the enemy, during the continuance of a ſucceſsful war, being more conſiderable than thoſe which they could procure by their own hunting. Various hoſtilities and injuries were committed by the aſſociated nations on both ſides, which weakened their ſtrength; but this perpetual ebb and flow of ſucceſs, which in governments actuated by motives of intereſt or ambition, would infallibly have reſtored tranquillity, ſerved only to increaſe animoſities, and to inflame the ſpirit of revenge, among a number of petty tribes bent upon each others deſtruction. The conſequence was, that the weakeſt of thoſe nations were ſoon extirpated, and the reſt reduced to a very feeble condition. Even the Iroquois, once ſo powerful, are now reduced to fifteen hundred fighting men.

This havoc of the natives, however, did not contribute to advance the power of the coloniſts. In 1626, the French had only three wretched ſettlements, ſurrounded with pales; the largeſt of which, namely Quebec, did not contain above fifty families. The climate had not proved deſtructive to the people ſent thither:

* Charlevoix, Hiſt. N. France. Colden, Hiſt. of the Five Nations.

though

though ſevere it was healthful, and the Europeans ſtrengthened their conſtitutions, without endangering their lives. The ſmall progreſs which the colony had made was entirely owing to an excluſive company, whoſe chief deſign was to enrich themſelves by the fur-trade, inſtead of creating a national power in Canada. That event might have been immediately removed by aboliſhing the monopoly, but the minds of men were not yet ſufficiently opened for ſuch a meaſure.

Cardinal Richelieu, however, who at that time governed France, and whoſe ideas were more liberal than thoſe of his age, as well as more magnificent than thoſe of common miniſters, choſe to employ at leaſt a more numerous aſſociation, compoſed of men of greater property and credit. To this company the government gave the diſpoſal of all the ſettlements that were or ſhould be formed in Canada, together with a power of fortifying and governing them, and of making peace or war, as ſhould ſeem moſt conducive to their intereſt. The whole trade, both by ſea and land was ſecured to them for the term of fifteen years, except the cod and whale fiſheries, which were left open to all. The fur-trade was ſecured to the company for ever. A. D. 1628

Further encouragements were added to theſe. The king made the company a preſent of two large ſhips of war, manned with a crew of ſeven hundred ſailors; and he granted them the extraordinary privilege of conferring titles of honour, of creating dukes, marquiſes, and earls or counts, with the royal letters of confirmation, on the preſentation of cardinal Richelieu, grand-maſter, head and ſuperintendant of the commerce and navigation of France. To this a variety of indulgencies were added. Eccleſiaſtics, noblemen, and others aſſociating themſelves in the company, might do it without derogation of their rank or character; twelve of the members were created nobles; and all the natives of Canada were, to all intents and purpoſes to be reputed natives of Old France. The company were allowed the liberty of ſending and exporting all kinds of merchandiſe duty-free; and every perſon who had exerciſed any trade in the colony for the ſpace of ſix years, was entitled to exerciſe the ſame in any town of the mother-country. The laſt favour was of a very ſingular nature: all goods manufactured in Canada were permitted a free entry into France *; a privilege which gave the workmen a vaſt advantage over thoſe of the mother-country, loaded with a variety of oppreſſive taxes.

In return for ſo many advantages, the company, which had a capital of an hundred thouſand crowns, engaged to carry over to the colony in 1628, the firſt year of their privilege, two or three hundred artificers, of ſuch trades as were moſt wanted, and ſixteen thouſand perſons of all conditions, before the year 1643. They were to lodge, maintain, and furniſh them with all neceſſaries for three years; and then to make an equitable diſtribution among them of the lands that ſhould be cleared, according to their reſpective wants, furniſhing each family with a ſufficient quantity of grain to ſow its allotment for the firſt year †. But fortune did not ſecond the endeavours of government in favour of the new

* Charlevoix, vol. I. † Id. ibid.

BOOK IV.

company, to such a degree as to enable them to fulfil their engagements. The first ships which they fitted out were taken by the English, who had commenced hostilities against France on account of the siege of Rochelle.

This city was the chief bulwark of the Hugonots, and cardinal Richelieu, bent on their destruction, had resolved to reduce it. The interest of England was deeply concerned in supporting a party which divided the power of France, independent of religious considerations. The nation was sensible of it, as well as zealous to protect their protestant brethren against civil and ecclesiastical tyranny; but the court was so little friendly to the liberties of mankind, that it despised the voice of the people, and would have beheld in silent inaction the ruin of the Hugonots, had not Buckingham quarrelled with Richelieu *. The duke, who governed Charles I. with as absolute an ascendant as that which the cardinal had acquired over Lewis XIII. prevailed on his master to declare war against France, and attempted in person the relief of Rochelle. That important place
A. D. 1628. was, however, taken; but the English gained, in the course of the war, sufficient advantages, had they known their value, to have stipulated for its restitution. They had made themselves masters of Quebec, and of all the French set-
A. D. 1629. tlements in Canada †; which were restored in 1630, by the treaty of St. Germain

* The cause of this quarrel is too curious to be omitted in any history, where the names of those two ministers are mentioned. When Charles I. married by proxy the princess Henrietta, the duke of Buckingham had been sent to France, in order to grace the nuptials, and conduct the new queen to England. The beauty of his person, the gracefulness of his air, the splendour of his equipage, and his fine taste in dress, drew upon him the eyes of the French court; and the affability of his behaviour, the gaiety of his manners, and the magnificence of his expence increased yet more the general admiration that was paid him. Amid the festivals that accompanied such an embassy, he found himself in a theatre where he was perfectly qualified to excel. But not satisfied with the smiles of ordinary beauties, he aimed to carry his presumptuous addresses even to the queen herself, and failed not to make some impression on a heart sufficiently disposed to her tender passions. Even after his departure, he secretly received from the queen presents; was admitted to her presence, and dismissed with a reproof that favoured more of kindness than anger. Richelieu, either from politics or vanity, had also made his addresses to the queen; but a man past the middle age, of a severe character, and occupied in the most extensive plans of ambition or vengeance, was but an unequal match in that competition for a young courtier, entirely disposed to gaiety and gallantry. The cardinal's disappointment therefore strongly inclined him to counterwork the amorous projects of his rival. Accordingly, when the duke was making preparations for a new embassy to France, a message was sent him from Lewis, that he must not think of such a journey. Buckingham, in a romantic passion exclaimed, "By God! I will see the queen, in spite of all the power of France:"—and from that moment he determined to engage England in a war, which might thwart the schemes of the French monarch and his minister. Clarendon, vol. I. Mem. de Mad. de Motteville.

† This conquest was achieved by three English ships under the command of David Kertk, a French protestant, as already related in the History of Nova Scotia, which was also reduced. The English historians of the present age seem as ignorant of the importance of these acquisitions, as the ministers of Charles I. Even Hume tells us, "that the situation of the king's affairs did not entitle him to demand any conditions for the Hugonots." He might at least have demanded that Canada should be their asylum, under the protection of the English crown; a demand, which, if complied with, would soon have made it the most populous and valuable province in North America.

main en I aye, without one ſtipulation in favour of the Hugonots, who were abandoned to the will of their ſovereign, or any article in favour of England, on account of ſuch reſtitution!—And what is no leſs extraordinary, the council of Lewis XIII. were ſo little acquainted with the value of Canada, that they were in doubt whether they ſhould demand it; till Champlain, whoſe pride was intereſted in preſerving it, made them ſenſible of its importance *.

The excluſive company, however, even after the reſtoration of Canada, fulfilled none of their engagements; and this breach of promiſe, in place of being puniſhed, was in a manner rewarded, by a prolongation of their charter. The diſtance of the coloniſts made their complaints be diſregarded; and the deputies ſent to repreſent their wretched condition, were denied acceſs to the throne. Attempts were even made to awe them into ſilence by threats and puniſhments. This conduct, equally repugnant to humanity, private intereſt, and ſound policy, was followed by ſuch conſequences as might naturally be expected from it. Commerce declined, in proportion as the communication became leſs inviting, or rather dangerous; and the confederate Indians, but weakly ſupported by their new allies, were again taught to fly before an old enemy, whom they had been accuſtomed to dread. The Iroquois, reſuming their wonted ſuperiority, openly boaſted that they would ſoon compel the ſtrangers to quit the country. In the meantime they ſeized ſome of their children, in order to replace by degrees ſuch of their warriors as had fallen in battle. The French themſelves, forgotten by the mother-country, and unable to gather in their little crops without the utmoſt hazard of their lives, were determined to abandon a ſettlement ſo ill ſupported: and to ſuch a deplorable ſtate was the colony reduced, that it was obliged to ſubſiſt upon the charities which the miſſionaries received from Europe.

In the midſt of this diſtreſs, the company of New France, as it was called, made a voluntary ſurrender of its privileges to the king; and the French miniſtry, roufed at length from their lethargy, ſent a body of four hundred well diſciplined troops to Canada, in 1662. This body was afterwards re inforced by the regiment of Carignan, and the coloniſts and their allies gradually acquired a ſuperiority over the Iroquois. Three of their tribes, alarmed at their loſſes, made propoſals for an accommodation; and the other two were ſo much weakened, that they were induced to accede to it in 1668. Then the colony firſt enjoyed a profound peace, which paved the way for its proſperity, and a freedom of trade contributed to ſecure it. The beaver-trade alone continued to be monopolized.

Induſtry was excited by this change in the ſtate of affairs. The former coloniſts, whoſe weak and unprotected condition, had hitherto confined them

America. Such a demand, indeed, could not well have been refuſed; but the treaty of St. Germain was patched up, without any regard to the intereſts of England, in order to afford Charles an opportunity of trying his ſtrength with his parliament. How much blood and treaſure would have been ſaved to Great Britain, by an early poſſeſſion of Canada and Nova Scotia, which would have entirely excluded the French from North America, we ſhall have occaſion to ſee in the courſe of this narration.

* Id. ibid.

chiefly

BOOK IV. A. D. 1670.

chiefly within their ſettlements, now ventured to extend their plantations, which they cultivated with confidence and ſucceſs. All the ſoldiers, who conſented to ſettle in Canada, obtained their diſcharge, together with a grant of ſome land; and the officers had lands granted them according to their rank. The old ſettlements were improved, and new ones eſtabliſhed, wherever the intereſt or ſafety of the colony required it. An increaſe of trade with the Indians was one of the deſirable conſequences of this ſpirit of induſtry; and the general proſperity was augmented by the care of the governor not only to preſerve friendſhip with the natives, but alſo to eſtabliſh peace and harmony among the coloniſts themſelves. Not a ſingle act of hoſtility was committed for ſeveral years throughout a territory of four or five hundred leagues, inhabited chiefly by ſavage nations, jealous of each other. It appeared as if the French had only kindled the war on their arrival, in order to extinguiſh more effectually the ſparks of diſcord.

But ſuch tranquillity could not be laſting among a people always armed for the chaſe, unleſs the power that had eſtabliſhed it had been able to maintain it by the ſuperiority of its forces. Finding that this precaution was neglected, the Iroquois incited by that reſtleſs diſpoſition which is inſpired by the love of war and dominion, prepared themſelves for hoſtilities. They were careful, however, to continue on good terms with all thoſe tribes who were either allies or neighbours to the French. But they were told, notwithſtanding this moderation, that they muſt immediately lay down their arms, and reſtore all the priſoners they had taken, or expect to ſee their country deſolated, and their habitations deſtroyed. This haughty ſummons incenſed their pride: they anſwered, That they ſhould never ſuffer the leaſt encroachment on their independency; and that they would make the French ſenſible, they were neither to be neglected as friends, nor deſpiſed as enemies.

Staggered, however, with the air of authority that had been aſſumed, and ſenſible of the deſtructive power of fire-arms, the Iroquois complied in part with the terms required of them, and the matter was compromiſed. But this kind of humiliation rather increaſed the reſentment, than tamed the ſpirit of a people, more accuſtomed to commit than to ſuffer injuries. The Engliſh, who in 1664, had diſpoſſeſſed the Dutch of Nova Belgia or New Netherlands, as we have already ſeen, and remained maſters of the conquered territory, to which they gave the name of New York, availed themſelves of the hoſtile diſpoſitions of the Iroquois, to attach them to their intereſt, and widen farther the breach between them and the French. They were invited to bring their beaver and other furs to Albany, where they ſold at a higher price than at Montreal.

A. D. 1685.

Lewis XIV. who was then in the heighth of his glory, impatient of ſo many inſults, ſent over Denonville, an officer of reputation, to reſtore the authority of France in Canada. The new governor immediately perceived, that the firſt ſtep towards the ſecurity of the French colony muſt be the cutting off from the Engliſh all communication with the ſavages by the lakes; and particularly the ſecuring that of Ontario, on the weſt as well as the eaſt, by building at Niagara, a ſtrong fort of ſtone, capable of containing five or ſix hundred men. Dongan, governor

of New York remonſtrated, though ineffectually, againſt this meaſure; and as he was ſenſible that his maſter, James II. was in a manner the ſlave of France, he paid very little regard to the orders which he received in favour of the French in North America. He even ſummoned a meeting of the Iroquois cantons, laid before them their danger from the French, and ſhewed them that their beſt courſe would be to prevent the blow meditated againſt them, by immediately attacking the enemy, while yet unprepared for reſiſtance. A. D. 1686.

But the governor of Canada had received intelligence of this aſſembly, and defeated its purpoſe by means of Lamberville, the French miſſionary among the Iroquois, who had great aſcendency over them; and Barrillon, the French miniſter at the court of London, prevailed upon the weak and bigotted James to agree to a neutrality between his ſubjects and thoſe of the moſt Chriſtian king in America; in conſequence of which the French were left in poſſeſſion of all their uſurped claims, and the Iroquois expoſed to that deſtruction which was preparing for them. Denonville, however, ſenſible that this nation muſt not be attacked without being extirpated, remained in a ſtate of inaction, and ſeeming friendſhip, till he had received from Europe the neceſſary reinforcements for executing ſo deſperate a reſolution. Theſe ſuccours arrived in 1687, when the colony conſiſted of near twelve thouſand inhabitants, about one third of whom were fit to bear arms.

Though able to take the field with ſo conſiderable a force, Denonville had recourſe to ſtratagem, and diſhonoured the French name among the ſavages by an infamous perfidy, no leſs deſerving the deteſtation of civilized nations. Under pretence of terminating their differences by negociation, he baſely abuſed the confidence which the Iroquois repoſed in the Jeſuit Lamberville, on whoſe faith they had conſented to a conference. As ſoon as the Indian chiefs arrived, they were put in irons, carried to Quebec, and tranſported to France, in order to be condemned to the gallies.

On the firſt intelligence of this treachery, the old men of the Iroquois ſent for their miſſionary, and addreſſed him in words to the following purport:—"We are authoriſed by every law, and impelled by many motives, to treat you as an enemy, but we cannot reſolve to do ſo. Your heart had no ſhare in the injury that we have ſuſtained, though you were made the inſtrument of ſo baſe an inſult: it would therefore be unjuſt to puniſh you for a crime which you deteſt, if poſſible even more than ourſelves; but you muſt leave us. Our raſh young men may conſider you in the light of a traitor, who has delivered up the chiefs of our nation to the ſhame of ſlavery; and ſhould once the war-ſong be raiſed, it might not be in our power to ſave you *." When this ſpeech was finiſhed, the generous ſavages appointed Lamberville a guard, which conducted him to a place of ſafety; and then both parties took up arms.

The French preſently ſpread terror among the Indians bordering on the great lakes; but Denonville had neither the activity nor the genius neceſſary to improve theſe firſt ſucceſſes. While he was deliberating, inſtead of acting, the campaign

* Charlevoix, tom. II.

BOOK IV. A. D. 1688.

was closed, without any permanent advantage being gained. This increased the boldness of the Iroquois who lived near the French settlements: they repeatedly committed the most frightful ravages; and the planters finding the fruits of their industry destroyed by these irruptions, at the same time that the terror inspired by the Indians prevented them from repairing the damage they had sustained, ardently longed for peace. Denonville's temper coincided with their wishes; but it seemed no easy matter to appease an enemy filled with rage and indignation, on account of the most atrocious outrages, and burning with revenge. Lamberville, however, who still maintained his ascendant over the Iroquois, prevailed on them to listen to pacific overtures.

While these negociations were carrying on, a Machiavel educated in the forests of Canada, known by the name of Le Rat, the bravest, the most enterprising, and most intelligent savage ever found in the American wilds, arrived at Catarocouy, a French fort, with a chosen band of Hurons, fully determined upon exploits worthy of the reputation which he had acquired. But he was told that a treaty was already on foot; that the deputies of the Iroquois were on their way to Montreal, in order to conclude it; and that the greatest service he could do the colony would be to return home, as it would be an insult upon the governor to commit hostilities against a nation with whom he was treating of peace. Piqued that the French should enter into negociations without consulting their Indian allies, Le Rat resolved to punish them for their presumption, at the same time that he gratified his own passion for war. Without discovering the smallest emotion of dissatisfaction, he left the fort, and ambushed his party at a place by which he knew the deputies must pass. Some of them were killed, and the rest taken prisoners. When the latter told him the purport of their journey, he affected great surprise, as the governor, he said, had sent him to intercept them; and to carry on the deceit more successfully, he immediately released them all except one, whom he pretended to keep, in order to replace one of his Hurons who had been killed in the fray. He then hastened to Michillimakinac, where he presented his captive to the French commandant; who, not knowing that Denonville was treating with the Iroquois, was prevailed upon to order the unhappy savage to be put to death.

One other step was now only necessary to complete the intrigues of Le Rat; and it was not delayed. He immediately sent for an old Iroquois, who had long been a prisoner among the Hurons, and gave him his liberty to go and acquaint his nation, That the French, while they amused their enemies with negociations, continued to take prisoners and to murder them, and that they had shamefully violated the law of nations in the person of an ambassador *. This artifice, worthy of the most insidious Italian policy, succeeded to the wish of Le Rat: the war was renewed with greater fury than ever; and as the English councils were no longer governed by French influence, the nation having deposed the timid James, and placed the prince of Orange upon the throne, the governor of

* Charlevoix, tom. III.

New

New York undertook the protection of the Iroquois, and hoſtilities became general between the Engliſh and French coloniſts.

The principal enterpriſe in the courſe of this war was the ſiege of Quebec. That, as already related, was committed to Sir William Phips, whoſe vain-glorious confidence diſappointed the armament of its object, by permitting the French to aſſemble their forces, after he had ſummoned the place to ſurrender, but before he made the attack. If we credit the French writers, however, other cauſes conſpired to this diſappointment, which Sir William could not foreſee. As the people of New England, by whom this expedition was planned, had nothing leſs in view than the entire reduction of Canada, a body of troops was appointed to march by land, in order to attack Montreal, at the ſame time that the fleet and tranſports ſailed for Quebec. The land forces, it was ſuppoſed, would divide the ſtrength of the colony, and render the reduction of the capital more eaſy, as Montreal could have made but little reſiſtance againſt three thouſand Engliſh and ſavages. But when they were nearly arrived at the place, the Iroquois, who were the ſoul of the war, recollected the hazard they ran in conducting their allies to the conqueſt of Canada. "Situated as we are," ſaid one of their old men, in a council held on that occaſion, "between two European powers, each ſtrong enough to deſtroy us, and both intereſted in our ruin when they no longer ſtand in need of our aſſiſtance, what better ſtep can we take than to prevent the one from becoming victorious over the other?—While their rivalry ſubſiſts, each will be obliged to court our alliance, or to bribe us into a neutrality." This deep reaſoning, which ſeems to be dictated by the ſame ſpirit of policy as that which regulates the balance of Europe, determined the Iroquois to return to their reſpective homes, under various pretences *. The other ſavage tribes followed their example; and their Engliſh aſſociates were obliged to retreat, in conſequence of a defection ſo general; while the French coloniſts, now in ſecurity on their plantations, united their forces for the defence of their capital, and blaſted the ſanguine hopes of Sir William Phips, at the very moment that he thought himſelf ſure of ſucceſs.

The war between the French and Engliſh was continued with various fortune in America, and diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral expeditions fatal to the coloniſts, but of little conſequence to the two mother-countries. In one of theſe expeditions we meet with a ſingular inſtance of ſavage generoſity. Proviſions beginning to fail among a party of French and Indians, the Hurons ſupplied them plentifully by hunting, and offered ſome of their game to their European aſſociates. The French declined the offer, from motives no leſs noble than thoſe by which it was dictated. On this, the liberal ſpirited Hurons replied, "You ſhare with us the fatigues of war; it is but reaſonable that we ſhould ſhare with you the neceſſaries of life: we ſhould not be men if we acted otherwiſe with men." Similar inſtances of magnanimity occur in the hiſtory of theſe depredations, which have too little connection with the progreſs of the colonies to merit a detail in a

* Id. ibid.

BOOK IV. A. D. 1697.

general work, ſuch anecdotes excepted as ſerve to illuſtrate the character of the Indians. It will therefore be ſufficient to obſerve, that the peace of Ryswick at length put an end to the calamities of Europe, and the hoſtilities in America, where no material alteration had taken place in regard to the ſtate of property.

The Hurons and the Iroquois, as well as the French and Engliſh, were now ſenſible that they required a long continuance of peace, in order to repair the loſſes they had ſuſtained in war. Unfortunately for all parties, the peace was not ſo durable as might have been wiſhed. It afforded the Indians leiſure, however, to recruit themſelves; the Europeans reſumed their labours; and the fur trade, the firſt that could be entered into with a nation of huntſmen, was more fully eſtabliſhed.

Canada, which at the time of its diſcovery by the French, was entirely covered with wood, might be conſidered as little more than an extenſive haunt of wild beaſts. They had multiplied there prodigiouſly; becauſe the few inhabitants of thoſe wilds having no flocks or tame animals, left abundant room and food for ſuch as were ſavage and free like themſelves. But even theſe paid tribute to the ſovereignty of man, who has every where aſſerted his dominion over the animal creation. Having neither arts nor huſbandry to employ them, the ſavages fed and cloathed themſelves entirely with the wild beaſts they deſtroyed; and as ſoon as luxury had led them to make uſe of their ſkins as an article of commerce, they waged a perpetual war againſt them. This was the more deſtructive, as it not only procured them a variety of gratifications, with which they had been hitherto unacquainted, but was carried on with new weapons, the Indian huntſmen having very early adopted the uſe of fire-arms. This fatal induſtry, exerciſed in the woods of Canada, occaſioned a prodigious quantity, and a vaſt variety of furs to be brought into the ports of France. Some of theſe were conſumed in the kingdom, and the reſt diſpoſed of in the neighbouring countries. Furs of almoſt every ſpecies were at that time known in Europe: they came from the northern parts of our hemiſphere, but in too ſmall quantities to ſupply a general demand. That demand has encreaſed ſince caprice and novelty have made furs more or leſs in faſhion, and ſince it hath been found to be the intereſt of the American colonies, that they ſhould be valued in the mother-countries. It will not therefore be improper to give ſome account of thoſe that are moſt in requeſt.

The otter is a voracious animal, which runs or ſwims along the banks of lakes and rivers; commonly lives upon fiſh, and when that fails, will feed upon graſs, or the rind of aquatic plants. From his manner of living, and place of reſidence, he has been ranked among amphibious animals, who can live equally in the air, and under water; but improperly ſurely, ſince the otter cannot live without reſpiration, any more than other land animals. He is found in all thoſe countries which abound in water, excepting the more ſouthern latitudes; but in the northern parts of America, he is more common, and of a larger ſize, than any where elſe. His hair is in no other country ſo black, or ſo fine; a circumſtance peculiarly fatal to him, as it expoſes him the more to the purſuit of man. Nor is the pole-cat in leſs eſtimation among the Canadian huntſmen. There are three

three ſpecies of this animal; namely the common pole-cat, that called the mink, and the ſtinking pole-cat. Their hair is darker, more gloſſy, and more ſilky, than in Europe.

Even the rat in North America is valuable on account of his ſkin. There are two ſorts that enter into commerce: the hair of the one, which is called the Opoſſum, and is twice as large as an European rat, is commonly of a ſilver grey, but ſometimes a clear white. The female has a bag under her belly, which ſhe can open and ſhut at pleaſure; and when purſued, ſhe puts her young into this bag, and carries them off. The other, which is called the Muſk-Rat, has all the characteriſtic qualities of the beaver, of which he ſeems to be a diminutive ſpecies, and his ſkin is employed for the ſame purpoſes. The ermine, which is about the ſize of a ſquirrel, but not quite ſo long, has the moſt lively eyes and keen look; and his motions are ſo quick, that the ſight cannot follow them. The tip of his long and buſhy tail is as black as jet; and his hair, which is as yellow as gold in ſummer, turns as white as ſnow in winter.

This lively and light animal is one of the beauties of Canada, but by no means plenty. Though ſmaller than the ſable, it is leſs common. The marten, which is only to be met with in cold countries, and in the center of foreſts, far from the habitations of men, is a beaſt of prey, and lives upon birds. Though but half a yard long, it leaves prints in the ſnow, which appear to be the foot-ſteps of a very large animal. This is occaſioned by its mode of walking; for it always leaps, and leaves the marks of both feet together. Its fur is, in general, much eſteemed, though commonly far inferior to that ſpecies, which is diſtinguiſhed by the name of Sable. This is a ſhining black; and the fineſt among the other kinds, is that whoſe ſkin is the browneſt. The martens ſeldom quit the inmoſt receſſes of their impenetrable foreſts more than once in two or three years. The natives think that ſuch an appearance portends a good winter; that is a great quantity of ſnow, and conſequently good ſport.

The animal by the antients called the Lynx, and known in Siberia by the name of the Ounce, is only called the Wild-cat in Canada, where it is ſmaller than in our hemiſphere. This animal, to whom common opinion would not have attributed very piercing eyes, if it were not endued with the faculty of ſeeing, hearing, and ſmelling at a great diſtance, lives upon what game it can catch, and which it frequently purſues to the tops of the talleſt trees. Its fleſh is white, and well-flavoured; but it is chiefly hunted for the ſake of its ſkin, the hair of which is long, and of a fine light grey, though leſs eſteemed than that of the fox. This carnivorous, cunning, and miſchievous animal is a native of the frozen regions. In warmer climates the fox has loſt much of his original beauty, and his fur is not ſo fine. In the north it is found long, ſoft, and full; ſometimes white, ſometimes brown, and often red, or ſandy. The fineſt of any is that which is black; but this is more ſcarce in Canada than in Siberia, which lies farther north, and is leſs damp.

Beſides theſe ſmaller furs, North America ſupplies us with ſkins of the ſtag, the deer, and the roe-buck; of the mooſe-deer, called alſo Caribou, and of the

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elk, which is named Original. Thoſe two laſt kinds, which, in our hemiſphere, are found only towards the polar circle; the elk, on this ſide, and the mooſe-deer, on the other, are to be met with in America in more ſouthern latitudes. This difference may be owing to the greater intenſeneſs of the cold in America, in contradiction to the general law of nature. Their ſtrong, ſoft, and warm ſkins make excellent garments, which are very light.

All theſe animals are hunted by the Europeans in common with the natives; but the ſavages have in a manner reſerved to themſelves the chace of the bear, it being their favourite amuſement, and peculiarly adapted to their warlike manners, as well as their wants. In northern climates, the bear is moſt commonly black. Being rather ſhy than fierce, he chuſes for his lurking place, inſtead of a cavern, the hollow rotten trunk of an old tree. There he fixes himſelf in winter, as high as he can climb; and as he is very fat at the end of autumn, very well furniſhed with hair, takes no exerciſe, and is generally aſleep, he can loſe but little by perſpiration, and conſequently muſt ſeldom have occaſion to go abroad in queſt of food. He is frequently, however, forced from his retreat, by fire being ſet to it; and when he attempts to come down, he is aſſaulted by a ſhower of arrows, before he can reach the ground. The Indians feed upon his fleſh, rub themſelves with his greaſe, and cloath themſelves with his ſkin.

Such was the object of the North Americans in their purſuit after the bear, when a new intereſt directed them towards the beaver. This animal poſſeſſes all the friendly diſpoſitions requiſite for ſociety, without being ſubject, like man, to the vices or misfortunes attendant upon it. Formed by nature for ſocial life, he is endued with an inſtinct adapted to the preſervation, as well as the propagation of his ſpecies: yet this animal, whoſe tender plaintive accents, and whoſe ſtriking example draw tears of admiration and pity from the humane philoſopher, who contemplates his life and manners—this harmleſs animal, who never hurts any living creature, who is neither carnivorous nor ſanguinary, is become the object of man's moſt ardent purſuit, and the prey which the ſavage hunts after with the moſt blood-thirſty eagerneſs. This cruelty is owing to the luxury and unfeeling rapacity of the moſt poliſhed European nations.

The beaver is between three and four feet long, and his uſual weight about fifty pounds. His head, which he carries downwards, reſembles that of a rat, and his back is raiſed in an arch, like that of a mouſe. "Man had hands given him," ſays Lucretius, "and he has made uſe of them," leaving it as a matter of doubt, whether they were given him for that end. In like manner the beaver has webs at his hinder-feet, and he ſwims with them. The toes of his fore feet are ſeparate, and anſwer the purpoſe of hands. His tail, which is flat, oval, and covered with ſcales, he employs to carry loads, and to work with: and he has four ſharp inciſors, or cutting-teeth, which ſerve him inſtead of carpenters tools. All theſe inſtruments, which are in a manner uſeleſs while he lives alone, and do not then diſtinguiſh him from other animals, are of infinite ſervice to the beaver, when he lives in ſociety, and enable him to diſplay a degree of ingenuity ſeemingly ſuperior to the inſtinct of brutes. Without paſſions,

paſſions, without a deſire of committing injury, and without craft, when he does not live in ſociety, he ſcarcely ventures to defend himſelf. He never bites, unleſs he is catched: but in the ſocial ſtate, in place of weapons, he has a variety of contrivances to ſecure himſelf without fighting, and to live without committing or ſuffering any injury.

This peaceable and mild animal is nevertheleſs independent: he is a ſlave to none, becauſe all his wants are ſupplied by himſelf; he enters into ſociety, but will not ſerve, nor does he pretend to command, all his labours being directed by a ſilent inſtinct. It is the common want of ſubſiſtence, and the deſire of propagation that calls the beavers, and collects them together in ſummer, in order to build their towns againſt winter. As early as the months of June and July, they aſſemble from all quarters, to the number of two or three hundred, and always by the water-ſide. Sometimes they give the preference to ſtill lakes in unfrequented diſtricts, becauſe there the waters are conſtantly at an equal height; and when they find no pools of ſtanding water, they make one in the midſt of rivers or ſtreams, by means of a cauſeway or dam. The very plan of this labour implies ſuch a multiplicity of ideas, as our ſhort ſighted reaſon would be apt to think above any capacity but that of an intelligent mind, were we not ſenſible that it is the contrivance of animals denominated irrational

The firſt thing erected is a dyke an hundred feet long, and twelve thick at the baſe, which ſhelves away two or three feet in a ſlope, anſwerable to the depth of the water. In order to ſave work, or to facilitate their labour, the beavers chuſe the ſhalloweſt part of the river. If they find a large tree by the water-ſide, they fell it in ſuch a manner, that it falls acroſs the ſtream; and though it ſhould be larger in circumference than a man's body, they ſaw it, or rather gnaw it through, with their four ſharp teeth. The branches are ſoon lopped off by theſe induſtrious workmen, who want to faſhion it into a beam. A number of ſmaller trees are felled, and prepared for the intended pile. Some drag theſe trees to the river ſide, while others ſwim over with them to the place, where the cauſeway is to be raiſed. But how, it will be aſked, are thoſe animals to ſink the trees in the water with the aſſiſtance only of their teeth, tail, and feet? Their contrivance is this: with their nails they dig a hole in the ground, or at the bottom of the water; with their teeth they reſt the large end of the ſtake againſt the bank of the river, or againſt the great beam that lies acroſs it; and with their feet raiſe the ſtake, and ſink it, with the ſharp end downwards into the hole, where it ſtands upright. With their tails they make mortar, with which they fill up all the vacancies between the ſtakes, which are bound together with twiſted boughs; and thus the ſtructure is compleated. The ſlope of the dam is oppoſite to the current, in order more effectually to break the force of the water by a gradual reſiſtance, and the ſtakes are driven in obliquely, proportioned to the inclination of the plane: but the ſtakes are planted perpendicularly on the ſide where the water is to fall; and in order to open a drain, which may leſſen the effect of the ſlope, and the weight of the cauſeway, they make two or three openings at the top of it, by which part of the water of the river may run off.

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When this work is finiſhed by the whole body of the republic, every member conſiders of a lodging for himſelf. Each company builds a hut in the water upon the cauſeway. Theſe huts are from four to ten feet in diameter, of oval or round figure, and one, two, or three ſtories high, according to the number of families or houſholds. Each hut contains at leaſt two or three, and ſome ten or fifteen. The walls, whether high or low, are about two feet thick, are all arched at the top, and perfectly neat and ſolid both within and without. They are varniſhed with a kind of ſtucco, alike impenetrable to the water and external air. Every apartment has two openings; one on the land ſide, in order to enable the beavers to go out, and fetch proviſions; the other on that next the ſtream, in order to facilitate their eſcape, on the approach of the enemy—of man, the deſtroyer of cities and commonwealths. The window of the houſe opens to the water. There the beavers take the freſh air in the day time, and plunge into the river up to their middle. In winter it ſerves to fence them againſt the ice, which collects around it to the thickneſs of two or three feet. The ſhelf intended to prevent the ice from ſtopping up this window reſts upon two ſtakes, that ſlope in ſuch a manner as to carry off the water from the houſe, and leave an outlet to eſcape, or to go and ſwim under the ice. The inſide of the houſe, which is perfectly free from every kind of filth, has no other furniture but a flooring of graſs covered with the tops of the fir tree. The materials for theſe buildings are happily always found in their neighbourhood; namely, poplars, alders, and other trees which delight in watery places; and the beavers have the ſatisfaction, at the ſame time that they faſhion the wood, to nouriſh themſelves with it. Like certain ſavages of the frozen ocean, they eat the bark, though not in the ſame manner. The ſavages dry it and pound it, but the beavers chew it and eat it while it is quite green. They lay up a proviſion of bark and tender twigs in ſeparate ſtore-houſes for every hut, proportionally to the number of its inhabitants; and every beaver knows his own ſtorehouſe, nor does any one ſteal from that of his neighbour. Each family live in their own apartment, and are contented with it, though jealous of the property they have acquired in it by their labour. The proviſions of the community are collected, and expended without any conteſt. They are ſatisfied with that ſimple food which their labour prepares for them. The only paſſion they have ſeems to be conjugal affection, the end of which is the increaſe of their ſpecies, and which forms itſelf the baſis of ſuch population. Towards the end of winter the females bring forth their young, to the number of two or three, which have been conceived in autumn; and while the father ranges the woods, allured by the ſweets of ſpring, leaving to his little family the room he occupied in their narrow cell, the mother ſuckles and nurſes them. She afterwards takes them out with her in her excurſions in queſt of food, and tends them till the ſeaſon of labour and procreation returns.

Such is the œconomy of the republican, induſtrious, and intelligent beaver; ſkilled in architecture, provident, and ſyſtematical in his plans of police and ſociety, and whoſe gentle and exemplary manners afford an important leſſon to man, his deſtroyer. It has frequently happened, when the Americans have

demoliſhed the houſes of the beavers, thoſe indefatigable animals have had the reſolution to build them in the ſame place for ſeveral ſummers ſucceſſively. The winter is the time for attacking them, and experience then warns them of their danger. At the approach of the huntſmen, one of the beavers ſtrikes a hard ſtroke with his tail upon the water. That ſignal ſpreads a general alarm throughout all the huts of the commonwealth, and every one tries to ſave himſelf by flight. It is very difficult, however, for this harmleſs race to eſcape all the ſnares that are laid for them, though they are ſeldom caught by ſurpriſe upon land, or by the water-ſide, as they ſee and hear at a great diſtance. But if the beaver ſhould be wounded before he takes to the water, he has generally time to plunge in; and if he dies afterwards, he is loſt, as he inſtantly ſinks, and never riſes again.

A more certain way of catching beavers is by laying traps in the woods, where they eat the tender bark of young trees. Theſe traps are baited with freſh ſlips of wood, and as ſoon as the beaver touches them, a great weight falls and cruſhes his loins. The huntſman, who is concealed near the place, haſtens forward, ſeizes the animal, and having killed it, carries it off. But there are other methods more commonly, and even more ſucceſsfully practiſed. The houſes are ſometimes attacked in order to drive out the inhabitants, who are watched at the edge of holes, that have been made in the ice, where they cannot avoid coming to take in freſh air. The inſtant they appear, they are killed. At other times the beaver, expelled his retreat, is entangled in nets, ſpread for ſome paces round his cell, the ice being broken for that purpoſe. If the whole colony is to be taken at once, inſtead of breaking down the ſluices to drown the people, the cauſeway is opened, in order to drain off the water from the pool where the beavers live. When thus left dry, defenceleſs, and unable to eſcape, they may be caught at pleaſure, and entirely deſtroyed; but care is always taken to leave a ſufficient number of males and females, in order to preſerve the breed, an act of generoſity dictated merely by avarice. The cruel foreſight of man ſpares a few, that he may afterwards have the more to murder; and the beaver, whoſe plaintive voice ſeems to implore the clemency of the huntſman, finds only in the ſavage, rendered cruel by European luxury, a relentleſs enemy, whoſe depredations are undertaken leſs to ſupply his own wants, than to furniſh ſuperfluities for another continent.

The ſkin of the beaver varies with the climate, both in colour and quality. In the ſame diſtrict, however, where they are beſt, and where the colonies of ſocial beavers are found, there are ſome that are wild and ſolitary. Thoſe animals, who are ſaid to be expelled the community for their ill behaviour, live in a ſubterraneous retreat, and have properly neither lodging nor ſtorehouſe. They are called Earth-Beavers. Their coat is dirty, and the hair on their backs is worn off by rubbing againſt the cave, which they dig for their habitation. The hole they make, and which commonly opens into ſome pond or ditch full of water, ſometimes extends above an hundred feet in length, riſing gradually in a ſlope in order to facilitate their eſcape from inundations. Some of theſe beavers are ſo wild, as to diſclaim all communication not only with their ſpecies, but alſo

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their natural element, and live entirely on land. Their furs are anſwerable to their manners, rough and coarſe.

Beavers are found in America from the thirtieth to the ſixtieth degree of north latitude. There are, however, but few towards the ſouth, and thoſe of a light colour; but they encreaſe in number, and grow darker in a progreſſive gradation towards the north. In the country of the Illinois they are yellow and ſtraw coloured; higher up in the country, they are of a light cheſtnut; to the north of Canada of a dark cheſnut, and ſome are there found quite black, which are reckoned the fineſt. But even in that climate, which is inhabited by this laſt ſpecies, ſome among the black tribes are perfectly white, others white ſpeckled with grey, with ſandy ſpots ſometimes on the rump: ſo much does nature delight in ſhewing the gradations of warmth and cold, and their various influences not only on the figure, but on the very covering of animals!

The fur-trade, as we have already ſeen, was the firſt which the French carried on in Canada. It was begun by the colony at Tadouſac, a port ſituated thirty leagues below Quebec. About the year 1640, the town of Les Trois Rivieres, twenty-five leagues above that city, became a ſecond mart, in proceſs of time all the fur-trade centered at Montreal. The ſkins were brought thither in canoes in the month of June; and the number of Indians, who reſorted to that place, increaſed as the fame of the French extended. The account of the reception they had met with, the ſight of the things they had received in exchange for their goods, all contributed to extend this traffic. Whenever they returned with a freſh ſupply of furs, they always brought, for ſeveral years, a new nation along with them. Thus a kind of fair was opened, to which the various tribes of that vaſt continent reſorted.

The Engliſh became jealous of this branch of commerce; and ſoon after their eſtabliſhment at New York, they found means to divert the ſtream of wealth. They had no ſooner ſecured a ſubſiſtence, by beſtowing their firſt attention on agriculture, than they began to think of the fur-trade, which was at firſt confined to the country of the Iroquois. The five nations, comprehended under that general name, would not ſuffer their lands to be traverſed, in order to afford the Engliſh an opportunity of trading with other ſavage nations, who were at conſtant enmity with them; nor would they permit thoſe nations to come upon their territories, to ſhare, in competition with them, the profits of the trade which they had opened with the Europeans. But time having extinguiſhed, or rather ſuſpended the hoſtilities between the Indian nations, the Engliſh ſpread themſelves over the country: the ſavages flocked to them from all quarters, and ſoon gave them the preference to their rivals the French, over whom they had vaſt advantages. Their voyages were carried on with greater facility, and conſequently they could afford to ſell cheaper. They were beſides the manufacturers of the coarſe cloths moſt ſuitable to the ſavages; and among them, the beaver-trade was free, whereas among the French it was, and ever has been, ſubject to the tyranny of a monopoly. In conſequence of this freedom, and theſe advantages,

Albany, and afterwards Oſwego, as we have already ſeen, engroſſed great part of the trade that had rendered Montreal ſo famous.

At this period the French in Canada indulged themſelves more freely in a cuſtom, which had been formerly confined within narrow limits. The paſſion of the firſt ſettlers for frequenting the woods was wiſely confined to the territory belonging to the colony. Permiſſion was, however, granted every year to twenty-five perſons to go beyond thoſe boundaries, in order to trade with the Indians; and the ſuperiority which New York ſeemed acquiring, made the number of ſuch permiſſions to be encreaſed. They were a kind of patents, which the poſſeſſors might make uſe of either in perſon or by proxy, and continued a year or more. The profits ariſing from of the ſale of theſe patents were aſſigned by the governor of the colony to the widows and children of officers, to hoſpitals, and miſſionaries; to ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſome great achievement, or ſome uſeful undertaking, and ſometimes to his minions. The money, which he did not give away, or chuſe to keep, was put into the public coffers; but he was not accountable to any one for the miſmanagement of it.

This cuſtom was attended with fatal conſequences. Many of thoſe traders ſettled among the Indians, in order to defraud their partners, whoſe goods they had ſold. A ſtill greater number choſe to ſettle among the Engliſh, where their profits were greater than in the fair trade among the French. The immenſe lakes, frequently agitated with violent ſtorms; the falls, which render navigation dangerous in the higher parts of the river St. Laurence: the weight of the canoes, the proviſions, and the bales of goods, which they were forced to convey on their ſhoulders at the carrying-places, where the rapidity or ſhallowneſs of the ſtream obliged them to quit the river, and purſue their journey by land, proved the deſtruction of many of them. Some periſhed in the ſnow, and on the ice, ſome by hunger, and others by the ſword of the enemy. Even thoſe who returned to the colony with a profit of ſix or ſeven hundred per cent. were not always on that account more uſeful members, as they generally gave themſelves up to the greateſt exceſſes. Their fortunes were diſſipated as ſuddenly as they had been amaſſed; and exhauſted by the exceſſive fatigues, which their avarice had prompted them to undergo, as well as by the licentiouſneſs of a wandering and diſſolute life, moſt of thoſe Coureurs des Bois dragged on a premature old age, in indigence and infamy.

The government became ſenſible of theſe irregularities, and changed the method of carrying on the fur trade. The French had long been inceſſantly employed in erecting a number of forts, which were thought neceſſary for the preſervation, and aggrandizement of their ſettlements in North America. Thoſe built to the weſt and ſouth of the river St. Laurence, being intended to reſtrain the ambition of the Engliſh, were large and ſtrong; but thoſe erected in the moſt important ſituations, on the ſeveral lakes, and which formed a chain extending ſouthward to the diſtance of a thouſand leagues from Quebec, were only miſerable palliades intended to keep the Indians in awe, in order to ſecure their alliance, and the produce of their huntings. In each fort was a garriſon, more

or

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or leſs numerous, according to the importance of the poſt, and the enemies who threatened it: and it was thought proper to entruſt the commandant of each with the excluſive privilege of buying and ſelling in the whole diſtrict under his dominion. This privilege was purchaſed; but as it was always advantageous, and often the means of acquiring a conſiderable fortune, it was only granted to officers that ſtood high in the governor's favour. If any of theſe had not a ſtock ſufficient for the undertaking, he could eaſily prevail with ſome monied men to aſſiſt him, by giving them a ſhare in the trade.

This, then, it was pretended, far from being detrimental to the ſervice, would contribute to promote it, as it obliged the military men to keep up a more conſtant intercourſe with the natives, to watch their motions, and uſe every means that could ſecure their friendſhip; but it was not foreſeen, or at leaſt only by thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to conceal it, that ſuch an arrangement muſt neceſſarily prevail over every principle except that of avarice, and prove a ſource of perpetual oppreſſion. Experience juſtifies this conjecture. That tyranny, which ſoon became univerſal, was ſeverely felt at Frontenac, at Niagara, and at Toronto. The farmers of thoſe three forts, by an abuſe of their excluſive privilege, ſet ſo low a value upon the commodities that were brought them, and rated their own ſo high, that by degrees the Indians, inſtead of ſtopping at their uſual ſtations, reſorted in great numbers to the Engliſh factory on the lake Ontario, where they could trade on more advantageous terms.

Alarmed at the account of theſe new connections, the French court found means to weaken them, by taking the trade of thoſe three poſts into their own hands, and trading with the Indians on terms ſtill more moderate than thoſe demanded by the Engliſh. In conſequence of this ſtep, the refuſe of all the furs that were not ſaleable became the ſole property of the crown, and the ſkins of all thoſe beaſts that were killed in ſummer and autumn: in a word, all the moſt ordinary furs, the thinneſt, and the moſt eaſily damaged, were reſerved for the king: and theſe baſe furs, bought up without examination, were careleſsly depoſited in warehouſes, and devoured by the moths. At the proper ſeaſon for ſending them to Quebec, they were put into boats, and left to the diſcretion of ſoldiers, paſſengers and watermen, who having no concern in the property, did not take the leaſt care to keep them dry; ſo that when they came into the hands of the king's officers, their ſmall value was ſtill farther reduced. Hence the returns in this naturally beneficial trade were leſs than the ſums advanced by the government for its ſupport.

A. D. 1702.

While things were in this ſituation, the promotion of the duke of Anjou to the throne of Spain ſpread an alarm all over Europe, and involved it once more in the horrors of war. The conflagration extended even to the New World, and was early advancing to Canada, had not the Iroquois put a ſtop to it. The Engliſh and French, as we have had occaſion to notice, had long been contending who ſhould ſecure their alliance. Theſe marks of fear or eſteem had ſo far increaſed their natural pride, that they conſidered themſelves as the umpires between the two rival nations, and expected that the conduct of both was to be regulated

gulated by their humour. As they were inclined to peace at that time, they haughtily declared that they would take up arms againſt either of the two nations which ſhould commence hoſtilities againſt the other, within their boundaries. This reſolution was favourable to the ſituation of the French colony, which was ill prepared for war, and could expect no aſſiſtance from the mother-country; but the people of New York, on the contrary, whoſe forces were conſiderable, wiſhed only to prevail with the Iroquois to join them, in order to commence hoſtilities. All their negociations were however ineffectual till the year 1710, when they ſucceeded in forming a league with the Five Nations, and the reduction of Montreal was reſolved upon, at the ſame time that a fleet from Boſton was expected to aſſault Quebec.

An army of two thouſand Engliſh, and an equal number of Indians, was accordingly advancing towards the heart of Canada with the greateſt probability of ſucceſs, when one of the chiefs of the Iroquois, who had never approved of the war, ſaid with a myſterious air to his people, "What will become of us, if we ſhould ſucceed in driving away the French?" Theſe few words, and the manner in which they were uttered, immediately recalled to the minds of the Iroquois their former ſyſtem, of keeping the balance equal between the two foreign nations, in order to ſecure their own independency; and they inſtantly reſolved to relinquiſh a deſign, which now appeared to have been adopted contrary to the public intereſt. But as they thought it would be ſhameful openly to deſert their aſſociates, they determined to effect by ſecret treachery the purpoſe of open defection. In this they were aſſiſted by circumſtances peculiarly favourable to ſuch an inſidious deſign. A. D. 1711.

The army having halted on the banks of a ſmall river, to wait for the artillery and ammunition, the Iroquois, who ſpent their leiſure hours in hunting, flayed all the beaſts they caught, and threw their ſkins into the flood a little above the camp. The waters were ſoon infected; and the Engliſh, who had no ſuſpicion of any baſeneſs, continued unfortunately to drink of the poiſoned ſtream *. The conſequence was, that they died in ſuch numbers, as made it neceſſary to ſuſpend the military operations; and on their return to New York, they underſtood that the fleet deſtined for the ſiege of Quebec, had not been more ſucceſsful. Through the raſhneſs of the admiral, and the inexperience of the pilots, eight tranſports and eight hundred and eighty-four men were loſt in the mouth of the river St. Laurence; and it was reſolved in a council of war, that, on account of this accident, the advancing ſeaſon, and other adverſe circumſtances, it was impracticable to proceed. Thus was Canada at once delivered from the danger that threatened it, both by land and ſea; and Vaudreuil, the governor, had the glory of defending it without ſuccours, and without loſs, againſt the whole ſtrength of New England and New York, ſupported by a powerful fleet, and a conſiderable body of land forces from Britain.

* Charlevoix, tom. IV. This hiſtorian had his information from father Mareville, a miſſionary among the Iroquois.

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A. D. 1712.

New France, however, was not yet in ſecurity. The Outagamis, vulgarly called the Foxes, who, for twenty-five years had ſcarcely been heard of, began about this time to make a figure in North America. They had promiſed to ſurprize Fort Detroit, and put it into the hands of the Engliſh, to whoſe intereſt they had lately come over. With this view they lay very near the place, and omitted no opportunity of inſulting the garriſon, which was commanded by an officer named Du Buiſſon. The Kicapous and the Maſcontins, two other ſavage nations, were confederated with them in the ſame deſign, which was diſcovered to Du Buiſſon by one Joſeph, a Chriſtian Outagamis. Buiſſon, who had but twenty Frenchmen in the fort, informed his Indian allies of his danger; and, as ſoon as they returned from the chace, they marched to his relief. They conſiſted of the Outaouais, the Hurons, the Sakis, the Illinois, and ſeveral other tribes, each of which had a particular ſtandard. The Outagamis, who had reared a ſlight fort for their defence, waited for their enemies with the moſt unſhaken intrepidity; and their brave reſiſtance obliged the aſſailants, after a vigorous attack, to raiſe two ſtages, each twenty-five feet high, from which they battered the little citadel. The Outagamis ſoon ſuffered every extreme of hunger and thirſt; but ſo great was their affection for the Engliſh, that they hoiſted red coverlets, by way of colours, upon their palliſadoes, calling out at the ſame time, with all their might, that they had no other father but the Engliſhman, who would not fail to come to their relief, or revenge their death. Thoſe exclamations made no inconſiderable impreſſion upon their Indian enemies; of which Du Buiſſon was ſo apprehenſive, that he ordered all converſation between the beſiegers and the beſieged to be broken off, and the artillery to be brought up.

The Outagamis now demanded a parley, on ſeeing the French cannon pointed againſt them; but this Buiſſon could not grant, without conſulting his Indian allies, who agreed to it, in order to draw from the hands of the beſieged, three of their women, who had been made priſoners. In conſequence of this reſolution, Pemouſſa, the chief of the Outagamis, was admitted into the aſſembly of the confederates, where he preſented the French commander with two captives and a belt, and the Indian chiefs with the ſame, and begged for a delay of two days, in order to conſult the elders of his nation, on the means of appeaſing their father's wrath. The manner in which he ſpoke, touched the ſavages ſo much that they continued dumb, until Du Buiſſon replied, that he would enter into no treaty with the Outagamis, till they ſent him the three female priſoners. Pemouſſa declared, that he could ſay nothing on that head, until he had conſulted his nation; and, having obtained a further delay, he returned with a white flag in his hand, attended by the three women, and requeſted liberty for his people to retire. The French commandant referred him to his Indian allies for an anſwer; and the chief of the Illinois gave him to underſtand, that the Outagamis were to expect no mercy, unleſs they ſurrendered at diſcretion, but that they might re-enter the fort, and place their ſecurity in their valour. They did ſo; and the fire on both ſides being renewed, the Outagamis made ſuch a vigorous defence, as greatly diſpirited the French, and the ſavages deſpairing of the event, were on the point

of returning to Michillimachinac. But Du Buiſſon found means to detain them by preſents: the war ſong was renewed; and the beſieged were given to underſtand, that no ſafety was now left them unleſs they accepted of the proffered terms. They petitioned however for farther delay, and were permitted to ſend a freſh deputation to the camp of the beſiegers; who, notwithſtanding all their entreaties, ſtill inſiſted on their ſurrendering at diſcretion; and it was with ſome difficulty that Buiſſon prevented his Indian allies from putting the deputies to death. Being ſuffered to return to the fort, they renewed their defence with undiminiſhed vigour; and, under the favour of a tempeſtuous night, the whole garriſon made their eſcape, after enduring for nineteen days, under all the preſſure of famine, a cloſe ſiege by ſuperior numbers. A. D. 1712.

In the morning the French and their allies purſued the Outagamis, and found them entrenched on a ſmall tongue of land near the iſland of St. Claire. Here they were again beſieged; and their defence was ſo vigorous for four days, that Buiſſon was obliged to bring up the heavy artillery, in order to force their entrenchments. On the appearance of theſe terrible inſtruments of deſtruction, they ſurrendered at diſcretion. All thoſe, who were found in arms, were immediately put to death; and the reſt being divided among the confederate Indians, alſo ſuffered the ſame fate, ſo that few, if any, eſcaped the general maſſacre. In a word, it was computed that two thouſand of thoſe gallant ſavages were cut in pieces, for no other crime than that of having declared themſelves friends to the Engliſh; and Charlevoix, on account of this horrid butchery, accompanied with ſo many circumſtances of treachery, gives to Du Buiſſon the character of a good officer, and a man of honour *!

Vaudreuil being now delivered from all the dangers that threatened his government, employed himſelf in the re eſtabliſhment of the fur-trade, by new alliances with the ſavages: but the ſeries of defeats and mortifications which diſcoloured the latter years of the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, made him happy to purchaſe peace by ſacrifices, which made his humiliation evident, and blaſted the hopes of the French in the New World. As he wiſhed to conceal theſe ſacrifices from his people, he made them chiefly beyond ſea. It is eaſy, however, to judge, how much his pride muſt have ſuffered in relinquiſhing to the Engliſh by the treaty of Utrecht, Hudſon's Bay, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia; three poſſeſſions, which he then enjoyed in whole or in part, and which formed that immenſe tract of country then known by the magnificent name of New France. A. D. 1713.

But in the treaty of Utrecht, though ſo favourable to the intereſts of England in America, at a time when ſhe had a right to dictate, one capital article was omitted; namely, the reſtitution of Cape Breton, or at leaſt a prohibition, that the French ſhould not fortify it. They were immediately ſenſible of its importance on turning their views towards the New World; and as the moderation of queen Anne, or perhaps the corruption of her miniſters, had not only left them in poſſeſſion of this iſland, but laid them under no reſtrictions, they were at liberty to erect what fortifications they thought proper for its defence.

* Hiſt. N. France, tom. IV.

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Cape Breton is ſituated at the entrance of the Gulph of St. Laurence, between the forty-fifth and forty-ſeventh degrees of North latitude. Newfoundland lies to the eaſt on the ſame Gulf, and is but fifteen or ſixteen leagues diſtant from it; and Nova Scotia to the weſt, is only ſeparated from the iſland by a ſtrait, not more than three or four leagues broad. Cape Breton thus ſituated between the territories of France and thoſe ceded to her rival, threatened the poſſeſſions of the one, while it protected thoſe of the other. The iſland, which meaſures about thirty-ſix leagues in length, and twenty-two at its greateſt breadth, is ſurrounded with ſharp pointed rocks, ſeparated from one another by the waves, above which ſome of their tops are viſible. All its harbours open to the eaſt, verging towards the ſouth. On the other parts of the coaſt, there are but a few anchoring places, and theſe for ſmall veſſels in creeks or between iſlets. Except in the mountainous parts, the ſurface of the ground has but little ſolidity, being every where covered with a light moſs, or with water. The dampneſs of the ſoil, however, is exhaled in fogs without rendering the air unwholeſome. In other reſpects the climate is very indifferent, being remarkably cold and bleak; owing either to the prodigious quantity of lakes, which cover above half the iſland, and remain frozen the greater part of the year, or to the number of foreſts, and the perpetual clouds, which totally intercept the rays of the ſun.

Though ſeveral fiſhermen had long reſorted to Cape Breton every ſummer, not more than twenty or thirty families had hitherto fixed their abode there. The French colony, which ſettled in it in 1713, were therefore properly its firſt European inhabitants. They changed its name into that of Iſle-Royale, and pitched upon Fort Dauphin as their principal ſettlement. The harbour of this place was two leagues in circumference; and the ſhips, which might come to the very ſhore, were well ſheltered from the winds. Foreſts affording oak ſufficient to build and fortify a large city were near at hand; the ground was leſs barren than in other parts, and the fiſhery more plentiful. This harbour might have been rendered impregnable at a trifling expence, but the difficulty of approaching it, made it be abandoned. The coloniſts next turned their views towards Louiſburgh, the acceſs to which was eaſier, and conveniency was preferred to ſecurity.

The harbour of Louiſburgh, ſituated on the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland, is at leaſt, a league in depth, and near a mile broad in the narroweſt part. The bottom is good, and the ſoundings are uſually from ſix to ten fathoms. It includes a ſmall gulph, very commodious for refitting ſhips of all ſizes; and they may even winter there with proper precautions. The only inconvenience attending this excellent harbour, is its being frozen up from November till May, and ſometimes even till June. The entrance, which is naturally rather narrow, was further guarded by Goat Iſland, the cannon of which, while in the poſſeſſion of France, playing upon a level with the ſurface of the water, would have ſunk the largeſt ſhips that ſhould have attempted to force a paſſage; and the batteries, one of thirty ſix, the other of twelve twenty-fourpounders, erected on the two oppoſite ſhores, would have ſupported and croſſed this formidable fire. The town is built on a neck of land, that runs into the ſea, and is about half a league in circuit. The ſtreets are broad and regular, and the houſes are generally

generally built of wood on a foundation of ſtone to the height of two yards from the ground. Thoſe that are entirely of ſtone, were conſtructed at the expence of the government, and deſtined for the reception of troops. A number of wharfs projected a conſiderable way into the harbour, and were extremely convenient for the loading and unloading of ſhips.

The fortifications of Louiſburg were begun in 1720, and executed upon a very good plan. The town was walled, and ſupplied with all the works that can render a place formidable. A ſpace of about an hundred fathoms only was left without ramparts on the ſide next the ſea, which was thought ſufficiently protected by its ſituation, and a ſimple palliſade; the water being ſo ſhallow in this place, that it formed a ſort of narrow canal, inacceſſible from the number of its reefs to ſhipping of any kind: beſides, the fire from the ſide-baſtions completely ſecured it againſt every attack. The neceſſity of bringing ſtone from Europe, and other materials proper for theſe vaſt works, ſometimes retarded their progreſs, but never made them diſcontinued. More than thirty millions of livres were expended upon them; nor was this thought a ſum too great for the ſupport of the fiſheries, for ſecuring the communication between France and Canada, and obtaining a ſafe retreat to ſhips, coming in time of war from the Weſt India iſlands. Nature and ſound policy required that the wealth of the ſouth ſhould be protected by the ſtrength of the north.

In 1714, ſome French fiſhermen, who had hitherto reſided in Newfoundland, removed to Cape Breton. It was alſo expected that their number would have been increaſed by the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia, who were at liberty by the treaty of Utrecht to retire with all their effects, and even to diſpoſe of their eſtates. But theſe hopes were diſappointed: the Acadians, as they were called, choſe rather to retain their poſſeſſions under the dominion of England, than to give them up for any precarious advantage, which they might derive from their attachment to France. The place, which they were expected to fill at Cape Breton, was occupied by ſome diſtreſſed adventurers from Europe, who came over to that iſland from time to time; and the population of the colony gradually encreaſed to the number of four thouſand. Theſe inhabitants were ſettled at Louiſburg, Fort Dauphin, Port Thouloufe, Nerica, and on all the coaſts where they found a proper beach to dry the cod. They never applied themſelves to agriculture, the ſoil being unfit for it. They only planted a few pot-herbs, which they were under the neceſſity of renewing every year from abroad. The poorneſs and ſcarcity of paſtures alſo prevented the increaſe of cattle: in a word, Cape Breton was chiefly valuable as a military ſtation, and a receptacle for fiſhermen.

Though this iſland was entirely covered with foreſts before the arrival of the French, its timber has ſcarce ever been an object of trade; for although a great quantity of wood was there found fit for firing, and ſome that might be applied to other uſes, the oak was always ſcarce, and the fir never yielded much reſin. Nor was the fur trade a more conſiderable object; for it conſiſted only in the ſkins of a few muſk-rats, wild-cats, bears, otters, and foxes. Some

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of theſe were procured from a colony of Mickmack Indians: the reſt came from St. John's, or the neighbouring continent. Greater advantages might poſſibly have been derived from the coal-mines, which abound in the iſland. They lie in an horizontal direction, and being no more than ſix or eight feet below the ſurface, may be worked at a ſmall expence. But notwithſtanding the prodigious demand for this coal from New England, between the years 1745 and 17-0, theſe mines would probably have been forſaken, had not the ſhips which were ſent out to the French Weſt-Indies wanted ballaſt. In one of the mines a fire has been kindled, which could never be extinguiſhed, and will probably one day occaſion ſome extraordinary exploſion.

The whole induſtry of the French inhabitants of Cape Breton was conſtantly exerted in the cod fiſhery. The leſs wealthy coloniſts employed yearly about two hundred boats in this fiſhery, and the more opulent fifty or ſixty veſſels, from thirty to fifty tons burden. The ſmall craft generally kept within four or five leagues of the ſhore, and returned at night with their fiſh, which being immediately cured, was always in the higheſt poſſible degree of perfection. The larger ſmacks went to fiſh farther out at ſea, and kept their cargo uncured ſeveral days, in conſequence of which the cod became leſs valuable. But this diſadvantage was compenſated by the opportunity it afforded them of purſuing the fiſh, when the want of food compelled them to leave the coaſt of the iſland; and by the facility of carrying, during the autumn, the produce of their labour to the Weſt India iſlands, or even to Europe.

Beſides the fiſhermen ſettled in Cape Breton, others came there every year from France, either to dry their fiſh on the ſtages erected by the inhabitants, in conſequence of an agreement with the owners, or upon the beach, which was always reſerved for their uſe. The mother country regularly ſent them ſeveral ſhips annually laden with proviſions, liquors, wearing apparel, houſhold goods, and all things neceſſary for the ſupport of the colony. The largeſt of theſe ſhips having no further deſtination, returned to Europe as ſoon as they had bartered their lading for cod; but thoſe from fifty to an hundred tons burthen, after having landed their cargo, went a fiſhing themſelves, and did not return till the ſeaſon was over. Notwithſtanding this trade, which was chiefly carried on at Louiſburg, and one no leſs conſiderable, which they carried on with the French ſugar iſlands, moſt of the coloniſts were extremely poor. This was occaſioned by that dependence, to which their indigence had ſubjected them on their firſt arrival. Unable to procure the implements neceſſary for the fiſhery, they had been obliged to have recourſe to the ruinous practice of borrowing; and this, with the dearneſs of ſalt proviſions, kept them always in a neceſſitous condition.

But all the French colonies in thoſe latitudes have not been deſtined to ſtruggle with ſuch inconveniencies from their firſt eſtabliſhment. The neighbouring iſland of St. John, more happily ſituated, has been more friendly to its inhabitants. It lies further up the Gulph of St. Laurence, is near thirty leagues in length, and about ſeven at its greateſt breadth. It bends in the form of a creſcent, both ends terminating

terminating in a ſharp point. Though the right to this iſland had never been diſputed with France, ſhe paid no regard to it, till after the peace of Utrecht, when the loſs of Nova Scotia, and her poſſeſſions in Newfoundland, turned her attention towards all the adjacent iſles, and the government began to enquire what uſe could be made of ſuch a ſpot. It appeared that the winters there were long, the cold extreme, with abundance of ſnow, and a prodigious quantity of inſects; but that theſe diſadvantages were compenſated by a healthy coaſt, a good ſea-port, and ſeveral convenient anchoring-places. The country was level, enriched with fine paſtures, and watered by an infinite number of ſprings and rivulets; the ſoil exceedingly diverſified, and fit for the culture of every kind of grain. The profuſion of game, the multitudes of wild beaſts, the amazing ſhoals of fiſh of all ſorts, and a greater number of ſavage inhabitants than had been found in any of the other iſlands, were ſo many proofs of the ſuperior value of that of St. John.

The reports, ſpread to this purpoſe in France, gave riſe to a company which formed the deſign of clearing that fertile iſland, and eſtabliſhing a cod-fiſhery there in 1719; but unfortunately intereſt, which had brought the adventurers together, ſet them at variance before they began to execute the plan which they had projected, and the iſland of St. John was once more forgotten, when the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia began to remove thither in 1749. In a few years they increaſed to the number of three thouſand one hundred and fifty-four; and as they were for the moſt part huſbandmen, and particularly accuſtomed to the breeding of cattle, the government thought proper to confine them to that employment. But prohibitions and monopolies, when they reſtrain induſtry, are equally detrimental to the labours they permit, and thoſe they prohibit. Though St. John does not afford a ſufficient extent of ſea coaſt for drying the vaſt quantities of cod that come in ſhoals to the iſland, and though the fiſh is too large to be eaſily dried, it was nevertheleſs incumbent upon a power, whoſe fiſheries were not ſufficient for the conſumption of its own ſubjects, to encourage this kind of employment. If there were too few drying-places, for the quantity of fiſh that could be caught, that which is called green cod, and which alone would have been a valuable branch of commerce, might have been prepared; whereas by confining the inhabitants of St. John to agriculture, they were deprived of all reſource in thoſe unfortunate ſeaſons, which happened frequently in the iſland, when the crops were devoured by the field-mice, and other vermin, or deſtroyed by the rage of the elements.

In conſequence of this diſadvantage, the exchanges which the mother-country could and ought to have tranſacted with the colony of St. John, were reduced to nothing. Only two or three ſmall veſſels came annually to the iſland from Europe, and landed at Port La Joie, where the inhabitants were ſupplied with what they wanted, and made their returns to Louiſburg in wheat, barley, pulſe, oats, black cattle, and ſheep. A party of fifty men ſerved rather to regulate the police, than to protect them; and their commanding officer was dependent on Cape Breton, which was itſelf under the controul of the governor of Canada.

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That vaſt country, as well as the adjacent iſlands, continued to enjoy an almoſt uninterrupted tranquillity till 1745, when war having again broke out between France and England, an attack was made upon Louiſburg. This expedition, the idea of which was originally ſuggeſted by one Mr. Vaughan of Sagadahock, a whimſical projector in his own private concerns, and entirely unacquainted with military affairs, was planned at Boſton, and New England bore the expence of it. A body of three thouſand men accordingly embarked under the conduct of Mr. Pepperel, a trader of Piſcataqua, ſupported by a fleet of ten ſhips commanded by commodore Warren, and a landing was effected with little or no oppoſition. But though the garriſon of Louiſburg conſiſted only of ſix hundred regular troops, and eight hundred inhabitants, hattily armed the ſucceſs of the undertaking was ſtill precarious. Inexperienced troops, or rather a militia ſuddenly aſſembled, who had never ſeen a ſiege, or faced an enemy, ſtood in need of ſome fortunate incident to facilitate their operations; and with this they were favoured in a very ſingular manner.

The conſervation and repair of the fortifications of Louiſburg had always been left to the care of the governor. The ſoldiers were eager of being employed in theſe works, which they conſidered as conducive to their ſafety, as well as the means of procuring them a comfortable ſubſiſtence; and when they found that thoſe who ſhould have paid them appropriated to themſelves the profit of their labours, they demanded juſtice. It was denied them, and they determined to aſſert their right; but as theſe ſpoils had been ſhared between the chief perſons in the colony and the officers of the garriſon, the ſoldiers could find no redreſs. Their indignation againſt their oppreſſors roſe to ſuch a height, that they deſpiſed all authority: and they had lived in a ſtate of almoſt open rebellion for ſix months, when the Engliſh ſquadron appeared before the place.

This was the time for a reconciliation, that both parties might unite in the common cauſe. The ſoldiers made the firſt advances; but their commanders miſtruſted a generoſity of which themſelves were incapable. Had theſe rapacious men conceived it poſſible, that the ſoldiers could entertain ſuch elevated notions as to ſacrifice their private reſentment for the good of their country, they would have taken advantage of this diſpoſition, to fall upon the Engliſh while forming their camp, and erecting their batteries; and beſiegers unacquainted with the art of war, might have been diſconcerted by a regular and vigorous attack. But it was firmly believed, that the ſoldiers were only deſirous of ſallying out, in order that they might have an opportunity of deſerting; ſo that their own officers kept them in a manner priſoners, till the Engliſh had conſiderably damaged the town, and were preparing to ſtorm the fortifications. Afraid to ſtand the ſhock, the garriſon capitulated; and the whole iſland of Cape Breton ſhared the fate of Louiſburgh, its only bulwark *.—This valuable acquiſition was reſtored to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, with its fortifications entire, to the great mortification of the people of New England, in whoſe poſſeſſion it had in ſome meaſure continued †,

* Douglaſs. Raynal.

† It was garriſoned chiefly with New Englandmen.

and



Rouce Sc

A View of QUEBEC from the Bason

and who were bent upon its demolition, if it could not be retained; but the misfortunes of Great Britain in Flanders, obliged her to make that humiliating ſacrifice to peace.

The tranquillity which Canada enjoyed both before and after this period, ſerved to recover it from that ſtate of languor in which it had been ſo long plunged; and from an eſtimate, taken in 1753, it appears that the inhabitants then amounted to ninety-one thouſand, excluſive of the regular troops, whoſe numbers varied according to the different exigencies of the colony. Nor did this eſtimate include ſixteen thouſand Indians, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the French ſettlements, or the various tribes diſperſed throughout that immenſe country. None of theſe were conſidered as ſubjects, though ſo conſiderable a number of them lived in the middle of a great European colony. The ſmalleſt tribes ſtill preſerved their independency. All men talk of liberty, but the ſavage alone, perhaps, can be ſaid to enjoy it. Not only the whole nation, but every individual is truly free; and the conſciouſneſs of this freedom influences all his thoughts and actions. The Indian would enter the palace of an Aſiatic monarch with the ſame indifference as the cottage of a peaſant: he would neither be dazzled with the ſplendor of royalty, nor awed by the ſcepter of power. It is his own ſpecies, it is mankind, it is his equal, that he loves and reſpects: he would hate a maſter, and would have courage to lay the tyrant at his feet; to drag him from the throne, or daſh him from the trophied car.

The French inhabitants of Canada lived chiefly in three towns; namely, Quebec, Trois Rivieres, and Montreal. Quebec, the capital of the colony, is built in the figure of an amphitheatre, on a peninſula formed by the river St. Laurence, and that of St. Charles, at the diſtance of an hundred and twenty leagues from the ſea, and commands a proſpect over extenſive and fertile fields, which ſerve to enrich it, and over a very ſafe road, that will admit upwards of two hundred ſhips. The city is about three miles in circumference, two thirds of which is better defended by the water and the rocks, than the remainder by the fortifications that croſs the peninſula, though by no means weak. It is divided into an upper and lower town: the houſes in both are of ſtone, and tolerably well built. When the late war broke out, Quebec contained near ten thouſand inhabitants. Trois Rivieres, built about ten years later than Quebec, ſtands thirty leagues higher up the river. Though promiſing at firſt, it never contained more than fifteen hundred inhabitants, while Canada was in the poſſeſſion of France. It takes its name from its ſituation. Three rivers unite their ſtreams about a quarter of a mile below the town, and fall into the St. Laurence. Montreal is ſituated in an iſland formed by this great river, ten leagues long, and almoſt four broad, full ſixty leagues above Quebec. A few huts thrown up there, as if by chance, in 1640, were improved by degrees to a regular town, containing five thouſand inhabitants. It is of an oblong form, and the houſes are well built. The fortifications are pretty ſtrong, conſiſting of a wall, eleven redoubts, a ditch, and a kind of citadel or fort, the batteries of which command the ſtreets of the town from one end to the other. Over the river St.

Peter is a bridge, by which there is a communication with the country to the weſt of the St. Laurence. Montreal, like the capital, is divided into an upper and lower town. In the latter the merchants chiefly reſide, but the principal public buildings are in the upper town. A prodigious trade, as already obſerved, is here carried on with the Indians, ſome of whom come down from the diſtance of five hundred leagues.

Such of the French inhabitants of Canada, as did not reſide within the walls of theſe three towns, were moſtly diſperſed along the banks of the St. Laurence; but none were to be ſeen near the mouth of that river, where the ſoil is rugged and barren. The firſt plantations towards the ſouth were formed at the diſtance of fifty leagues, and thoſe towards the north, at the diſtance of twenty below Quebec. They were widely ſeparated from each other, and their produce was but indifferent. No very fertile fields were to be found, except in the neighbourhood of the capital, or towards Montreal. There cannot be a more delightful proſpect than the rich borders of the long and broad canal that facilitates the intercourſe between thoſe two cities. Detached woods, adding beauty to the lops of the verdant tops, meadows covered with herds and flocks, fields crowned with ripening corn, ſmall ſtreams of water tumbling down the declivities, churches and caſtles ſeen at intervals through the trees, exhibit a ſucceſſion of the moſt enchanting views. Theſe would have been ſtill more delightful, if the edict of 1745 had been obſerved, which prohibited the coloniſt from dividing his plantations, unleſs they were an acre and an half in front, and thirty or forty in depth. Indolent heirs would not in that caſe, have torn in pieces the inheritance of their fathers: they would have been obliged to form new plantations; and vaſt ſpaces of waſte land would no longer have ſeparated rich and cultivated fields.

Nature herſelf, in the ſettling of Canada, directed the labours of the huſbandman, and taught him that watery and ſandy grounds, as well as thoſe where the pine, the fir, and cedar grew ſolitary, were unfavourable to agriculture; but wherever he found a ſoil covered with maple, oak, or beech, he might reaſonably expect a rich return for his labours, without the trouble of manuring. The plantations, though not equally large or fertile, all afforded a ſufficient ſupply for the wants of their reſpective cultivators. Several of them yielded wheat, and moſt of them produced maize, barley, flax, hemp, tobacco, pulſe, and pot herbs in great plenty, and excellent in their kind. The planters had in general a ſcore or two of ſheep, whoſe wool was very uſeful to them; ten or twelve milch cows, and five or ſix oxen for the plough. The cattle were ſmall, but their fleſh was excellent; and the common people lived much better than the peaſants in Old France. They had alſo horſes, which were not fine, but very fit for drudgery, and able to perform journeys of an amazing length upon the ſnow.

Such was the ſituation of eighty-three thouſand French coloniſts, diſperſed or collected on the banks of the river St. Laurence. About the head of the river, and what is called the Upper Country, there were eight thouſand more, who were rather engaged in trade and hunting, than agriculture. Their firſt ſettlement was at Cataracouy, or Fort Frontinac, built in 1671, at the entrance of the Lake Ontario, in order to ſtop the inroads of the Engliſh and Iroquois. The bay of this

this place ſerved as a harbour for the armed and trading veſſels built upon that great lake, which might perhaps with more propriety be termed an inland ſea, and where ſtorms are almoſt as frequent and dreadful as on the ocean itſelf. Between the lakes Ontario and Erie, each of which meaſures three hundred leagues in circumference, lies a tract of land fourteen leagues in extent. That territory is interſected towards the middle by the famous fall of Niagara; which from its height, breadth, and aſpect, as well as from the quantity and impetuoſity of its waters, is juſtly accounted the moſt wonderful cataract in the known world. It was above this grand and awful caſcade, that France had erected fortifications, in order to prevent the Indians from carrying their furs to the Engliſh ſettlements.

Beyond Lake Erie is an extent of land diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Detroit, which exceeds all Canada in the mildneſs of the climate, the beauty and variety of the proſpects, the fertility of the ſoil, and the profuſion of game and fiſh. Nature has laviſhed all her bleſſings to enrich this delightful ſpot. But theſe advantages were not the motives that determined the French to ſettle there at the beginning of the preſent century. They were induced to ſuch a meaſure by the vicinity of the ſeveral Indian nations, who could ſupply them with vaſt quantities of furs. The ſucceſs of this new ſettlement proved fatal to the poſt of Michilimachinac, an hundred leagues further on, between Lake Mechigan, Lake Huron, and Lake Superior, which are all three navigable. The greateſt part of the trade which had been carried on with the Indians there, was transferred to the Detroit, where it continued.

The manners of the French ſettled in Canada, were not always anſwerable either to the climate, or their condition. Thoſe who lived in the country, ſpent the greater part of the winter in idleneſs, penſively ſitting by the fire; and when the return of the ſpring called them out to the indiſpenſable labours of the field, they ploughed the ground ſuperficially, without manuring it, ſowed it careleſsly, and then relapſed into their former indolent courſe of life till the approach of harveſt. Even then, as the common people were too proud, or too lazy to work by the day, and every family was obliged to gather in its own crops, nothing was to be ſeen of that ſprightly joy which enlivens the reaping ſeaſon in Europe. This languor and negligence might be owing to ſeveral cauſes. During the exceſſive cold, which, by freezing up the rivers, prevented all the exertions of induſtry, and produced a winter of near eight months, they contracted ſuch a habit of idleneſs, that labour appeared inſupportable to them even in the fineſt weather; and this indolence was encreaſed by the numerous feſtivals preſcribed by their religion, which flattered a diſpoſition to which they were of themſelves but too much inclined.

The inhabitants of the towns, eſpecially thoſe of the capital, ſpent the winter as well as the ſummer in a perpetual round of diſſipation. They were alike inſenſible to the beauties of nature, and to the pleaſures of imagination: they had no taſte for arts and ſciences, reading, or inſtruction; their only paſſion was amuſement, and perſons of all ages and ſexes were ſeized with the rage of dancing at aſſemblies. This mode of life naturally encreaſed the influence of the

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women, who poſſeſſed every attraction except thoſe gentle graces, thoſe ſoft emotions of the ſoul, which alone conſtitute the chief merit, and the ineffable charm of beauty. Lively, gay, coquettiſh, and addicted to gallantry, they were more fond of inſpiring, than capable of feeling the tender paſſions. In both ſexes there appeared a greater ſhare of devotion than virtue, more religion than probity, and a higher ſenſe of honour than of real honeſty. Giddineſs took place of rational entertainment, and ſuperſtition of moraliy; which will always be the caſe where men are taught that ceremonies will compenſate for good works, and that crimes may be expiated by prayers.

Idleneſs, prejudice, and levity would never have gained ſuch an aſcendant in Canada, had the government been careful to turn the attention of the people to permanent and uſeful objects. But as all the coloniſts were required to pay an implicit obedience to a mere military authority, they could have little pleaſure in ſerious contemplation. They were unacquainted with the ſlow, but ſure proceſs of law; the will of the chief, or of his delegate, was an oracle which they were not even at liberty to interpret: they were obliged to ſubmit without examination to the awful decree. Delays, repreſentations, remonſtrances, were ſo many crimes in the eyes of a deſpotic ruler, who was veſted with a right of puniſhing, or of abſolving merely by his word. All favours, penalties, rewards, and puniſhments depended upon his will—the power of impriſoning without the ſhadow of a crime, and the ſtill more formidable power of enforcing a reverence for his own decrees as ſo many acts of juſtice, though in reality but the irregular ſallies of a capricious imagination!

This unlimited power in early times was not only exerciſed in matters of military diſcipline and political adminiſtration, but extended even to civil juriſdiction. The governor decided abſolutely, and without appeal, all differences ariſing between the coloniſts; but fortunately ſuch differences were very rare in a country where all things might be ſaid to be almoſt in common. This dangerous authority ſubſiſted till 1663, when a tribunal was erected in the capital for the definitive trial of all cauſes depending throughout the colony; and the cuſtom of Paris, modified according to local circumſtances, formed the civil code of New France. That code was not mutilated or diſfigured by a mixture of revenue laws. The adminiſtration of the finances in Canada required only a few fines of alienation, a ſmall contribution from the inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal, towards maintaining the fortifications, and certain duties upon all goods imported and exported. Theſe taxes, it muſt be owned, were too high; yet, in 1747, the ſeveral foregoing articles brought into the treaſury no more than two hundred and ſixty thouſand livres *.

The lands, though not taxed by the government, were not entirely exempt from taxes. At the firſt ſettling of the colony, a great error was committed, in granting to officers and gentlemen adventurers parcels of land from two to four leagues in front, and unlimited in breadth. Theſe great proprietors, who

* Raynal, liv. xvi.

were

were generally men of moderate or ſmall fortunes, and unſkilled in agriculture, were unable to manage ſuch vaſt eſtates: they were therefore under the neceſſity of making over their lands to ſoldiers or planters, on condition that they ſhould receive a quit-rent and certain ſervices for ever. This was introducing into America a ſpecies of tenure ſomewhat ſimilar to that of the feudal government, which had ſo long been fatal to Europe. The ſuperior ceded ninety acres to each of his vaſſals; who on their part engaged to work in his mill, to pay him annually one or two ſols per acre, and a buſhel and a half of corn for the whole grant. This tax, though but a ſmall one, maintained a conſiderable number of idle people, at the expence of the only claſs with which a colony ought to be peopled:—and the truly uſeful inhabitants, thoſe engaged in laborious employments, found the burden of maintaining a lazy nobleſs, encreaſed by the additional exactions of the clergy. The tythes were impoſed in 1667; and though this grievous tax upon induſtry was reduced to a twenty-fifth part of the produce of the ſoil, notwithſtanding the clamours of the prieſthood, even that was an oppreſſion in an infant colony, and a grievance in a country where the clergy had property allotted them ſufficient for their maintenance.

So many impediments neceſſarily retarded the progreſs of agriculture, and diſabled the inhabitants of Canada from paying for thoſe manufactures which they received from the mother country. Of this diſability the French miniſtry were at length ſo fully convinced, that, after having obſtinately oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of manufactures in America, they thought it their intereſt to promote them in 1736. But ſuch late encouragement had very little effect: the united induſtry of the colonies could never produce more than a few coarſe linens, and ſome very bad woollen cloths. Nor were the fiſheries much more attended to than the manufactures. The only one that could become an object of exportation, was that of the ſeal. This animal has been ranked in the claſs of fiſh, though he is not dumb, is always produced upon land, and lives more on it than in the water. His head is ſomewhat like that of a maſtiff. He has four paws, which are very ſhort, eſpecially the hinder ones, and ſerve him rather to crawl, than to walk upon. They are ſhaped like fins, but the fore-feet have claws. His ſkin is hard, and covered with ſhort hair. He is at firſt white, but turns ſandy or black as he grows up; and ſometimes he is of all theſe three different colours.

There are two kinds of ſeals. The larger kind ſometimes weigh two thouſand pounds, and ſeem to have a ſharper ſnout than the other ſpecies. The ſmall kind, whoſe ſkin is commonly marbled, are more active, and dexterous in eluding the ſnares that are laid for them. The Indians have the art of taming them, even ſo far as to make them follow them. They couple upon the rocks, and it is there alſo that the dams bring forth their young. They commonly bear two, and ſometimes ſuckle them in the water, but more commonly on land. When they want to teach their young to ſwim, it is ſaid that they carry them upon their back, drop them now and then into the water, then take them up again, and proceed in this manner till they are ſtrong enough to ſwim of themſelves. Moſt little birds flutter about from ſpray to ſpray, before they venture to fly

abroad; and the eagle carries her young on her back, in order to train them to flight in the regions of air: it is not therefore ſurprizing that the ſeal, produced upon land, ſhould uſe her little ones to live in the water.

The manner of fiſhing for theſe amphibious animals is very ſimple. They are accuſtomed to enter into creeks with the tide; and as ſoon as any place to which they reſort is diſcovered, it is ſurrounded with nets and ſtakes, a little opening only being left for them to get in and out. At high water this paſſage is ſhut up, and when the tide retires, the ſeals remain on dry ground. It is then only neceſſary to kill them. At other times the fiſhermen get into a canoe, and follow the ſeals to their lurking places, where they fire upon them the moment they put their heads above water to take in air. If only wounded, they are eaſily caught; but if killed they inſtantly ſink to the bottom, whence they are brought up by large dogs, trained for the purpoſe, and who will dive for them ſeven or eight fathom under water. The ſkin of the ſeal was formerly uſed for muffs, but afterwards to cover trunks, and ſince for houſings, as well as for ſhoes and boots. When well tanned, the grain is not unlike that of Morocco leather. If not ſo fine, it preſerves its colour longer. The fleſh of the ſeal is generally allowed to be good eating, but it turns to better account when boiled down to oil. For this purpoſe it is ſufficient to ſet it on the fire in a boiler of any kind, and it is thought enough to ſpread the fat on a large ſquare board, where it melts of itſelf, and the oil runs off through an opening into a veſſel placed to receive it. This oil keeps clear a long time, has no bad ſmell, nor any ſediment. It is uſed for burning in lamps, and dreſſing leather.

Five or ſix ſhips were annually fitted out by the French colony in Canada for the ſeal-fiſhery in the Gulf of St. Laurence, and about an equal number for the trade of the Weſt Indies. From theſe iſlands it received nine or ten veſſels laden with rum, molaſſes, coffee and ſugar; and from France about thirty ſhips, whoſe lading together might amount to nine thouſand tons. In the interval between the two laſt wars, which was the moſt flouriſhing period of the colony, its exports did not exceed one million two hundred thouſand livres in furs, eight hundred thouſand in beaver, two hundred and fifty thouſand in ſeal-oil, about the ſame in flour and pulſe, and an hundred and fifty thouſand in wood of all kinds. Theſe ſeveral articles collectively amounted but to two million, ſix hundred and fifty thouſand livres, or about an hundred and ſixteen thouſand pounds ſterling a year; a ſum inſufficient to repay the commodities ſent to New France from the mother-country. The government made up the deficiency.

While the French were in poſſeſſion of Canada, the inhabitants had very little ſpecie. The ſmall quantity that was brought from time to time by the new ſettlers did not continue in the country; the neceſſitous ſtate of the colony occaſioned it ſoon to return to old France. This was a great obſtacle to the progreſs of commerce and agriculture. The court of Verſailles in 1670 had coined a particular ſort of money for the uſe of all the French ſettlements in America, and ſet a nominal value upon it, one fourth above the current coin of the mother country. But this expedient was not productive of the advantages expected from it, at leaſt

with regard to Canada: it was therefore judged neceſſary to ſubſtitute paper-currency inſtead of coin for the payment of the troops, and other expences of government. This meaſure ſucceeded till the year 1717, when the engagements that had been entered into with the adminiſtrators of the colony were not faithfully obſerved. Their bills of exchange drawn upon the treaſury of Old France were not honoured, and from that time conſequently fell into diſcredit. In 1720 they were paid off with the loſs of five eighths.

That event occaſioned the revival of the uſe of ſpecie in Canada, but with no better ſucceſs than formerly. It laſted only two years. The merchants found it troubleſome, chargeable, and hazardous to ſend money to Europe, as did all thoſe coloniſts who had any remittances to make: they were therefore unanimous in ſoliciting the re-eſtabliſhment of paper-currency. This now conſiſted of cards, on which were ſtamped the arms of France and Navarre, and which were ſigned by the governor, the intendant, and the comptroller. They were of different values, ſo as beſt to anſwer the purpoſe of circulation. The amount of the whole did not exceed a million of livres; but when that ſum was found inadequate to the demands of the public, the deficiency was made up by orders ſigned only by the intendant. This was the firſt abuſe; and it was followed by one of ſtill greater conſequence: the number of ſuch orders was unlimited. Theſe ſeveral papers circulated in the colony, and ſupplied the want of ſpecie till the month of October, the lateſt ſeaſon for the ſailing of ſhips from Canada; then all the paper-currency was turned into bills of exchange, payable in Old France by the government, which was ſuppoſed to have received the value. But thoſe bills were ſo much multiplied by the year 1754, that the royal treaſury could no longer anſwer ſuch demands, and was forced to protract the payment. The war, which broke out two years after, encreaſed ſtill farther the number of the bills, and they were at laſt prohibited. This prohibition inſtantly raiſed the price of all proviſions to an immoderate height; and as the king, on account of the enormous expences of the war, was the chief conſumer, he alone bore the loſs ariſing from the diſcarded paper, and from the dearneſs of proviſions, as well as of other articles. In 1759 the French miniſtry were obliged to ſtop payment of the Canada bills, which amounted to an alarming number, till their origin could be traced, and their value aſcertained.

If Canada was not worthy of the immenſe ſums beſtowed upon it, the French government only was to blame. That vaſt region, it had long appeared, was capable of yielding prodigious crops, yet no more corn was there cultivated than what was barely ſufficient for the ſuſtenance of the inhabitants; whereas, with moderate labour, enough might have been raiſed to ſupply all the Weſt India iſlands, and even ſome parts of Europe; eſpecially as the crops are liable to few accidents in Canada, where the corn is ſown in May, and gathered in before the end of Auguſt. If huſbandry had been encouraged and extended, the number of tame animals would have been encreaſed, in a country where there is ſuch plenty of paſture ground and of acorns, that the coloniſts might have bred a ſufficient quantity of black cattle and hogs to have ſupplied all the French iſlands with beef and pork; and

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and it is even poſſible, that theſe cattle might have been augmented to ſuch a degree, as to have victualled the ſhips of the mother country. Sheep, which are eaſily bred in Canada, would have been no leſs advantageous to France. If their number was not conſiderable, it was owing to the ewes being left at all ſeaſons with the ram; by reaſon of which they generally brought forth in February, when the greater part of the lambs were deſtroyed by the ſeverity of the weather. This might have been prevented by a law, enjoining all farmers to part the rams from the flock from September to February. In ſuch caſe the lambs dropped in May might have been reared without any expence or hazard, and Canada in a ſhort time would have been covered with numerous flocks. Their wool, which is known to be very fine, and of a good ſtaple, would have ſupplied the manufactures of Old France, inſtead of that which is imported from Caſtile and Andaluſia. The nation would have been enriched by this valuable commodity; and the colony would have received in return a variety of deſirable articles from the mother country.

Another and ſurer plan for the encouragement of induſtry, was the working of the iron-mines which abound in Canada. The only one that ever attracted the notice of the French lies in the neighbourhood of Trois Rivieres, where the ore was diſcovered near the ſurface of the ground. There is no mine that yields a greater quantity; and the beſt in Spain is not ſuperior to it in the pliability of the metal. A ſmith from Europe in 1739 greatly improved the working of this mine, which hitherto had been but unſkilfully managed. From that time no other iron was uſed in the colony; but though ſome excellent ſamples were imported, France would not be convinced that it was fit for fire-arms. A ſcheme however, after much irreſolution, was adopted of making uſe of this iron, by forming a naval eſtabliſhment in Canada. That vaſt region, as already obſerved, was found entirely covered with trees. The principal of theſe were oaks of a prodigious ſize, and pines of all heights. The trees when felled might have been conveyed with eaſe down the river St. Laurence, and the numberleſs ſtreams that fall into it; but by an unaccountable neglect all theſe advantages were overlooked or deſpiſed. At length the court of Verſailles thought proper to attend to them.

Orders were accordingly given for erecting docks at Quebec for building men of war; but unfortunately the buſineſs was truſted to agents, who had nothing in view but their own private emolument. The timber ſhould have been felled upon the higher grounds, where the cold air and dry ſoil harden the wood by contracting its fibres; whereas it was conſtantly fetched from the marſhes and the banks of rivers, where the moiſture gives it a looſer texture. Inſtead of conveying it in barges, they floated it down in rafts to the place of its deſtination. There being forgotten, and left in the water, it gathered a kind of moſs that rotted it; and when at laſt landed, inſtead of being put under ſhades, it was left expoſed to the ſun in ſummer, to the ſnow in winter, and to the rains in ſpring and autumn. Even when conveyed into the dock-yards, it had to ſuſtain the inclemency of the ſeaſons for two or three years longer; and negligence or fraud

fraud enhanced the price of every thing to such a degree, that sails, ropes, pitch and tar were imported from Europe, at a vast expence into a country, which with a little industry might have supplied the kingdom of France with all those materials. This bad management brought the wood of Canada entirely into disrepute, and effectually ruined the resources which that colony afforded for the French navy.

Canada furnished the manufactures of the mother-country with a branch of trade that might almost be called an exclusive one; namely, the preparation of beaver in all its various forms. This commodity, as we have seen, was subjected to the oppressive restraints of a monopoly. The Canada company could not well fail to make an ill use of their too extensive privilege, and actually did so. What beaver they bought from the Indians, they paid for chiefly in English scarlet cloths, which those savages are very fond of wearing. This was one disadvantage perhaps unavoidable, and another arose from the spirit of monopoly. As the Indians found by experience that they could get twenty five or thirty per cent. more for their commodities in the English settlements than the French traders chose to give them, they carried thither all the beaver they could conceal from the search of the company's agents. Thus did France by the abuses of an institution, which she was by no means obliged to maintain, deprive herself of the double advantage of furnishing materials for her own manufactures, and of securing a market for the produce of others.

Ill, however, as the fur-trade was managed, it chiefly engaged the attention of the French government; and in order to acquire a superiority over the English in this trade, the court of Versailles erected thirty three forts at different distances from each other. The building and victualling these forts diverted the Canadians from the only labours that ought to have engaged their attention, at the same time that they exposed them to new and unnecessary dangers. The Indians could not see without uneasiness the formation of so many settlements that seemed to threaten their liberty; and, as their suspicions induced them to take up arms, the colony was seldom free from war. Necessity made all the French Canadians soldiers. Their manly and military education rendered them hardy from their youth, and fearless of danger. The sedentary arts of peace, and the patient labours of agriculture had no attractions for such men; and the court, which is unacquainted with the sweets of rural life, turned the Canadians still more against rustic employments, by bestowing all its favours and honours upon military actions. The distinction chiefly lavished was that of nobility, which was attended with the most fatal consequences. It not only plunged the Canadians in idleness, but also inspired them with an unconquerable passion for every thing that was gay and splendid. The profits that ought to have been reserved for the improvement of the lands were laid out in useless ornament, and real poverty was concealed under the trappings of a destructive luxury.

Such was the state of Canada in 1747, when La Galissoniere was appointed governor of the colony; a man of very extensive knowledge, active, resolute, ambitious, and enterprising. He beheld with concern the English of Nova Scotia extending their claims as far as the south side of the river St. Laurence; and as the

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boundaries of that province had never been diſtinctly fixed. he determined to confine them to the peninſula originally known by the name of l'Acadie. He alſo ſuggeſted the ſcheme of uniting the two colonies of Canada and Louiſiana, and of making the Apalachian mountains the limits of the Engliſh ſettlements in that quarter. His ſucceſſor, who was appointed while he was preparing the means of accompliſhing this vaſt deſign, entered warmly into his views. Numberleſs forts were immediately erected on all ſides, in order to ſupport the ſyſtem which the court had adopted; and at this period began thoſe hoſtilities between the French and Engliſh in North America, which were rather for a time countenanced, than openly avowed by the reſpective mother-countries. This clandeſtine mode of carrying on war was perfectly agreeable to the court of Verſailles, as it afforded France an opportunity of recovering by degrees, and without expoſing her weakneſs, what ſhe had loſt by treaties. But before we enter on the hiſtory of that war, it will be proper to trace its more remote cauſes.

As early as the year 1716, Spotſwood, then governor of Virginia, a man of ſenſe and ſpirit, finding that the Outouais were extremely well affected towards the Engliſh government, propoſed to purchaſe ſome of their lands upon the river Ohio, which waters one of the fineſt countries in the world, and to erect a company for opening a trade with the ſavages to the ſouthward, weſtward, and northward of that river. This ſcheme was equally rational and practicable; but as it claſhed with the grand projects which France had formed upon the Miſſiſippi, and as the court of London had then reaſons for keeping well with that of Verſailles, the deſign was not only laid aſide, but the French were encouraged to build the fort of Crown Point upon the territory of New York. Spotſwood's ſcheme was, however, revived ſoon after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; but unfortunately no care was taken to conciliate the affections of the natives, on whoſe friendſhip the ſucceſs of it entirely depended. On the contrary, certain merchants of London, trading to Virginia and Maryland, having agreed with government to ſettle the banks of the Ohio, provided they were ſecured in an excluſive trade with the Indians, employed a ſurveyor to take plans of the country as far as the falls of that river, without once conſulting its original inhabitants. The neighbouring Indians, though naturally pacific, were alarmed at ſuch a proceeding; and their jealouſy was inflamed by the French, who painted the conduct of the Engliſh in the darkeſt colours. Even our Indian traders of Virginia and Penſylvania perceiving their gainful trade with the ſavages ready to be ſwallowed up by an excluſive company, co-operated with the French in obſtructing its views; ſo that the adventurers not only loſt conſiderable ſums, but all intereſt in the moſt beautiful and fertile country in North-America.

In the meantime the French, in purſuance of their ambitious views, had erected a line of forts along the Ohio, the moſt conſiderable of which was Du Queſne: and occaſional ſtockades were eſtabliſhed from Canada to New Orleans, and the mouth of the Miſſiſippi. Nor was Great Britain inattentive to her intereſts. The town of Halifax, as we have already ſeen, was built and

fortified at a prodigious expence, in order to ſecure our poſſeſſions in Nova Scotia; and ſettlers were invited by the greateſt encouragements to people a province ſo neceſſary for the defence of our northern colonies. The French beheld with peculiar jealouſy this riſing ſettlement; and inſtigated firſt the Indians, and afterwards their countrymen ſettled in Nova Scotia, commonly known by the name of the French Neutrals, to riſe in open rebellion againſt the Britiſh government. Hoſtilities were at the ſame time commenced on the banks of the Ohio, where the French ſuprized Loggeſtown, a poſt eſtabliſhed by the people of Virginia for the convenience of trade, and plundered its warehouſes of ſkins and goods to the amount of twenty thouſand pounds, under pretence that it was within the government of Canada. Not ſatisfied with their booty, they murdered all the Engliſh traders except two, who fortunately eſcaped to relate the melancholy news. A. D. 1754.

The certainty of theſe and many other hoſtilities arriving in England, orders were ſent to the governors of our colonies to drive the French from the Ohio, and every where to oppoſe force by force. But experience ſoon taught the Britiſh miniſtry the great ſuperiority of their enemies, ariſing from the conſtitution of the two governments in North America. That of Canada or New France, in whoſe juriſdiction was alſo comprehended Louiſiana, being moved by one ſpring, was capable of more vigorous efforts than the powerful but ſeparate governments belonging to the crown of Great Britain, whoſe intereſts were often contradictory. This evil had been long complained of; and it had evidently rendered our naturally ſuperior ſtrength on that continent ineffectual even for our own preſervation. In order to remedy ſo palpable a defect, two meaſures ſeemed neceſſary; namely, a political confederacy among all the Britiſh governments, and an alliance with the moſt conſiderable Indian nations.

As a firſt ſtep towards ſuch a confederacy, the governor of New York, attended by deputies from the other colonies, gave a meeting to the Iroquois, or as they are now commonly called, the Indians of the Six Nations, at Albany; but only a few of their chiefs attended, and it was even evident that thoſe were greatly cooled in their affection towards the Engliſh. This change was owing to the powerful, but ſecret practices of the French; who had lately employed every means to corrupt the ſavages, at the ſame time that they had ſent immenſe ſupplies of arms and ammunition to Canada. In order to counterwork them in their negociations with the natives, the Britiſh colonies had voted conſiderable preſents to the Indians in their neighbourhood, though with little effect. The Iroquois could be brought to no other declaration, except that they were willing to renew their old treaties, and to join the Engliſh in driving the French from the poſts which they had uſurped upon their lands.

Encouraged even by this ſlight aſſurance, the governors of Virginia and New York came to a reſolution to diſpatch major Waſhington, a provincial officer of ſome reputation, with a party of four hundred men to maintain the Britiſh poſts upon the Ohio. Waſhington accordingly encamped on what are called the *Great Meadows*, where he threw up ſome works, and erected a kind of temporary fort,

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fort, in hopes of being able to defend himſelf in that ſituation till he ſhould receive a reinforcement from New York. In the mean time de Villier, the French commandant at Monongahela, ſent one Jamonville with a ſmall party to ſummon the Engliſh to abandon their poſt, which he pretended was built on the territories of France. But ſo little regard was paid to the intimation, that Waſhington and his party fell upon the detachment, as the French pretend, without the leaſt provocation, and either ſlew or took the whole priſoners. Enraged at this retaliation, de Villier advanced with a body of eight hundred men, and beſieged Waſhington in his poſt; but he defended himſelf with ſo much intrepidity, that notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, the French commandant offered him and his party a very honourable capitulation. Waſhington accepted the terms, which ſtipulated, that both parties ſhould retire, the Engliſh towards Wills Creek, and the French back to Monongahela; but ſcarce was the capitulation ſigned, when a body of French and Indians appeared; and though they were prevented from diſſolving it, to which they ſeemed violently inclined, de Villier very patiently ſaw them harraſs the Engliſh in their retreat, and even plunder their baggage.

Intelligence of theſe events ſoon reached the courts of France and England, and both nations were now ſenſible that a rupture would be inevitable. France continued to ſend reinforcements of men, and ſupplies of money to Quebec, for the proſecution of her ambitious projects, and orders were ſent by Great Britain to the governors of her ſeveral colonies to arm the militia, and to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to repel the incurſions of the enemy. But although prepared to cut with the ſword the gordian knot of a long and intricate negociation, the two courts in the mean time breathed nothing but peace, and exchanged reciprocal profeſſions of good-will, which deceived neither party; yet the marquis de Mirepoix, the French ambaſſador at the court of London, a nobleman of more than Gallic integrity, appears to have been deceived by his inſtructions. He believed that the declarations of his court were ſincere, and ſeriouſly endeavoured to prevent a war between the two nations, by declaring that no hoſtilities were intended by France. Confounded, however, by the proofs produced to the contrary by the Britiſh miniſtry, and filled with ſhame and indignation, he repaired to Verſailles, and upbraided the French miniſtry with having made him the tool of their infamous diſſimulation. They referred him to the king, who ordered him to return to London with freſh aſſurances of his pacific intentions; but ſcarce had the marquis obtained an audience to communicate the profeſſions of his ſovereign, when undoubted intelligence arrived that a powerful armament was ready to ſail from Breſt and Rochfort.

Roufed by this information, the Britiſh government immediately took the moſt expeditious methods of equipping a ſquadron; and towards the end of April 1755, admiral Boſcawen ſailed with eleven ſhips of the line, and one frigate, having on board a conſiderable number of land-forces, in order to watch the motions of the enemy. But more perfect intelligence being received before he left the channel, relative to the ſtrength of the French armament, which conſiſted

ſiſted of twenty-five ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and tranſports, with a quantity of military ſtores, and four thouſand regular troops, under the command of baron Dieſkau, admiral Holborn was detached with a reinforcement of ſix ſhips to join Boſcawen. The Engliſh fleet directed its courſe to the banks of Newfoundland, and a few days after its arrival there, the French fleet from Breſt, under the command of Ambois de la Mothe, came to the ſame latitude, in its paſſage to Canada. But the thick fogs which prevail upon thoſe coaſts, eſpecially in the ſpring ſeaſon, prevented the two armaments from ſeeing each other; ſo that part of the French fleet made its way unperceived up the river St. Laurence, whilſt another part of it eſcaped through the Straits of Belleiſle, and alſo reached the place of its deſtination. Two French ſhips, however, the Alcide and the Lys, the one of ſixty-four, and the other of fifty-four guns, were taken after a ſmart engagement by the Dunkirk and the Defiance, two ſixty gun ſhips of the Engliſh ſquadron, commanded by the captains Howe and Andrews.

Though the taking of theſe ſhips, from which the commencement of the war may properly be dated, fell greatly ſhort of the expectations formed from the expedition, it ſerved nevertheleſs to animate the nation, which now plainly ſaw that the government was determined to keep no meaſures with the French, but to repel with ſpirit their encroachments upon the Engliſh poſſeſſions in America. Nor were the Americans wanting to themſelves. The aſſembly of Maſſachuſets Bay had paſſed an act prohibiting all intercourſe with the French at Louiſburg; and early in the ſpring they raiſed a body of troops which they ſent to the aſſiſtance of Mr. Laurence, governor of Nova Scotia, in order to enable him to complete the execution of a plan which he had formed of driving the French from the poſts which they had uſurped in that province. The French had foreſeen this attempt, and had made preparations, though ineffectually, at Beau-ſejour, to reſiſt it. That fort was reduced after four days bombardment, by a detachment of regulars and provincials under lieutenant-colonel Monkton: the garriſon, conſiſting of about an hundred and fifty regulars, was ſent to Louiſbourg, on condition of not bearing arms in America during the ſpace of ſix months; and three hundred Acadians, or French Neutrals, alſo found in the place, were pardoned on a ſuppoſition of their having been forced to bear arms againſt Great Britain.

After putting a garriſon into Beau ſejour, the name of which he changed to that of Cumberland, colonel Monkton reduced another French fort upon the river Gaſpereau, which runs into Bay Verte. Here he found a large quantity of proviſions and ſtores of all kinds, this being the chief magazine for ſupplying the French Indians and Acadians with arms, ammunition, and other neceſſaries. In conſequence of theſe advantages, fifteen thouſand of the Acadians were diſarmed; and captain Rous, who had been appointed to facilitate the operations by ſea, ſailed with three twenty gun ſhips and a ſloop to examine St. John's river. There he found a French fort newly erected, which he was preparing to attack, when the garriſon ſaved him the trouble of reducing it by burſting their cannon, blowing up their magazine, and deſtroying the works as far as

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their haſty retreat would permit. In all this expedition, which effectually ſecured the tranquillity of Nova Scotia, the Engliſh had but twenty men killed, and about an equal number wounded.

The Britiſh arms were leſs ſucceſsful in other quarters. While the New England forces were employed in reducing the French in Nova Scotia, preparations had been made in Virginia for attacking them on the Ohio. The conduct of this expedition was committed to major-general Braddock, who ſailed from Corke in Ireland with two regiments of foot, and landed in America before the end of February. Braddock himſelf, as well as the nation, was ſenſible that the ſucceſs of his operations depended chiefly on his being able to take the field early in the ſpring; but when he arrived in Virginia, he found that the contractors with the government had neither provided a ſufficient quantity of proviſions for his troops, nor a competent number of carriages for the army with which he expected to begin his march. The general, who was naturally haughty, poſitive, and difficult of acceſs, qualities ill ſuited to the temper of the people among whom he was to command, ſeems to have been rendered deſperate by this diſappointment; and he took little care to conceal his reſentment againſt the provincials, whom he likewiſe held in contempt, becauſe they could not go through their military exerciſe with the ſame dexterity and regularity as a regiment of guards in Hyde Park, the ſcene to which his experience in the art of war had hitherto been chiefly confined. Alas! he little knew the difference between the punctilios of a review and an American expedition through woods, wilds, and moraſſes.

Being at laſt ſupplied with proviſions and carriages by ſome private gentlemen of Penſylvania, Braddock ſet out on his march, and paſſed the Apalachian mountains at the head of two thouſand two hundred men. This was a conſiderable force; but the general's conceit in his own abilities made him diſdain to aſk the opinion of any one under his command; and the Indians, who would have been his beſt guides, as well as ſafeſt guards, againſt the danger of a ſurprize, were ſo much diſguſted with his imperious behaviour, that moſt of them forſook his ſtandards before he reached the Meadows, where Waſhington had capitulated the year before. There he was informed that the French at fort Du Queſne, which was his firſt object, expected a reinforcement of five hundred regular troops. On this advice, that he might march with the greater diſpatch, he left his baggage, with about eight hundred men, under the command of colonel Dunbar, with orders to follow him as expeditiouſly as the nature of the ſervice would permit; and with the main body of the army, twelve pieces of cannon, and the neceſſary ammunition and proviſions, he advanced towards fort Du Queſne with ſuch expedition, that he ſeldom took care to reconnoitre the woods and thickets through which he was to paſs. On the eighth of July he encamped within ten miles of that place; and though colonel Dunbar was near forty miles behind him, and though Sir Peter Halket, a brave, but prudent officer, entreated the general to proceed with caution, and intimated, that it was not even then too late to employ ſuch friendly Indians as remained in reconnoitring the woods and defiles, he rejected the advice with diſdain, as favouring of puſillanimity, and boldly continued his march the

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next day, without ſo much as endeavouring to get any intelligence of the ſituation or diſpoſition of the enemy.

While Braddock was advancing at the head of his little army with this careleſs confidence, altogether inexcuſable in a commander in chief, he fell into an ambuſcade of French and Indians, ſo artfully planted that they could do execution without being themſelves expoſed to any danger. About noon a general fire began upon the front and left flank of the Engliſh army, which was by this time in the middle of the defile, where the ambuſh had been laid with ſo much caution, that not a man of the enemy was to be ſeen, while they could take an unerring aim from behind the trees and buſhes. The Engliſh van-guard fell immediately back upon the centre; and the whole army being ſeized with a panick from the unuſual appearance and horrid cries of the ſavages, the terror and confuſion, eſpecially of the regulars, became inſtantly general, and a total rout enſued. Braddock himſelf was only left ſurrounded by his officers and a few brave men who endeavoured in vain to ſtop the flight, or to engage an enemy whom they could not ſee. His intrepidity and imprudence were alike conſpicuous on this occaſion. Inſtead of attempting a retreat, or bringing up his cannon to ſcour the woods and buſhes with grape-ſhot, he obſtinately continued upon the field, and gave orders to the gallant officers and ſoldiers who remained about him, to form in regular platoons againſt the inviſible enemy, whoſe every ſhot did execution, eſpecially on the officers, who were known by their dreſs. At length the general, whoſe obſtinacy ſeemed only to encreaſe with the danger, after having five horſes ſhot under him, was mortally wounded in the breaſt by a muſket-bullet. Sir Peter Halket, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction, with about ſeven hundred private men alſo were ſlain. July 9,

It is remarkable that the Virginians, and other provincial troops, who were in this action, and whom Braddock, by way of contempt, had placed in the rear, far from being affected with the panick that had diſordered the regulars, offered to advance againſt the enemy, till the others could form and bring up the artillery; but the terror of the latter was ſo great, that they never ſtopped their flight till they met the rear-diviſion, which was advancing under colonel Dunbar. All the artillery, baggage, ammunition, and papers of the principal diviſion under Braddock fell into the hands of the enemy, together with his own cabinet, and all his letters and inſtructions, of which the French court afterwards made great uſe in their printed memorials and manifeſtoes. Though no enemy purſued, the whole army retreated to Fort Cumberland near Will's Creek, in the back country of Virginia. There it was expected that the ſhattered remains of the army would have continued during the reſt of the ſummer; but general Shirley, on whom the chief command had devolved, in conſequence of the death of Braddock, ordered all the troops fit for ſervice to march to Albany, in the province of New York, by which means Virginia, Maryland, and Penſylvania were left, during the remainder of the year, expoſed to the barbarous incurſions of the French and their ſcalping Indians.

Theſe

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Theſe colonies were able to have provided effectually for their own defence, had they been unanimous in their councils; but the uſual diſputes between their governors and aſſemblies defeated every ſalutary plan that was propoſed. The northern colonies were more unanimous, and more active in their preparations for war. New York and New Jerſey following the example of New England, prohibited all intercourſe with the French ſettlements in North America, at the ſame time that their aſſemblies voted very conſiderable ſupplies; and two expeditions, one againſt the French fort at Crown Point, and the other againſt that at Niagara, were unanimouſly reſolved upon. The former of theſe expeditions was committed to the care of Sir William Johnſon, a native of Ireland, who had long reſided upon the Mohawk river, in the weſtern parts of New York, where he had acquired a conſiderable eſtate, and was univerſally beloved not only by the inhabitants, but alſo by the neighbouring Indians, whoſe language he had learned, and whoſe affections he had gained by his humanity and affability. The expedition againſt Niagara was conducted by Shirley in perſon.

Albany was appointed as the rendezvous for both theſe expeditions, and moſt of the troops arrived there before the end of June; but by reaſon of the delay of the artillery, proviſions, and other neceſſaries for the attempt upon Crown Point, general Johnſon could not ſet out before the end of Auguſt, when he began his march at the head of an army of between five and ſix thouſand men, beſides Indians. After advancing a conſiderable way, he choſe a ſtrong camp, defended on its flanks by ſwamps, in its rear by lake George, and in its front by a breaſtwork of trees, cut down for the purpoſe. Here he determined to wait for his batteaux, in order to proceed to Ticonderoga, a ſtrong paſs at the other end of the lake, which when taken would open his way to Crown Point, from which it is only diſtant about fifteen miles. While in this ſituation he was informed by his Indian ſcouts that a conſiderable number of the enemy were on their march from Ticonderoga towards the fortified encampment, ſince known by the name of Fort Edward, in which four or five hundred of the New Hampſhire and New York Militia had been left as a garriſon. On this intelligence, and ſome further advices, a council of war was called, in which it was unadviſedly reſolved to detach a thouſand men, accompanied with a party of Indians, in order to intercept the enemy, on a ſuppoſition of their retreat, although their number was not known. Before that detachment, which was commanded by colonel Williams, had been gone two hours, a cloſe firing was heard in the camp, ſeemingly at three or four miles diſtance; and as it approached nearer and nearer, the general rightly judged that the detachment was overpowered, and retreating towards the main body. This conjecture was ſoon confirmed by ſome fugitives, and immediately after by whole companies, who arrived at the camp in the utmoſt terror and confuſion. The enemy next appeared, marching in regular order up to the very centre of the entrenchment, where the conſternation was ſo great, that if they had inſtantly attacked the breaſt-work, they might probably have thrown the whole army into diſorder, and have gained an eaſy victory.

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Fortunately, however, for the Engliſh, the French halted at the diſtance of about an hundred and fifty yards, whence they begun their attack with platoon-firing, which was able to do little or no execution upon troops defended by a ſtrong breaſt-work; whereas the Engliſh plied their great guns and muſketry ſo warmly, that the central body of the French regulars, who were all picked men, began to flag in their fire, while the Canadians and Indians, who formed the flanks of the army, fled into the woods, and ſquatted below buſhes, or ſkulked behind trees. Baron Dieſkau, who commanded the French army, being now left alone with his ſhattered regulars, varied in his diſpoſitions. Finding he could make no impreſſion upon the centre of the Engliſh entrenchments, he made two unſucceſsful attacks, one on the right, the other on the left of the camp, and obſtinately perſevered in his purpoſe of forcing a paſſage from mid-day till four in the afternoon, when his fire became ſo feeble, that the Engliſh and their Indian allies, without waiting for orders, jumped over the breaſt-work, and compleated the rout of their enemies. After ſlaughtering great numbers, and entirely diſperſing the reſt, they took priſoner Dieſkau himſelf, whom they found leaning againſt a tree. That general died a few days after of the wounds which he had received in the engagement, which though deciſive in favour of the Engliſh, was followed by no extraordinary conſequences, as Sir William Johnſon neglected to purſue his victory, and it was thought too late in the ſeaſon to proceed to the attack upon Crown Point.

We muſt now return to general Shirley's expedition againſt Niagara. The conferring of ſo important a command upon this gentleman, who is ſaid to have been bred to the law, and who had never exhibited any ſtriking ſpecimens of his abilities either in a civil or military capacity, created much ſpeculation, and damped the ſpirit of the troops. The public apprehenſions were but too well juſtified by the event. The ſucceſs of this expedition, like that of all others in North America, depended chiefly on the army's taking the field early in the ſpring. Shirley's march to Niagara was by Oſwego, whoſe importance we have already had occaſion to mention, and which lies almoſt three hundred miles due weſt from Albany. That long and dangerous march encreaſed the neceſſity of an early campaign; but colonel Schuyler's New Jerſey regiment did not take the field till the beginning of July, and when Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments, with the allied Indians were preparing to follow them, the melancholy news of Braddock's defeat arrived at Albany. The influence of this intelligence on the ſpirits of the troops is altogether inconceivable: a general damp hung over the whole; terror communicated itſelf from rank to rank, and great numbers deſerted; ſo that when Shirley arrived at Oſwego, he had ſcarcely the appearance of an army, in place of a force ſufficient not only to ſecure the Britiſh ſettlements in thoſe parts, but to undertake the reduction of Niagara. As a farther diſcouragement, the bateau men refuſed to proceed, without whom it was impoſſible to convey the neceſſary proviſions for the troops; and the Iroquois, on whoſe aſſiſtance Shirley had laid great ſtreſs, were ſo far from joining him, that

BOOK IV. A. D. 1755.

they abſolutely declared againſt all hoſtilities on that ſide of the country, as tending to diſturb their peace and commerce.

On account of theſe untoward circumſtances, and the advanced ſeaſon of the year, it was reſolved in a council of war held at Oſwego, that it was neceſſary to defer the attempt upon Niagara till the return of ſpring; and that in the mean time the troops ſhould be employed in building barracks, and erecting two new forts, one on the eaſt ſide of the river Onondago, four hundred and fifty yards diſtant from Oſwego, which was to be called Ontario Fort, and the other four hundred and fifty yards to the weſt of the old fort, to be called Oſwego New Fort. Theſe things being ſettled, and the two forts marked out, rather than built, general Shirley, with the greater part of the troops under his command, ſet out on his return to Albany on the 24th of October, leaving colonel Mercer at Oſwego, with a garriſon of only ſeven hundred men, though repeated advice had been received that the French had then at Fort Frontinac, upon the ſame lake, a vaſtly ſuperior force. To complete the melancholy ſituation of colonel Mercer, he was ordered to employ his little garriſon in finiſhing the new forts; and, if beſieged by the enemy during the winter, it would be impoſſible for his friends to come to his aſſiſtance, or for men exhauſted by hard labour to make the requiſite defence.

Such was the unfortunate iſſue of the campaign in 1755; nor was that of the following year more for the honour of the Britiſh arms, though high expectations of ſucceſs were formed from the meaſures taken by the miniſtry. They were ſenſible of the miſtakes that had been committed in the ſervice; and as it appeared that certain private diſcontents lurked in the minds of the chief Provincials, a reſolution was taken to throw the weight of the war upon the mother-

A. D. 1756. country. Orders were accordingly iſſued for raiſing in North America four battalions of regulars, conſiſting of a thouſand men each. General Shirley was diſmiſſed from his military command, in which he was ſucceeded by general Abercrombie, and the chief command over all the forces in North America was conferred on the earl of Loudon. Beſides this command, his lordſhip was made governor of Virginia, and colonel of the royal American regiment, compoſed of the four battalions already mentioned, which were to be diſciplined by officers of experience. In this high character his lordſhip embarked for North America towards the latter end of May.

By that time the coloniſts ſeeing the mother-country determined to ſupport them effectually, had brought a formidable force into the field; and general Abercrombie, who arrived at Albany on the 5th of June, took upon him the command of the forces there aſſembled. They conſiſted of two regiments that had ſerved under Braddock, two battalions raiſed in America, two regiments which he had carried with him from England, four independent companies belonging to New York, the New Jerſey regiment, a conſiderable body of troops raiſed by the New England provinces, and four companies levied in North Carolina. The other colonies towards the ſouth, namely Penſylvania, Maryland, and Virginia had ſuffered, and were ſtill ſo much expoſed to the ravages of the French and Indians, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty that they could defend themſelves; and the proportion

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of negro ſlaves above the number of whites in South Carolina was ſo great, that the aſſembly judged it inconſiſtent with the ſafety of the province to ſpare any reinforcement for the general enterpriſe. The plan of that undertaking, or rather of the campaign, was to reduce Niagara, ſituated between the lakes Ontario and Erie, in order to cut off the communication between Canada and Louiſiana, and prevent the French from ſupporting their new poſts upon the Ohio; to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point, that the frontier of New York might be delivered from the danger of an invaſion, and Great Britain acquire the command of Lake Champlain, over which forces might be tranſported in any future attempt; to beſiege Fort Du Queſne, and to detach a body of troops by the river Quenebec, to alarm the capital of Canada itſelf.

This plan of operations was promiſing, and by no means impracticable even with the troops that were in readineſs; but as general Abercrombie poſtponed the execution of any important enterprize till the arrival of lord Loudon, which proved too late in the year to effect any thing of conſequence, another campaign was loſt by Great Britain through neglect and procraſtination, while time was afforded the enemy not only to take their precautions at leiſure againſt any ſubſequent attack, but to proceed unmoleſted in diſtreſſing the Engliſh ſettlements. They reduced a ſmall poſt, and maſſacred a party of twenty-five men who defended it, in the country of the Six Nations; and ſoon after this barbarity they formed an ambuſcade among the woods and thickets on the north ſide of the river Onondago, in order to cut off a convoy of proviſions and ſtores deſtined for the garriſon of Oſwego. The convoy had fortunately paſſed before their arrival; but they reſolved to wait the return of the detachment, which was commanded by colonel Bradſtreet. Their deſign, however, was prevented by the vigilance and valour of that officer. He expected ſuch an attempt, and had taken his meaſures accordingly. Having formed his bateaux into three diviſions, in which order they were ſtemming the ſtream of the Onondago, he was ſaluted with the Indian war-whoop, and a general diſcharge of muſketry from the north ſhore. He immediately ordered his men to land on the oppoſite bank, and took poſſeſſion of a ſmall iſland, where he was ſuddenly attacked by a party of the enemy, who had forded the river for that purpoſe. This party he ſoon repulſed; and two others, who had paſſed the river higher up, were alſo defeated with great ſlaughter. In a word, the whole French detachment, amounting to ſeven hundred men, would certainly have been deſtroyed, had not a heavy rain prevented colonel Bradſtreet from following his blow, by ſwelling the rivulets to ſuch a degree as made it impracticable to purſue the enemy. Of this there was the more certainty, as he was joined the ſame evening by captain Pattin, with a party of grenadiers, in his march to Oſwego, and was reinforced next morning by two hundred men, detached to his aſſiſtance from the garriſon of that fort.

Pattin and his grenadiers accompanied the detachment to Oſwego, while Bradſtreet proceeded to Albany, and communicated to general Abercrombie the intelligence which he had received from his priſoners; intimating that a large body of the enemy were encamped on the eaſtern ſide of the Lake Ontario, provided with

BOOK IV. A. D. 1756.

artillery and all other neceſſaries, for the reduction of Oſwego and the neighbouring forts. The garriſon of theſe forts now amounted to fourteen hundred ſoldiers, beſides three hundred ſailors and workmen; but theſe not being thought ſufficient, major general Webb was ordered to march with a regiment to their aſſiſtence. Unfortunately before his departure the earl of Loudon arrived at Albany; a circumſtance which was productive of new reſolutions and new delays. The province of New York, and the northern governments, though they did not abſolutely oppoſe the relief of Oſwego, were peculiarly clamorous for the reduction of Crown Point, and the ſecurity of their own frontiers, which they apprehended to be connected with this conqueſt. They inſiſted that ſome regiments of regulars ſhould join general Winſlow, who was ready to march againſt that fort at the head of ſeven thouſand Provincials; and they further ſtipulated, that a body of reſerve ſhould be left at Albany, in order to cover New York, leſt Winſlow ſhould be defeated, or fail in his attempt.

In conſequence of theſe various obſtructions, general Webb did not begin his march from Albany for the relief of Oſwego before the middle of Auguſt. Meanwhile the marquis de Vaudreuil had been appointed to the government of Canada, and the marquis de Montcalm had ſucceeded Dieſkau in the command of the troops, as major general under Vaudreuil. Montcalm, who poſſeſſed a true military genius, was entruſted with the conduct of the enterpriſe againſt Oſwego. For this purpoſe he was furniſhed with a body of thirteen hundred regulars, ſeventeen hundred Canadians, and a conſiderable but uncertain number of Indian auxiliaries. The particulars of the ſiege are too unintereſting to merit a circumſtantial detail: it will, therefore, be ſufficient to obſerve, that the outforts being taken, and colonel Mercer killed, the garriſon of Oſwego ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war; that general Webb received intelligence of this event in ſufficient time to retreat without diſturbance, and that the earl of Loudon found the ſeaſon too far advanced to undertake any expedition againſt the enemy. He exerted all his endeavours, however, in making preparations for an early campaign in the ſpring; in ſecuring the frontiers of the Engliſh colonies; in concerting an uniform plan of action, and promoting a ſpirit of harmony among the different governments. An alliance was at the ſame time formed by the governor of Penſylvania with the Delawar Indians, a powerful tribe that now dwell chiefly on the river Suſquehannah; and the governor of Virginia ſecured the friendſhip of the Cherokees and Catawbas, two conſiderable nations, whom we have frequently had occaſion to mention, and who were then able to bring three thouſand fighting men into the field.

All theſe circumſtances conſidered, Great Britain had reaſon to expect that the enſuing campaign would be vigorouſly proſecuted in America; eſpecially as a freſh reinforcement of troops, with a vaſt ſupply of warlike ſtores, was ſent to that continent in fourteen tranſports under convoy of two ſhips of war, about the beginning of November: but the hopes of the nation, notwithſtanding the greatneſs of its armaments, were diſappointed in a manner no leſs ſhameful than in the two preceding ſummers. The attack upon Crown Point, which had been

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ſo long meditated, was laid aſide for an expedition againſt Louiſburg. Lord Loudon, who was to command the land-forces, left New York on the 9th of July, with a body of ſix thouſand men, and ſailed for Halifax, where he was joined by admiral Holbourn with a conſiderable fleet, and nearly the ſame number of land-forces; but when the united fleets and armies were on the point of departing for Cape Breton, news arrived at Halifax that the Breſt fleet, conſiſting of ſeventeen ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, with vaſt ſupplies of military ſtores, proviſions, and troops, were arrived at Louiſburg. This intelligence immediately ſuſpended the preparations, and damped the ardour of the Britiſh officers: councils of war were held one after another; and the reſult of the whole was, that as the place which had been the object of their enterprize, was ſo ſtrongly reinforced, the French fleet rather ſuperior to the Engliſh, and the ſeaſon of the year ſo far advanced, it was more adviſable to defer the undertaking to a further opportunity.

Thus terminated the expedition againſt Louiſburg, from which ſo much had been expected, and which was ſo inglorious to the Britiſh arms, as well as diſgraceful to the ſpirit of the Britiſh officers. But theſe were not the worſt conſequences which attended it. Since the taking of Oſwego the French had remained entire maſters of all the lakes; nor could our forces prevent their collecting the Indians from all parts, and obliging them to act in their favour. The misfortunes of the two former campaigns ſeemed to have carried terror to every heart. The country of the Six Nations, the only body of Indians who preſerved even the appearance of friendſhip to Great Britain, was abandoned to the mercy of the enemy; our forts at the Great Carrying place were demoliſhed, and Wood's Creek was induſtriouſly ſtopped up, in conſequence of which all communication with our Indian allies was wholly cut off; and what was ſtill worſe, our whole frontier lay perfectly uncovered to the irruptions of the French and their deſolating ſavages, who deſtroyed with fire and ſword all the fine ſettlements which we poſſeſſed on the Mohawk River, as well as on the grounds called the German Flats.

Animated by theſe ſucceſſes, and fluſhed with the deſtruction of an Engliſh detachment under the command of colonel Parker, the French were impatient to diſtinguiſh the campaign by ſome important blow; and the marquis de Montcalm no ſooner learned that lord Loudon, with the body of the Engliſh forces, had left New York, than he determined to take advantage of his abſence, and to humour the ardour of his troops by laying ſiege to Fort William Henry. That fort had been built on the ſouthern ſide of Lake George, in order to cover the frontier of the Britiſh ſettlements, as well as to command the lake. The fortifications were good, and the place was defended by a garriſon of two thouſand five hundred men, commanded by colonel Monro. Nor were thoſe its only ſecurity: an army of four thouſand men, under the conduct of general Webb, was poſted at no great diſtance. The French forces, collected from Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent poſts, together with a conſiderable body of Indians and Canadians, amounted in the whole to near ten thouſand men. With theſe and a

BOOK IV. A. D. 1757.

good train of artillery Montcalm advanced towards the Engliſh fort, while general Webb beheld his approaches with an indifference and ſecurity bordering on infatuation. It is credibly affirmed that he had private intelligence of all the marquis's deſigns and motions, yet either deſpiſing the ſtrength of the French general, or diſcrediting the information, he gave no orders in time for collecting the militia, which, in conjunction with his own forces and thoſe in garriſon, muſt either have obliged Montcalm to relinquiſh the enterpriſe, or have rendered his attempt very doubtful and hazardous: whereas the enemy meeting with no diſturbance from the quarter whence they dreaded it moſt, proſecuted the ſiege with vigour; and though they were reſolutely oppoſed by the garriſon, which fired with great ſpirit till they had burſt almoſt all their cannon, and entirely ſpent their ammunition, they were at laſt obliged to ſurrender, as general Webb made no attempt to relieve them. It was agreed that they ſhould march out with their arms, the baggage of the officers and ſoldiers, and all the uſual neceſſaries of war; but whatever might be the intention of the marquis de Montcalm, it is certain that the ſavages in the French intereſt paid no regard to the capitulation. On the contrary, they fell upon the Britiſh troops as they marched out, deſpoiled them of their few remaining effects, dragged the Indians in the Engliſh ſervice out of their ranks, ſcalping, tomahawking, and acting every ſpecies of barbarity known among the ſavages of North America:—and what is yet more extraordinary, and what it is to be hoped poſterity will not credit, two thouſand Engliſhmen, with arms in their hands, remained tame ſpectators of theſe inſults on humanity!—The greater part of the garriſon however eſcaped, though in a miſerable condition, to Fort Edward, after being purſued for ſeven miles by a diſorderly ſavage rabble; and the reſt flying for protection to the French general, were by him ſent home ſafe *.

In this diſgraceful manner ended the third campaign of the late war in America; where, with an army of twenty thouſand regular troops, a great number of provincial forces, and a prodigious naval power, Great Britain not only failed in acquiring any advantage, but abandoned a valuable tract of country to an inferior enemy, and ſuffered her own people, as well as her allies, to be cruelly maſſacred by a herd of undiſciplined barbarians. But the ſpirit of the nation, inſtead of being broken, ſeemed only to be rouſed by ſo many misfortunes. The officers were indefatigable during the winter in diſciplining their troops, exerciſing them in the woods, and teaching them to fight after the Indian manner; and in the ſpring about fifty thouſand men were aſſembled, of which number twenty-two thouſand were regulars, in order to diſpute with France the empire of the northern part of the continent of the New World.

As lord Loudon had returned to England on account of ſome diſſatisfactions in regard to the conduct of the war, the chief command in America devolved upon general Abercrombie; but the objects of operation being various, the forces were divided into three ſeparate bodies, under as many different com-

* After demoliſhing the fort, carrying off the artillery and proviſions, and deſtroying the veſſels on the lake, the enemy retired, without further proſecuting their ſucceſs.

manders.

manders. About twelve thouſand were deſtined to undertake the ſiege of Louiſburg; near ſixteen thouſand, under Abercrombie himſelf, were reſerved for the reduction of Crown Point; and eight thouſand, commanded by brigadier-general Forbes were appointed to attack Fort Du Queſne. The reduction of Louiſburg and the iſland of Cape Breton, being an object of immediate concern, was undertaken with all poſſible diſpatch. Major-general Amherſt, who commanded the land-forces, being joined by admiral Boſcawen with a fleet and about two thouſand troops from England, the whole armament, conſiſting of one hundred and fifty-ſeven ſhips, ſet ſail from the harbour of Halifax on the 28th of May; and on the ſecond day of June the greater part of the tranſports anchored in the bay of Gabarus, a few miles to the weſt of Louiſburg. The garriſon of that place, commanded by the chevalier de Drucourt, conſiſted of two thouſand five hundred regular troops, and ſix hundred militia, including three-ſcore Indians. The harbour was ſecured by three ſhips of the line and five frigates, three of which were ſunk acroſs the mouth of the port, in order to render it inacceſſible to the Engliſh ſhipping. The fortifications were in a bad condition, becauſe the ſea-ſand, which the French had been obliged to uſe, is by no means fit for works of maſonry. Several parts of the curtains were entirely crumbled away, and only one caſemate and a ſmall magazine were bomb-proof. The governor had taken all the precautions in his power to prevent a landing, by eſtabliſhing a chain of poſts along the moſt acceſſible parts of the beach, where entrenchments were thrown up and batteries erected. Some intermediate ſpaces, however, could not be properly ſecured, and at one of thoſe the Engliſh troops were diſembarked.

The place choſen for this purpoſe, was the creek of Cormoran, and the troops were diſpoſed for landing in three diviſions. That on the left was commanded by brigadier-general Wolfe, an officer every way accompliſhed, and who was deſtined for the real attack. The other two diviſions, commanded by the brigadiers Whitmore and Laurence, were intended for feigned deſcents, in order to divert the enemy's attention, and weaken their defence by dividing their efforts. When the fire from ſome ſloops and frigates, which had been ordered to ſcour the beach with their ſhot, had continued about a quarter of an hour, general Wolfe's diviſion moved towards the land. The enemy reſerved their ſhot until the boats were near the ſhore, and then directed the whole fire of their cannon and muſquetry upon them. The ſurf aided their fire. Many of the boats were overſet, and many broken in pieces. The men leapt into the water with the greateſt ardour and alacrity; ſome were killed, and ſome drowned; but the reſt, encouraged and ſupported by the example and conduct of their truly gallant commander, gained the ſhore, formed upon the beach, and drove the enemy from their entrenchments *. This poſt being gained, the central diviſion of the Engliſh armament

* This account of general Wolf's celebrated landing at Louiſburg is conformable to the moſt accurate Engliſh informations on the ſubject; but the abbè Raynal, who may be ſuppoſed to have had his intelligence from ſome French officers preſent on that occaſion, places the matter in a different

BOOK IV. A. D. 1758.

armament moved towards the left, and the right followed the centre; ſo that the landing was completed, though not without much time and trouble, in excellent order, and with little loſs.

As ſoon as the artillery and ſtores could be brought on ſhore, the town of Louiſburg was formally inveſted, and the French governor having deſtroyed the grand battery, which was detached from the body of the place, and recalled his out-poſts, made every preparation for a vigorous defence. The firſt thing attempted by the beſiegers was to ſecure a poſt called the Light houſe battery. This ſervice was performed by general Wolfe with his uſual vigour and celerity; and on that eminence were erected ſeveral batteries, which played upon the ſhips and the fortifications on the other ſide of the harbour. By the 25th of June the iſland battery was ſilenced, but the ſhips continued to play upon the beſiegers, and to obſtruct their approaches till the 21ſt of the following month, when one of them blew up, and the fire being communicated to two others, they alſo were conſumed to the water's edge. This was a loſs not to be repaired; and though the fire from the town had been managed with great ſkill and activity, the approaches now drew near the covered way, and ſeveral practicable breaches were made. The houſes were conſumed to the ground in many places, and the works had ſuffered much in all; but as the enemy ſtill delayed to ſurrender, the admiral, who during the whole ſiege had done every thing poſſible to ſecond the efforts of the land forces, reſolved to ſend a detachment of ſix hundred ſeamen in boats to take or burn the two remaining ſhips of the line, which ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the harbour. This reſolution was not more wiſely taken than gallantly and ſucceſsfully executed by Laforey and Balfour, two young captains, who, in ſpite of a terrible fire of cannon and muſquetry, boarded thoſe two

ſerent light, though no leſs honourable to the Engliſh general. "The French," ſays he, "had fortified the landing-place with a good parapet, planted with cannon. Behind this rampart they had poſted two thouſand excellent ſoldiers, and ſome Indians. In front they had made ſuch a cloſe hedge with branches of trees as would have been very difficult to penetrate, even if it had not been defended. That kind of paliſade which concealed all the preparations for defence, appeared at a diſtance to be nothing more than a verdant plain:"—and he inſinuates that if the Engliſh had been ſuffered to complete their landing, and to advance with confidence, that the attempt muſt have been defeated. "But the Engliſh," adds he, "had ſcarce begun to move towards the ſhore, when their enemies haſtened to diſcover the ſnare they had laid for them. By the briſk and haſty fire that was aimed at their boats, and ſtill more by the premature removal of the boughs that maſked the French forces, the Engliſh gueſſed at the danger on which they were ruſhing. They immediately turned back, and reſolved to effect their landing at a rock a little diſtant, which had always been deemed inacceſſible. General Wolfe, though much occupied in reimbarking his troops, gave the ſignal to major Scot to repair thither. That officer immediately haſtened to the ſpot with his men; and his own boat arriving firſt, and ſinking at the very inſtant he was ſtepping out of it, he clambered up the rock alone, in hopes of meeting with a hundred of his men, who had been diſpatched to that place ſome time before. He found only ten, but with theſe he gained the ſummit of the rock. Ten Indians and ſixty French men, who were ready to oppoſe him, killed two of his ſmall party, and mortally wounded three. With the remaining five he ſtood his ground under cover of a thicket, till his brave countrymen, regardleſs of the boiſterous waves, and the fire of the cannon, came up to his aſſiſtance, and put him in full poſſeſſion of that important poſt, the only one that could ſecure the landing of the army." Hiſt. Philoſ. &c. liv. xvi.

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ſhips ſword in hand; deſtroyed the one, which was a-ground, and towed off the other in triumph. This blow was deciſive; the garriſon fearing an aſſault, ſurrendered themſelves next day priſoners of war, and the whole iſland ſhared the fate of the capital. With Louiſburg fell the iſland of St. John, and whatever inferior ſtations the French had for carrying on the cod-fiſhery towards the Gulf of St. Laurence.

The loſs of Cape Breton was ſeverely felt by France, eſpecially as it had been attended with the deſtruction of ſo conſiderable a naval force; but the joy and ſatisfaction occaſioned by that event, which had at firſt been exceſſive in England, was ſoon allayed by the diſaſter which befel the Britiſh forces in America, under the command of general Abercrombie. In conſequence of his deſign of driving the French from Ticonderoga and Crown Point, he had embarked upon Lake George, with near ſixteen thouſand troops, and a numerous train of artillery, on the fifth of July; and after a proſperous navigation, arrived next day at the place where it had been propoſed to make the landing. The troops were diſembarked without oppoſition. The enemy's advanced guards fled at their approach, and they proceeded in four columns towards Ticonderoga. As the country through which their march lay is difficult and woody, and the guides who conducted the march in this unknown country were very unſkilful, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken. While they proceeded in this alarming diſorder, the French detachment, which had fled before them, was bewildered in the ſame manner, and in the ſame diſorder fell in with the Britiſh forces. A ſkirmiſh enſued, in which the enemy were quickly routed, with the loſs of near three hundred men; but that advantage was unfortunately bought with the death of the gallant lord Howe, a young nobleman of the moſt promiſing military talents, and who had acquired the eſteem and affection of the ſoldiery by his generoſity, affability, and engaging manners, no leſs than by his diſtinguiſhed valour. This misfortune excepted, the Engliſh army proceeded ſucceſsfully till it reached Ticonderoga; which is ſituated on a tongue of land between Lake George and a narrow gut that communicates with Lake Champlain. That important poſt, which is on three ſides ſurrounded with water, and on the fourth ſecured by a moraſs, was ſtrongly fortified and defended by near five thouſand men. Theſe were ſtationed under the cannon of the fort, behind entrenchments formed with the trunks of trees heaped one upon another, at the ſame time that large trees, extending to the diſtance of an hundred yards, were laid in front, with their branches outmoſt, ſome of which were cut and ſharpened ſo as to anſwer the purpoſe of chevaux-de-frize. The general cauſed the works to be reconnoitred, and received ſo favourable a report of their weakneſs, that it appeared practicable to force them by muſquetry alone. In conſequence of this fallacious report, a fatal reſolution was taken: it was determined not to wait the arrival of the artillery, which, on account of the badneſs of the ground, could not be eaſily brought up, but to attack the enemy without loſs of time; and in this raſh reſolution the general was confirmed by a rumour, that a body of three thouſand men, who had been detached under the command of M. de Levi to make a diverſion on the ſide of the

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Mohawk River, were on their march to join the French at Ticonderoga, and would ſhortly arrive to reinforce that garriſon. A diſpoſition was therefore made for the aſſault, and the whole army was put in motion. The troops advanced with the greateſt alacrity; but the ſtrength of the enemy's lines, which had been ſo little foreſeen, was ſoon too ſeverely felt. The Engliſh however ſuſtained a terrible fire without flinching, and endeavoured to cut their way through every embarraſſment with their ſwords; but they ſuffered ſo much in their approaches, and made ſo little impreſſion upon the enemy's intrenchments, that the general ſeeing their reiterated, and obſtinate efforts fail of ſucceſs, after being upwards of four hours expoſed to the deſtructive rage of the French artillery and muſquetry, thought it neceſſary to order a retreat, to ſave the remains of his army. Near two thouſand men, including a great number of officers, were either killed, wounded, or taken priſoners; and this precipitant attack was followed by a retreat equally haſty, inſomuch that the Britiſh forces gained their former camp on the ſouthern ſide of Lake George the evening after the action.

In order to repair the diſgrace of this bloody defeat, general Abercrombie detached colonel Bradſtreet with a body of three thouſand men, chiefly Provincials, againſt Fort Frontinac. The colonel with great prudence and valour ſurmounting every difficulty, brought his little army to Oſwego, where he embarked on the Lake Ontario, and arrived at the object of his enterprize by the 25th of Auguſt. Fort Frontinac ſtands at the communication of Lake Ontario with the river St. Laurence, the entrance into which river it in ſome meaſure commands. For a poſt of ſuch moment, however, it was poorly fortified, and feebly garriſoned: it ſurrendered at diſcretion on the appearance of colonel Bradſtreet, who found there an immenſe quantity of merchandiſe and proviſions, ſixty pieces of cannon, and nine armed ſloops, which were deſtroyed. The fortifications were demoliſhed, contrary to the opinion of ſome officers, who thought that ſo advantageous a poſt ought to have been retained, and ſtrongly garriſoned.

In all probability the ſucceſs of colonel Bradſtreet facilitated the expedition under general Forbes againſt Fort Du Queſne. This officer began his march at the head of eight thouſand men from Philadelphia about the beginning of July, through a prodigious tract of country very little known, and almoſt impracticable, by reaſon of woods, mountains, and moraſſes. He made his way, however, by the moſt incredible exertions of induſtry, procured proviſions, ſecured camps, and ſurmounted many other difficulties in his tedious progreſs, though continually harraſſed by parties of hoſtile Indians. Having penetrated with the main body as far as Ray's-Town, diſtant about fourſcore miles from Fort Du Queſne, the general detached major Grant, at the head of eight hundred men, to reconnoitre the object of his enterprize. The major's approach was unfortunately diſcovered by the enemy, who ſent a body of troops againſt him ſufficient to ſurround his whole detachment. A violent combat enſued, which was maintained by the Engliſh with the greateſt courage for upwards of three hours; but being at length overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to give way. About three hundred men were killed or taken priſoners, among the laſt of whom was major Grant,

and nineteen other officers. This mortifying check did not prevent general Forbes from advancing with the main body; but the enemy dreading the proſpect of a ſiege, deprived him of the pleaſure of revenge, by abandoning the fort, and retiring down the Ohio to their ſettlements on the Miſſiſippi. The Britiſh ſtandard was erected on the place, which had been the cauſe of ſo general and ſo deſtructive a war, on the 25th day of November, upwards of three years after the commencement of hoſtilities; and the name of Pitſburg was given to the fort, in honour of the miniſter under whoſe auſpices it had been taken.

The campaign of 1758, in which the Britiſh arms began to recover their luſtre in North America, notwithſtanding the unfortunate attack on Ticonderoga, was happily cloſed by a grand aſſembly, held at Eaſton, about ninety miles from Philadelphia, where a formal treaty was entered into between Great Britain and the Indians inhabiting that vaſt tract of country which lies between the Apalachian mountains and the lakes. The conferences were managed by the governors of Penſylvania and New Jerſey, aſſiſted by Sir William Johnſon, the ſoul of all our tranſactions with the ſavages, who officiated in the character of agent for Indian affairs on the part of Great Britain; four members of the council of Penſylvania, and two of the aſſembly; two agents for the province of New Jerſey, with a great number of planters and citizens of Philadelphia. They were met by the deputies and chiefs of the Mohawks, Oneidoes, Onondagoes, Cayugas, Senecas, Tuſcaroras, Nanticoques, and Conoys; of the Tuteloes, Chugnuts, Delawares, and Unamies; of the Minſinks, Mohicons, and Wappingers; the whole number, women and children included, amounting to about five hundred. The ſubject of the conferences, ſimilar to others which we have had occaſion to mention, conſiſted chiefly of complaints againſt encroachments made by the Engliſh, and diſputes among the ſavages themſelves concerning their boundaries. The preciſion with which the Indian deputies treated was truly wonderful. They required ſatisfaction for, and made mention of every life their country had loſt, as well as of the ſmalleſt damage they had ſuſtained. The Britiſh plenipotentiaries had prudence and temper enough to liſten with patience to all their complaints, and promiſed redreſs of all their grievances; ſo that they departed ſeemingly ſatisfied, and with a hearty deteſtation of the French.

This treaty with the Indians prepared the way for the enſuing campaign, which was planned in the following manner. It was propoſed to attack the French in all their ſtrongholds at once; that general Wolfe, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo eminently at the ſiege of Louiſburg, ſhould proceed up the river St. Laurence with a body of eight thouſand men, and a conſiderable fleet from England, in order to undertake the ſiege of Quebec; that general Amherſt, who was now commander in chief of the Britiſh forces in America, ſhould, with an army of twelve thouſand men, reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point, croſs Lake Champlain, and proceeding by the way of Richlieu river to the banks of the St. Laurence, join general Wolfe in his attempt upon the capital of Canada; that brigadier-general Prideaux with a third body, reinforced by a party of friendly Indians, aſſembled by the influence and under the command of Sir William Johnſon,

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ſhould inveſt the important fortreſs of Niagara, which in a manner commands the interior parts of the northern diviſion of the New World. It was further propoſed, that the ſame troops, after the reduction of Niagara, ſhould embark on the Lake Ontario; fall down the river St. Laurence; beſiege and take Montreal, then join or co-operate with the army under Amherſt: and beſides thoſe three grand diviſions, colonel Stanwix commanded a ſmaller detachment for reducing inferior poſts, and ſcouring the banks of the Lake Ontario.

Such were the diſpoſitions of the Britiſh forces; let us now take a view of thoſe of France. Vaudrueil, then governor-general of Canada, with a body of five thouſand men, lay in the neighbourhood of Montreal; Montcalm, whoſe reputation was now high in the military world, commanded a body of ten thouſand regulars and Canadian militia, no inferior to the beſt European troops; and M. de Levi was at the head of a flying detachment, well acquainted with all the woods and paſſes. The garriſon of Niagara conſiſted of at leaſt ſix hundred men; the city of Quebec, naturally ſtrong from its ſituation, the bravery of its inhabitants, and the number of its garriſon, had received every additional fortification that the art of war could give it; beſides, ſcarce any Britiſh ſailor could pretend to be acquainted with the navigation of the river St. Laurence, which the French had induſtriouſly kept a ſecret, and repreſented as extremely difficult and dangerous. All theſe obſtacles and inconveniencies were however ſurmounted.

The army under general Amherſt was firſt in motion, but the ſeaſon was far advanced before he could paſs Lake George. He thence proceeded with little oppoſition from the enemy to Ticonderoga, ſo fatal to the Britiſh troops in the former campaign. The French ſeemed at firſt determined to defend the place; but perceiving the Engliſh commander reſolute, cautious, and well prepared for undertaking the ſiege, and having beſides orders to retreat from place to place towards the centre of operations, rather than run the hazard of being made priſoners of war, they abandoned the fortifications in the night, and retired to Crown Point. General Amherſt no ſooner found himſelf in poſſeſſion of Ticonderoga, which effectually covered the frontiers of New York at the ſame time that it ſecured Lake George and a ſafe retreat to himſelf in caſe of neceſſity, than he ordered the works to be repaired, and allotted a ſtrong garriſon for its defence. But this acquiſition was not made without loſs: the brave and accompliſhed colonel Townſhend was killed by a cannon-ſhot, as he was reconnoitring the fort. His untimely fate was compared with that of lord Howe, who had fallen near the ſame place the year before, and whom he ſtrongly reſembled in the circumſtances of birth, age, and character.

While the Engliſh general was employed in ſuperintending the repairs of Ticonderoga, he received information from his ſcouting parties that the enemy had alſo abandoned Crown Point. To that place he immediately repaired, and there laid the foundation of a new fort for bridling the cruelties of the natives, as well as protecting the Britiſh ſettlements in that part of the country from the incurſions of the French. Here he received intelligence that the enemy had retired to

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Isle aux Noix, at the other end of Lake Champlain; that their force consisted of three thousand five hundred effective men, under the command of M. de Bourlemaque, with a numerous train of artillery; that the lake was occupied by four large armed vessels, manned with the piquets of different regiments, commanded by M. le Bras, a captain in the French navy, M. de Regal, and other sea officers. In consequence of this information, general Amherst, who had before resolved to acquire the command of the lake, ordered a sloop to be built with all expedition, capable of carrying sixteen guns, and a radeau eighty-four feet in length, carrying six great cannon. With these and a brigantine, which were finished by the 11th of October, he destroyed two of the enemy's largest vessels, and took one; but the advanced season of the year obliged him to postpone his operations, and to return to Crown Point, where the troops were soon after disposed in winter-quarters.

Few commanders were ever in a more singular situation than that in which Amherst now saw himself. Though his success was considerable, he had found it impossible to attain the great object of the campaign, a junction with general Wolfe. During the whole summer he had not received the least intelligence of the operations of the army under that officer, except a few obscure and discouraging hints of his having landed in the neighbourhood of Quebec, where Montcalm intended to give him battle with the whole force of Canada. Happily he was not so ignorant of the fate of the expedition against Niagara, an account of the success of which he had received before he left Ticonderoga, and had detached brigadier general Gage to assume the command of the troops in place of general Prideaux, who was unfortunately killed in reconnoitring the fort, to which he had been suffered to advance without the least opposition.

In the meantime the conduct of the expedition devolved upon Sir William Johnson, who prosecuted with vigour the plan of his predecessor. Before general Gage could arrive, he had performed wonders. He pushed on the siege of Niagara with so much alacrity, that in a few days the English had brought their approaches within a hundred yards of the covered way. Alarmed at the danger of losing this palladium of their empire in North America, the French collected a large body of regular troops, drawn from the neighbouring garrisons, Detroit, Venango, and Presque Isle. With these, and a party of savages, amounting in all to seventeen hundred men, they meant to attempt the relief of Niagara. When Johnson was apprized of their approach, he ordered his light infantry, supported by some grenadiers and regular foot, to take post between the cataract and the fortress, by which the French were to take their route: he placed the auxiliary Indians on his flanks; and while he thus took measures to receive the army intended for the relief of the place, he posted a strong body in such a manner as to secure his trenches from any attempt of the garrison during an engagement. In this disposition he waited the arrival of the enemy. About nine in the morning the French army appeared, and the battle was begun with a violent and horrid scream from the hostile savages, according to their barbarous custom. It was this scream, called the War-hoop, the most frightful sound

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that imagination can conceive, as we have already had occaſion to notice, which is ſaid to have ſtruck a panick into the troops under general Braddock, and which had on other occaſions carried terror to the hearts of European ſoldiers; but it had now loſt its effect upon the Britiſh forces, and was heard with a contemptuous indifference. The enemy were ſo firmly received by the troops in front, and ſo warmly aſſailed by the Indians on the flanks, that in leſs than an hour's time their whole army was ruined. The purſuit was hot and bloody, and continued for ſeveral miles. Beſides thoſe that fell, ſeventeen officers were made priſoners, among whom was the firſt and ſecond in command.

This battle, which happened on the 24th day of July, was fought in ſight of the fort; and it was no ſooner terminated in favour of the Britiſh troops, than general Johnſon ſummoned the garriſon to ſurrender; tranſmitting at the ſame time a liſt of the priſoners, and exhorting the French commander to ſpare the farther effuſion of blood, by delivering up the place while it was in his power to reſtrain the Indians. The capitulation was ſigned the ſame night, by which the garriſon were made priſoners, but retained the honours of war, and were to be conveyed in the moſt expeditious manner to New York. All the women were conducted at their own requeſt to Montreal; and the ſick and wounded, who could not bear the fatigue of travelling, were treated with diſtinguiſhed humanity. This was the ſecond important ſervice performed by Sir William Johnſon in a military capacity; and it ought to be recorded to his honour, that though not regularly bred a ſoldier, the moſt conſummate general could not have made more excellent diſpoſitions for the battle, or have conducted the ſiege from the beginning to the end with more cool and ſteady reſolution, or a more complete knowledge of all the neceſſary manœuvres of war. The taking of Niagara effectually cut off the communication ſo long talked of, and ſo much dreaded, between Canada and Louiſiana; and therefore by this blow, one of the principal political views of France, and that which had given occaſion to the war, was defeated in its direct and immediate purpoſe.

The reduction of Quebec, however, was a ſtill more important object; and, provided the troops under general Amherſt had been able to form a junction with Wolfe, a proportional force would have been employed againſt it. As matters fell out, the land-forces did not exceed ſeven thouſand men, regulars and provincials. These, which had been embarked at Louiſburg under convoy of the admirals Saunders and Holmes, were ſafely landed towards the end of June, on the iſle of Orleans, a few leagues below Quebec. That iſland, which is formed by two branches of the river St. Laurence, and is about twenty miles in length and ſeven in breadth, afforded every kind of refreſhment to the ſoldiers and ſailors, being both fertile and highly cultivated. General Wolfe, who was accompanied by the brigadiers Monkton, Townſhend, and Murray, publiſhed ſoon after his landing there a manifeſto, vindicating the conduct of the king his maſter, and offering protection to the inhabitants of Canada, with the free exerciſe of their religion, provided they would take no part in the diſpute between the two hoſtile nations. He reminded them, that the cruelties exerciſed by the French againſt

againſt the Engliſh ſubjects in America, would excuſe the moſt ſevere reprifals, but that Engliſhmen were too generous to follow ſuch a barbarous example; and he concluded with diſplaying the ſtrength and power as well as the generoſity of Great Britain, in thus ſtretching out a hand of humanity, a hand on all occaſions ready to aſſiſt them, even at a time when France by her weakneſs was compelled to abandon them to their fate.

This declaration, however, produced no immediate effect. The Canadians gave little credit to the promiſes of a people whom their prieſts had repreſented as the moſt cruel and perfidious upon earth. Labouring under the apprehenſions which ſuch a ſcandalous miſrepreſentation inſpired, and which prevailed even among the better ſort, they choſe to abandon their habitations, and expoſe themſelves and families to certain ruin rather than be quiet, and confide in the Engliſh general's promiſe of protection: they even joined the ſcalping parties of Indians that lurked among the woods, and falling upon the Britiſh ſtragglers by ſurpriſe, butchered them with marks of the moſt unfeeling barbarity. Wolfe, whoſe name aſſociated ill with his nature, ſhocked at ſuch wanton and inſidious cruelty, ſent a letter to the French general, remonſtrating againſt it, as contrary to the laws of war among civilized nations, and diſhonourable to the French ſervice; but as the ſavage practice was continued, he found it neceſſary to wink at ſome irregularities in the way of retaliation, in order to encourage the Indians, by indulging their ravenous appetite for blood and vengeance.

The ſituation of Quebec, the object of the Engliſh armament, has been already deſcribed. It was ſecured by a numerous garriſon, plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, and every way prepared for a ſiege. The marquis de Montcalm, at the head of an army ſuperior to that of the invaders, was poſted upon what was deemed the only acceſſible ſide of the town, all along the ſhore from the river St. Charles to the Falls of Montmorenci. To undertake the ſiege of Quebec while thus guarded ſeemed an enterpriſe ſo raſh, and ſo contrary to the eſtabliſhed maxims of war, that Wolfe, though of a ſanguine temper and an adventurous ſpirit, began to deſpair. He reſolved, however, to leave nothing unattempted; but amidſt the choice of difficulties which lay before him, to pitch upon thoſe in which the valour of his troops might be employed with the greateſt proſpect of ſucceſs, without inquiring too curiouſly into the event. In this reſolution he was encouraged by the conviction that he would always have it in his power to retreat in caſe of neceſſity, while the Britiſh ſquadron commanded the navigation of the river. As ſoon therefore as he had made himſelf maſter of the point of Levi on the ſouth ſhore, oppoſite to the city of Quebec, a ſervice which was performed by four battalions under general Monkton, he there erected batteries of cannon and mortars, which fired continually upon the place. Admiral Saunders was ſtationed below, in the north channel of the iſle of Orleans, oppoſite to the river Montmorenci; and admiral Holmes was ſtationed above the town, in order at once to divert the enemy's attention, and to prevent them from making any attempt againſt the batteries that played upon the fortifications.

After

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After having thus diſpoſed the fleet, general Wolfe cauſed the troops to be tranſported over the north channel of the river St. Laurence to the north-eaſt of Montmorenci, with a view of paſſing that river, and bringing the enemy to an engagement. Some heights which commanded the French entrenchments, a ford above, and another below the Falls, encouraged him to this attempt; but upon reconnoitring the ground, the oppoſite ſhore was found ſo ſteep and woody, that the deſign was judged impracticable. To bring the enemy to an action was his ſingle object; for though both the upper and lower town of Quebec had ſuffered conſiderably by the batteries erected on point Levi, it ſeemed impoſſible to reduce the place, while the marquis de Montcalm remained in its neighbourhood at the head of an unbroken army ſuperior to that of the beſiegers. Every endeavour, however, to draw the French general from his entrenchments proved ineffectual. He knew the importance of his poſt, and reſolved to maintain it; diſpoſing his parties of ſavages, in which he was very ſtrong, in ſuch a manner as to render deſperate any attempt to attack him by ſurpriſe. Meanwhile eight fire-ſhips were ſent down the river from the town in order to deſtroy the Britiſh fleet; which as it almoſt filled the whole channel, was expoſed to great danger; but by the extraordinary ſkill and vigilance of admiral Saunders, and the boldneſs of the Britiſh ſailors, who reſolutely boarded the fire-ſhips, and towed them aſhore, where they lay, and burnt to the water's edge, neither the men of war nor tranſports ſuffered the leaſt harm.

Finding that all his endeavours to draw the enemy from their entrenchments had proved unſucceſsful, and ſenſible that Montcalm deſired nothing more than to be able to act on the defenſive, until the ſeaſon itſelf, fighting for the French, ſhould force the Engliſh to retire, Wolfe came at laſt to the raſh reſolution of attacking him in his poſt, on the eaſt ſide of the river Montmorenci. The place where the attack was to be made being choſen, the beſt diſpoſitions for it were concerted both on the part of the admiral and the general; but though the whole was conducted with equal vigour and prudence, it was defeated by one of thoſe accidents that frequently interpoſe to the diſgrace of human wiſdom, and make the blind goddeſs Fortune the arbitreſs of war. The Engliſh grenadiers, who led the attack, had orders to form themſelves on the beach immediately after their landing. Inſtead, however, of following ſo prudent a direction, confuſed with the noiſe and hurry of landing, or tranſported with an ungovernable ardour, they ruſhed impetuouſly towards the enemy's entrenchments, without waiting for the body which was to ſuſtain them, and to co-operate with them in the attack. In the diſorder occaſioned by ſuch precipitancy, they were met by a violent and ſteady fire from the French artillery and muſketry. By that they were thrown into greater confuſion, and obliged to ſhelter themſelves behind a redoubt which the enemy had abandoned on their approach. In this uncomfortable ſituation they remained for ſome time, unable to form under ſo hot a fire as that which ſtill continued from the French entrenchments, notwithſtanding the moſt vigorous efforts of many gallant officers, who

who fearleſsly expoſed, and even loſt their lives in the honourable diſcharge of their duty. Night drew on, and a violent tempeſt ſeemed gathering: the Engliſh general therefore perceived the neceſſity of a retreat, and gave orders to make it with as little diſadvantage as poſſible. He accordingly called off the grenadiers; and having formed them behind Monkton's brigade, which was drawn up in excellent order upon the beach, the whole repaſſed the river without moleſtation, though not without conſiderable loſs, five hundred men being left dead upon the field.

Immediately after this mortifying check, which made Wolfe ſenſible of the impracticability of any further attempts on the ſide of Montmorenci, he detached brigadier Murray with twelve hundred men in tranſports above the town, to cooperate with rear-admiral Holmes in deſtroying the French ſhipping, as well as to endeavour to draw Montcalm from his entrenchments by attacking his detachments, and even provoking him to battle. In purſuance of theſe inſtructions, Mr. Murray attempted twice to land on the north ſhore, but without ſucceſs. His third attempt was more fortunate He made a ſudden deſcent at Chambaud, and burnt a valuable magazine filled with arms, cloathing, ammunition, and proviſions. This was a ſervice of conſiderable importance; and as the French ſhips were ſecured in ſuch a manner as not to be approached either by the fleet or army, and Murray ſaw no other means of annoying the enemy, he returned to the Britiſh camp with the conſolatory intelligence that Niagara was taken, Ticonderoga and Crown Point abandoned, and that general Amherſt was employed in making preparations for attacking the enemy at Iſle aux Noix.

This intelligence, however, though ſo agreeable in itſelf, afforded no proſpect of any aſſiſtance. The ſeaſon waſted apace; and the ſpirit of general Wolfe, which was too fervid to brook the moſt diſtant proſpect of cenſure or diſgrace, began to prey upon his tender and delicate frame. He was ſenſible that no military conduct can ſhine unleſs gilded with ſucceſs; to be pitied he thought was but a milder cenſure: his own high notions of honour, the public hope, the good fortune of other commanders, all turned inward upon him, till ſhame and diſappointment were converted into a diſeaſe that ſeemed to threaten his life. He was often heard to ſigh; and in the tranſports of his chagrin, he even declared that he would never return without ſucceſs, to be expoſed to the reproaches and inſults of a capricious populace, equally extravagant in praiſe and blame. In conſequence of this reſolution, as ſoon as his health was a little recovered, he called a council of his officers, in which it was reſolved that the principal operations ſhould be above the town, in order to draw the enemy, if poſſible, from their preſent ſituation, and bring them to an engagement. The camp at Montmorenci was accordingly broken up, and the troops were conveyed to the ſouth eaſt of the river, and encamped at Point Levi. This ſcheme ſucceeded in part; for although it did not induce the marquis de Montcalm to quit his poſt, it engaged him to divide his army, by detaching M. de Bougainville with fifteen hundred men, in order to watch the motions of the enemy; and during the interval, the three Engliſh brigadiers, Monkton, Townſhend, and Murray formed, and preſented

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ſented a plan for conveying the troops acroſs the river in boats, and landing them in the night below the heights of Abraham, within a league of Cape Diamond; in hopes of being able before morning to conquer the ſteep aſcent, and take poſſeſſion of the high ground on the back of the city of Quebec, where the fortifications were weakeſt.

The very boldneſs of this plan recommended it to general Wolfe, at the ſame time that its ſeeming impracticability enſured it ſucceſs. The ſtream was rapid, the ſhore ſhelving; the landing place ſo narrow as to be eaſily miſſed in the dark, and the aſcent ſo difficult as hardly to be ſurmounted in the day-time, even without any oppoſition. The French general could not think that a deſcent would be made at ſuch a place: it was effected, however, with equal judgment and vigour. General Wolfe ordered the ſhips under admiral Saunders to make a feint, as if they meant to attack the French in their entrenchments on the Beauport ſhore, below the town. This diſpoſition being made, the general embarked his forces about one in the morning, and with admiral Holmes's diviſion of the fleet went three leagues farther up the river than the intended landing-place, in order to amuſe the enemy, and conceal his real deſign. He then put the troops into boats, and fell down ſilently with the tide, unobſerved by the French ſentinels poſted along the ſhore. The firſt embarkation conſiſted of four complete regiments, the light infantry, commanded by colonel Howe, a detachment of Highlanders, and the American grenadiers, under the immediate command of the brigadiers Monkton and Murray, though Wolfe himſelf accompanied them in perſon, and was among the firſt who leapt on ſhore. Through the darkneſs of the night, and the rapidity of the tide, the pilots overſhot the mark, and the troops were landed a little below the place intended for their debarkation. The boats immediately went back for the diviſion under brigadier Townſhend. In the meantime colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, aſcended the woody precipices with wonderful courage and activity; and by diſlodging an entrenched party of the enemy which defended a narrow path, enabled the reſt of the forces to reach the ſummit, where they formed as ſoon as they arrived, and were all drawn up in order of battle under the general by break of day.

When Montcalm was firſt informed that the Engliſh had gained the heights of Abraham, which in a manner command Quebec, he could not credit the report. The aſcent of an army by ſuch a precipice exceeded the idea of any enterpriſe that reading or experience had ſuggeſted to him: he believed it to be only a feint, in order to induce him to abandon his ſtrong poſt; but when convinced of its reality, he no longer heſitated; when he found that a battle could not be prudently avoided, he reſolved to hazard it, and immediately put his troops in motion. General Wolfe no ſooner perceived the enemy croſſing the river St. Charles than he began to form his own line, which conſiſted of ſix battalions, and the Louiſburg grenadiers. The right wing was commanded by brigadier Monkton, and the left by brigadier Murray. Colonel Howe, with the light infantry, ſecured the rear; and as M. de Montcalm advanced in ſuch a manner as to ſhew his intention was to out flank the left of the Engliſh army, brigadier Townſhend

Townſhend was ſent thither with the regiment of Amherſt, which he formed in ſuch a manner as to preſent a double front to the enemy, or what is called *en potence*. He was afterwards reinforced by two battalions. The body of reſerve conſiſted of one regiment, drawn up in eight ſubdiviſions, with large intervals. The diſpoſition of the French army was no leſs maſterly. The right wing was compoſed of half the colony-troops, two battalions of European ſoldiers, and a body of Indians: the center conſiſted of a column formed of two other battalions of regulars; and one battalion, with the remainder of the colony-troops, ſecured the left wing. The buſhes and corn-fields in the enemy's front were filled with fifteen hundred of their beſt markſmen, who kept up an irregular galling fire, which proved fatal to many brave Britiſh officers, thus ſingled out for deſtruction. This was the more ſeverely felt, as the Engliſh troops were ordered to keep up their fire, which they did with great patience and fortitude, till the French main body had advanced within forty yards of their line, when they poured in a terrible diſcharge, that took place in its full effect, and made great havoc among the enemy. It was ſupported with as much vivacity as it had been begun, and the enemy every where yielded to it; but in the moment when the fortune of the field began to declare itſelf, general Wolfe, who was advancing at the head of the grenadiers, unfortunately received a bullet in his breaſt, and fell in the arms of victory. Inſtead of being diſconcerted, however, by that accident, every ſeparate regiment of the Britiſh army ſeemed to exert itſelf for the honour of its own peculiar character. While the grenadiers preſſed on with their bayonets, brigadier Murray briſkly advanced with the troops under his command, and ſoon broke the center of the enemy. Then it was that the Highlanders, drawing their broad ſwords, completed the impreſſion they had made, and falling upon the French with reſiſtleſs impetuoſity, drove them with great ſlaughter into Quebec, or towards the works which they had raiſed on the banks of the river St. Charles.

Nor did the other diviſions of the Britiſh army behave with leſs gallantry. Colonel Howe having taken poſt with part of the light infantry behind a ſmall copſe, ſallied out frequently on the flanks of the enemy, during their ſpirited attack upon the other part of his diviſion, and often drove them into heaps, while brigadier Townſhend advanced in platoons againſt their front; ſo that the intention of the French in extending their right wing was entirely defeated. Townſhend himſelf, who ſo remarkably contributed to this ſervice, remained with Amherſt's regiment, in order to overawe a body of ſavages poſted oppoſite to the light infantry, when he was called to the chief command in conſequence of a new diſaſter. Brigadier Monkton, who had ſucceeded general Wolfe, being dangerouſly wounded, while he diſtinguiſhed himſelf with uncommon gallantry at the head of Laſcelles's regiment, Townſhend, who was next in rank, on receiving the melancholy news, haſtened to the centre; and finding the troops diſordered in the purſuit, formed them again with all poſſible expedition. That piece of generalſhip was ſcarce executed, when M. de Bougainville, with a body of two thouſand freſh troops, appeared in the rear of the Engliſh army. He had

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had begun his march from Cape Rouge, a conſiderable way up the river, as ſoon as he received intelligence that the Britiſh forces had gained the heights of Abraham; but fortunately the main body of the French army was by this time ſo much broken and diſperſed, that Bougainville did not think it adviſable to hazard a new attack.

The victory was indeed already complete. The marquis de Montcalm, the French general, and his ſecond in command were both mortally wounded; about a thouſand of the enemy, including a great number of officers, were made priſoners, and almoſt an equal number was killed in the battle or the purſuit. The wreck of their army, unable to keep the field, retired firſt to Point au Tremble, and afterwards to Trois Rivieres and Montreal. The loſs of the Engliſh in regard to numbers was very inconſiderable: both the killed and wounded did not exceed five hundred men. But the death of general Wolfe was a national misfortune, and accompanied with circumſtances ſufficiently intereſting to merit a particular detail. He firſt received a ſhot in the wriſt; but wrapt a handkerchief round it, and encouraged his men to advance, without the leaſt diſcompoſure. Soon after he received a ſhot in the groin, which he alſo concealed: even when the fatal bullet lodged in his breaſt, he ſuffered himſelf unwillingly to be carried behind the ranks. Still his anxiety for the fortune of the field continued, under all the agonies of approaching diſſolution; and when told that the French army was totally routed, and fled on all ſides, "Then," ſaid he, "I am ſatisfied!" and immediately expired in a kind of tranſport of departing joy, which gave to his dying countenance an air of exultation. Wolfe, at the age of thirty five, united the ardour, the humanity, and enlarged views of the hero, to the preſence of mind and military ſkill of the commander: he needed only years and experience to place him on a level with the greateſt generals of ancient or modern times. Montcalm, the French general, was ſcarcely his inferior. Though leſs fortunate in the laſt ſcene of his life, he made the moſt perfect diſpoſitions that human prudence could ſuggeſt, both before the action, and during the engagement.

A few days after the battle of Quebec, the city itſelf capitulated on ſeeing the Engliſh fleet and army, which had all along acted with admirable unanimity, preparing for a vigorous ſiege. The terms granted were honourable to the garriſon, and advantageous to the inhabitants, who were to be protected in the free exerciſe of their religion, and in the full enjoyment of their civil rights, until a general peace ſhould decide their future condition. Theſe advantageous terms were granted chiefly in conſideration of the advanced ſeaſon of the year, which of itſelf muſt ſoon have obliged the Britiſh forces to retire, and ought to have encouraged the French to hold out againſt a handful of men, ſcarcely ſufficient to inveſt the place, even when collected after the victory. The fortifications were found in tolerable order, but the houſes were much damaged. A garriſon of five thouſand men was left in Quebec, under the command of brigadier Murray, with a competent ſtore of ammunition and proviſions for the winter. Brigadier Monkton was conveyed to New York, where he happily recovered of his wound,

and Townſhend returned to England with the fleet, which ſet ſail almoſt immediately, leſt the ſetting in of the froſts ſhould lock up the ſhips in the river St. Laurence. Thus the capital of French America was reduced under the dominion of the crown of Great Britain, after a moſt ſevere campaign of near three months; and perhaps, if the whole circumſtances are conſidered, there never was an enterprize of ſo much difficulty conducted with a more ſteady perſeverance, or accompliſhed with more vigour and ability. A city ſtrong in ſituation and fortifications was to be attacked; an army greatly ſuperior in number to the beſiegers was ſtationed under the walls of this city in an impregnable poſt; and that army was to be forced to battle againſt the inclinations of a wiſe and cautious general: yet all theſe difficulties, interpoſed as it were by nature herſelf, were ſurmounted by the genius of the commander in chief, the gallantry of the inferior officers, and the bravery of the Britiſh troops.

But while the arms of Great Britain were carrying terror before them in Canada, the French emiſſaries from the province of Louiſiana had exerciſed their arts of inſinuation with ſuch ſucceſs among the ſavages, that the Cherokees had infringed their treaty with the Engliſh towards the latter part of the campaign, and commenced hoſtilities with plundering, maſſacring, and ſcalping ſeveral inhabitants of our more ſouthern colonies. Mr. Littleton, governor of South Carolina, having received intelligence of theſe outrages, aſſembled a body of eleven hundred men, and marched into the Cherokee country, with ſuch vigour and diſpatch, that they ſent a deputation of their chiefs to ſue for peace. It was accordingly re-eſtabliſhed in all appearance by a new treaty, agreed to on ſuch terms as the Engliſh governor was pleaſed to dictate. The Cherokees obliged themſelves to renounce the French intereſt, to give up the perſons guilty of the moſt flagrant murders, and to put into the governor's hands twenty-two hoſtages as a ſecurity for the performance of theſe articles; but ſcarce was Mr. Littleton returned to Charles Town, when thoſe perfidious barbarians, equally regardleſs of their faith, and of the ſafety of their countrymen, whoſe lives were pledged upon it, began their ravages anew, and blocked up Fort Loudon. General Amherſt apprized of the danger of the Engliſh garriſon, and of all the ſouthern colonies, detached to their aſſiſtance colonel Montgomery, now earl of Eglington, with a A. D. 1760. regiment of Highlanders, a battalion of royal Americans, a party of grenadiers, and a body of provincial troops. He made war upon the Indians after their own manner; and there is great reaſon to believe no other would have been effectual. He burnt Eſtatoe, the capital of the Lower Cherokees, conſiſting of two hundred houſes, well ſtored with ammunition, proviſions, and all the neceſſaries of life; and following his blow with ſurprizing rapidity, he deſtroyed all the towns and villages in the ſame diſtrict. He next proceeded, with little or no loſs, to penetrate into the country of the Middle Cherokees; but as the Engliſh army, marching through a dangerous ground, favourable to the [illegible] ner of fighting, was ſuddenly attacked on all ſides by the [illegible] with the greateſt fury, and with the uſual horrible ſcream[illegible] troops were ſo well acquainted with this kind of warfare, [illegible]

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the charge with firmneſs: they were neither intimidated by the covered fire, nor the war-hoop or the ſavages, who declined a cloſe engagement. But colonel Montgomery, though victorious on this occaſion, found it neceſſary to retire on account of his wounded, for whom he had no place of ſafety. This retreat was certainly neceſſary; and the enemy might afterwards have been chaſtiſed, had not Montgomery, on his arrival at Fort St. George, diſcovered, by his orders he was obliged to return to New York, and rejoin the grand army with the troops under his command. In conſequence of his departure, Carolina and the neighbouring colonies were again expoſed to the fury of the Indians, leſs weakened than exaſperated by their late ſufferings. Fort Loudon was obliged to ſurrender: all the officers but one were butchered; ſeveral of the private men were maſſacred, and the reſt carried into an horrible captivity, contrary to the expreſs articles of an honourable capitulation, as well as the dictates of humanity. But colonel Grant next ſeaſon took ſevere vengeance upon the Cherokees, by deſtroying fifteen of their towns, and burning almoſt their whole harveſt. The greater part of the inhabitants were driven to ſtarve in the mountains; and the whole nation, filled with diſmay, humbly ſued for peace, which was accordingly concluded at Charles Town, to the no ſmall ſatisfaction of our ſouthern colonies.

The ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms in the north was ſtill more important, and no leſs deciſive. The taking of Quebec it was ſuppoſed would have been followed by the entire reduction of Canada without any further ſtruggle; but although the poſſeſſion of that place was neceſſary to the conqueſt of New France, much ſtill remained to be done before it could be ſubjected to the dominion of Great Britain. The French troops after their defeat had retired into the heart of the country, where they were ſoon increaſed to the number of ten thouſand. With theſe M. de Levi propoſed to attempt the recovery of the capital early in the ſpring. In this reſolution he was encouraged by the negligence of the Engliſh admirals, who had made no proviſion againſt his attaining a ſuperiority on the river. No veſſels of any force had been left there, on a ſuppoſition that they could not be uſeful in winter. The French commander had even thoughts of attempting the place by a *coup de main* during the ſeverity of the ſeaſon; but on examination he found the out-poſts ſo well ſecured, and the governor ſo vigilant and active, that he laid aſide the deſign till the 17th of April. Then his proviſions, ammunition, and heavy baggage fell down the St. Laurence from Montreal, under the convoy of ſix frigates from forty-four to twenty-ſix guns. By this ſquadron, which there was nothing to oppoſe, Levi acquired the undiſputed command of the river, a circumſtance of the utmoſt importance to the execution of the whole deſign; and within ten days the French army arrived at Point au Tremble, only a few miles from Quebec.

Meantime general Murray had omitted no ſtep that could be taken by the moſt conſummate officer for maintaining the important conqueſt committed to his care; but the garriſon had ſuffered greatly from the exceſſive cold in the winter, and the want of vegetables and freſh proviſions; ſo that when he received intelligence of the approach of the French army, one thouſand ſoldiers were

were dead of the ſcurvy, and twice that number unfit for ſervice. Thus circumſtanced, he embraced a reſolution which has been cenſured by men of cool tempers, as diſcovering leſs generalſhip than military ardour, and a paſſionate thirſt after glory: in order to avoid the tedious hardſhips of a ſiege in a place which to him ſeemed ſcarcely tenable, he determined to march out at the head of his garriſon, and try the fortune of the field. In conſequence of this reſolution, to which he was encouraged by the great valour of his troops, and a fine train of field artillery, he led out three thouſand men to the heights of Abraham, where he formed them in order of battle on the north of Quebec. On reconnoitring the enemy, he perceived that their van had taken poſſeſſion of the riſing ground in his front, but that the body of their army was ſtill in motion. Thinking this the critical moment, he advanced towards them with equal order and expedition, with a view to attack them before they could form. The French were ſoon driven from the heights, though not without a warm diſpute; during which their main body formed in columns and advanced with great celerity to ſupport their broken van-guard. Their fire became now very hot, and ſtopped the progreſs of the Britiſh battalions, while the ſuperiority of their numbers, after the centre was ſecured, gave them the advantage of outflanking the Engliſh both on the right and left, and threatening to cloſe upon their rear. Proper movements were made to protect the flanks; but the light infantry, who were ſent upon this ſervice, being furiouſly charged and thrown into diſorder, could never again be brought into the line. The enemy, however, could never break the Britiſh right wing, which they twice attempted in vain to penetrate; but the left wing, after gaining vaſt advantages, was overpowered by numbers, and obliged to give way, the French fighting with unuſual ardour. The diſorder of the left wing communicated itſelf to the right; ſo that general Murray ſeeing his whole army in danger of being ſurrounded, after an obſtinate diſpute, which laſted an hour and three quarters, was obliged to quit the field with the loſs of one thouſand men, killed or wounded. He gained Quebec with little loſs in the purſuit, but was obliged to leave behind the greater part of his artillery, which it was impoſſible to drag haſtily off through the ſnow that ſtill covered the ground.

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The French loſt upwards of two thouſand men in this action, without deriving any real advantage from it. General Murray, inſtead of being diſpirited by his defeat, ſeemed only to be roused to more ſtrenuous efforts. The ſame vigour of mind which led him to encounter the enemy in the field with a feeble army, animated him in the defence of a weak fortification. Meanwhile the French, whoſe hopes of ſucceſs depended ſolely in completing their enterprize before a Britiſh ſquadron could enter the river, loſt not a moment in improving their victory. They opened trenches before the town on the very evening of the battle; but it was the 11th of May before they could bring any batteries to bear on the fortifications. By that time general Murray, who was indefatigable in his preparations for the defence of the place, had raiſed ſome out works, and planted an hundred and thirty-two pieces of cannon on the ramparts, dragged thither moſtly by the ſoldiery; and though the French artillery played with great vivacity

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vivacity for the firſt day, the fire ſoon ſlackened, and their batteries were in a manner ſilenced by the ſuperior diſcharges from the garriſon. Quebec, however, notwithſtanding this advantage, the abilities of the governor, and the bravery of the garriſon, muſt in all probability have reverted to its former owners, had a French fleet from Europe got the ſtart of an Engliſh ſquadron in ſailing up the river. Fortunately things happened otherwiſe. Lord Colvil had ſailed from Halifax on the 22d of April with a conſiderable fleet, but was retarded in his paſſage by fogs and contrary winds; and commodore Swanton, with a ſmall reinforcement from England, arrived about the beginning of May at the iſle of Bec, in the river St. Laurence, where with two ſhips he propoſed to wait for the reſt of his ſquadron which had been ſeparated from him in the paſſage. One of theſe, the Leoſtoff, commanded by captain Dean, had entered the harbour of Quebec on the 9th of May, and communicated to the governor the joyful news that the ſquadron was in the Gulph. No ſooner did Swanton receive information that Quebec was beſieged, than he ſailed up the river with all poſſible expedition, and anchored on the 15th a little above the town. Next morning, at the deſire of the governor, an attack was made upon the French ſquadron, and executed with ſo much ſpirit, that in a moment all their veſſels of whatever kind were diſperſed, and the greater part deſtroyed or taken.

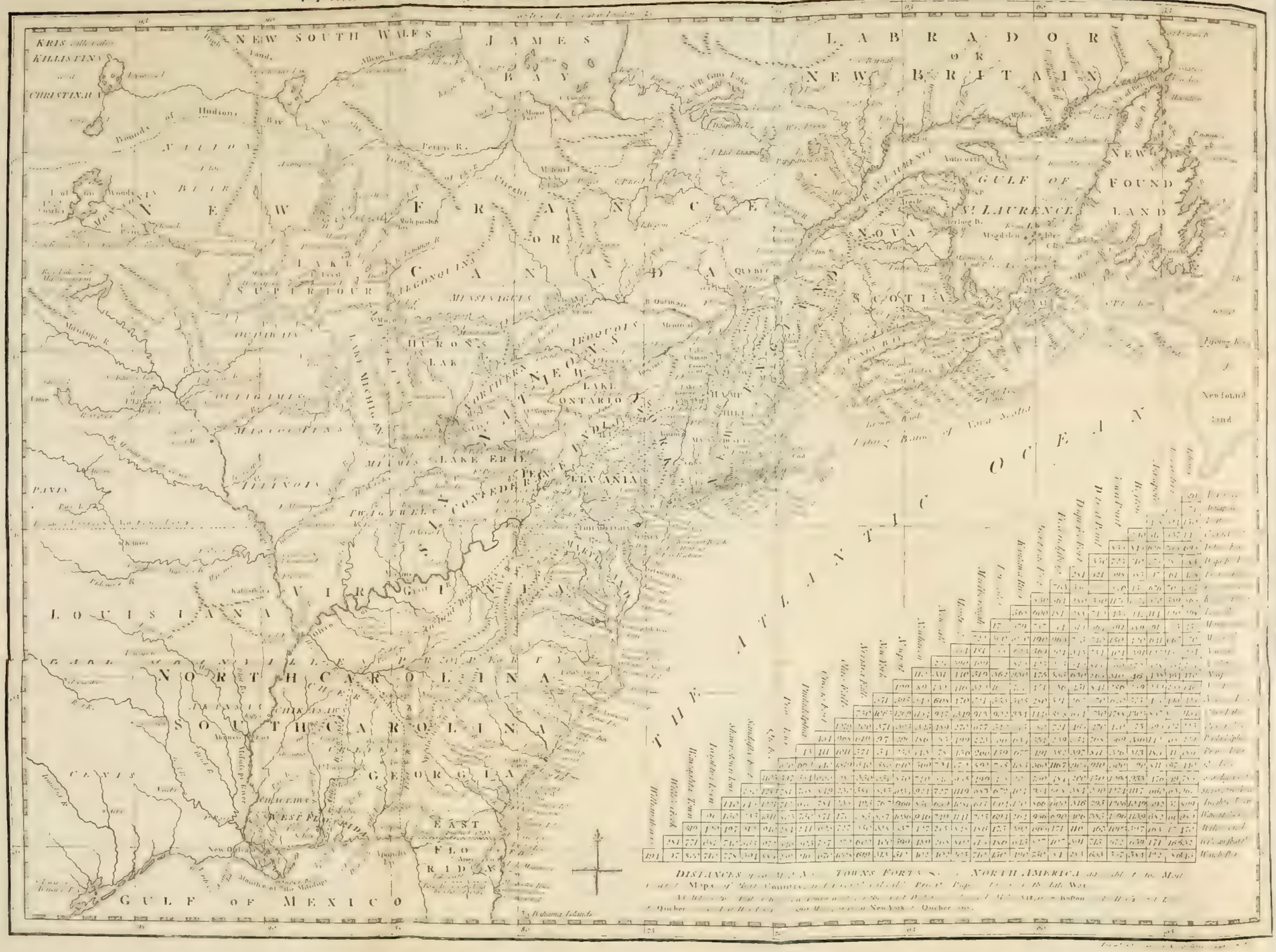
M. de Levi, who had the mortification to behold from the higher grounds this action, which at once extinguiſhed all the hopes that he had formed in conſequence of his late victory, raiſed the ſiege of Quebec with the utmoſt hurry and precipitation, leaving behind him all his artillery, and a great part of his ammunition and baggage. He concluded that the frigates, from the boldneſs of their manner, muſt belong to a powerful armament, and therefore determined to ſave himſelf by flight, though lord Colvil's ſquadron did not arrive till ſome days after. General Murray, who had intended to make a vigorous ſally in the morning, and attempt to penetrate into the camp of the beſiegers, no ſooner learnt that they had abandoned their trenches, than he inſtantly marched out at the head of his garriſon, in hopes of coming up with them, and taking full revenge for his late diſcomfiture; but they retreated with ſuch precipitation, that he could only take ſome priſoners, and the remainder of their baggage, including tents, ſtores, artillery, ſcaling-ladders, and other implements for a ſiege.

Levi retired firſt to Jaques Quartiers, and afterwards to Montreal, where Vaudrueil, the French governor of Canada, had fixt his head-quarters, and was reſolved to make a laſt ſtand. For this purpoſe he called in all the out-poſts, and collected around him the whole force of the colony. In the meantime, general Amherſt was diligently employed in taking meaſures for the entire conqueſt of New France. He conveyed inſtructions to general Murray, directing him to advance by water towards Montreal with all the troops that could be ſpared from the garriſon of Quebec. Colonel Haviland by his orders ſailed from Crown Point, and took poſſeſſion of Iſle aux Noix, which he found abandoned by the enemy, and thence proceeded directly to Montreal. His own army, conſiſting

fiſting of about ten thouſand men, regulars and provincials, left the frontiers of New York on the 21ſt of June, and paſſed up the Mohawk River, and down that of the Oneidoes to Oſwego, where he was joined by a thouſand Indians of the Six Nations under Sir William Johnſon. The whole army embarked on Lake Ontario; and after taking the fort of Iſle Royale, which in a manner commands the ſource of the river St. Laurence, they arrived by a tedious and dangerous voyage at Montreal, on the ſame day that general Murray landed there from Quebec. The two generals met with no oppoſition in diſembarking their troops; and by a ſingular concurrence of circumſtances, colonel Haviland arrived next day from Iſle aux Noix. The diſpoſitions made by theſe three armies, which conſiſted of the flower of the Britiſh troops in America, made the Marquis de Vaudrueil ſenſible that all reſiſtance would be vain: he therefore demanded a capitulation; which was granted on terms more favourable than the French had reaſon to expect in ſuch circumſtances. Montreal, Detroit, Michilimachinac, and every other place within the government of Canada was to be ſurrendered to his Britannic majeſty; but the troops were to be tranſported to Old France, though under the expreſs condition of not ſerving again during the war, and the coloniſts were to be protected in the free exerciſe of their religion.

The diſpute with France on the continent of America was now finiſhed. It only remained for Great Britain to determine what part of her conqueſts ſhe would retain; and as vaſt acquiſitions were ſoon after made in the Weſt Indies, that became a matter of ſome difficulty. It was however agreed by all unprejudiced men, that as the ſecurity of our North American ſettlements had been the chief object of the war, it ought alſo to be the principal end purſued in negociating the peace. It was therefore reſolved to keep Canada; and as every thing could not be retained, to reſtore Martinico and Guadaloupe. In conſequence of the ceſſion of Canada, the two Floridas, and part of Louiſiana, the Britiſh colonies were not only ſecured againſt all danger from European enemies, but the Britiſh empire in America was enlarged by the addition of ſome of the fineſt provinces in the New World, and a boundleſs tract of uncultivated country, at the ſame time that the number of Britiſh ſubjects was conſiderably increaſed; for although the French inhabitants of Canada were permitted to diſpoſe of their effects, and remove within a certain term, the free exerciſe of their religion, which was confirmed to them, and the protection of a milder government, induced all the induſtrious part of the people to remain in the colony. The influence of that government was ſoon conſpicuous in the proſperity of the conquered province; where almoſt every branch of trade has been doubled, and new ſources of wealth opened. The fur-trade and the ſeal-fiſhery, formerly proſecuted with ſome degree of ſucceſs, have not only experienced a ſurpriſing augmentation, but the exportation of wood and the culture of corn are become principal articles in the commerce of Canada.

A General MAP of NORTH AMERICA from the latest OBSERVATIONS.




KRISTINOS called also
KILLISTINS
and
CHRISTINAUX
Bounds of
NATION
of the
BEAR
Hudsons
Bay
by the
NEW SOUTH WA
Land
Albany R.
C. Charles
Hall Isle
C. Hamilton
Penguins I.
C. Bonavista
Placentia
Race C.
Lake of the Woods
Mountains
Red Lake or
Mitchesagan
Lake Royal
SUPERIOUR
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APPENDIX

TO THE

HISTORY OF AMERICA,

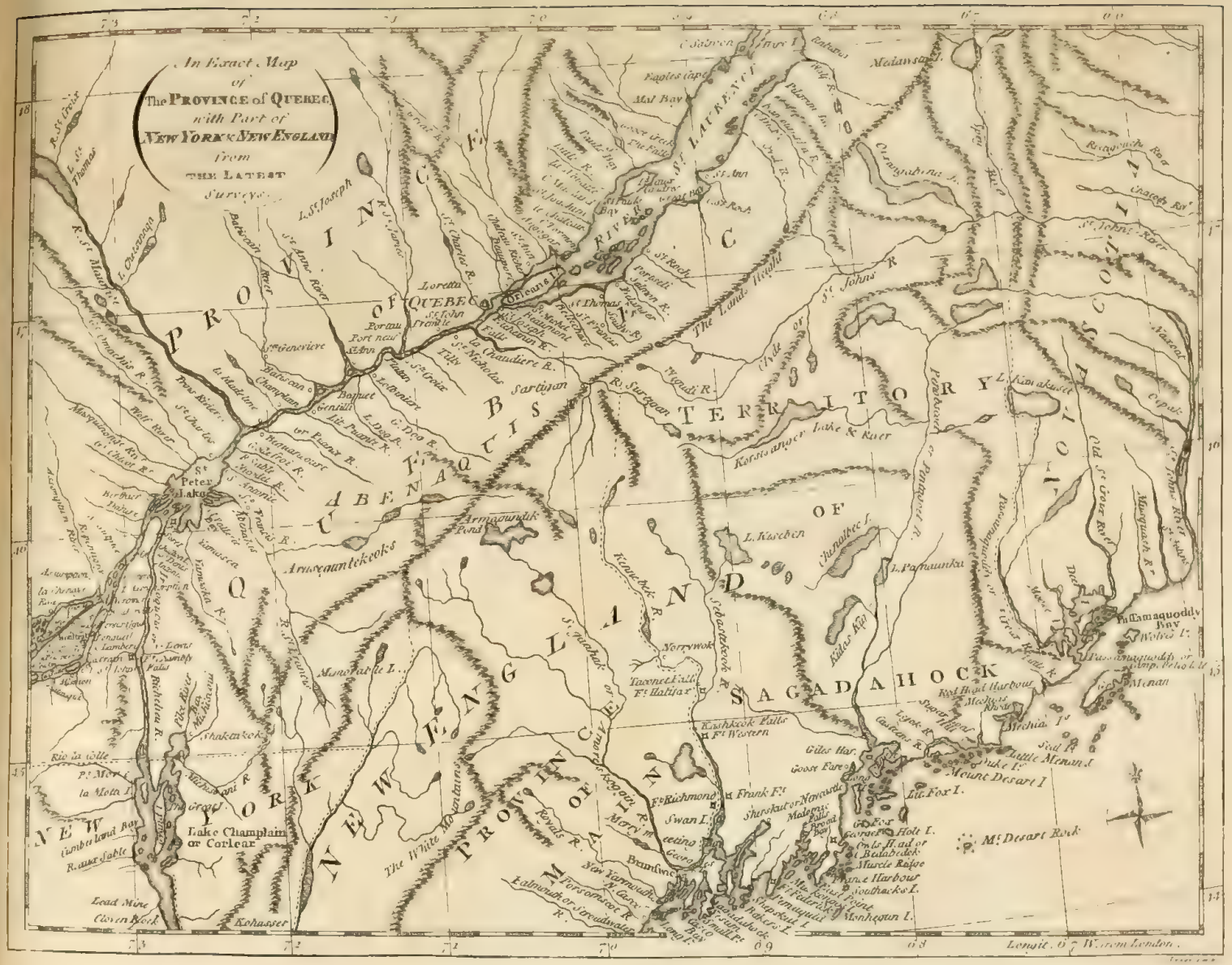
CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE PRESENT UNHAPPY CONTEST

BETWEEN

GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES.


73
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with
NEW YORK'S
fr
THE 1
Sur
R. St Croix
L. St Thomas
R. St. Maurice
L. Chesuncook
Gt Onnachiss R.
Wolf River
Marquanonge R.
Gt Chicot R.
St Peter Lake
Berthier
Dautre
Assumption River
Repentigny
St Sulpice
Assumption
la Chenaye
Rose
Montreal
Longueil
St Lambert
la Prairie
St Johns
Mission
Lac des Iroquois
St Lewis
Fort Chambly Falls
Richelieu R.
Fort River
Bay Missisquoi
Rio la Colle
Pt Mor
la Motte I
The Great I
NEW
Cumberland Bay
R. aux Sable
Lake C
or Cor
Lead Mine
Cloven Rock
73


An Exact Map
of
The PROVINCE of QUEBEC
with Part of
NEW YORK & NEW ENGLAND
from
THE LATEST
Surveys
PROVINCE OF QUEBEC
NEW YORK
NEW ENGLAND
TERRITORY
OF
ABENAQUIS
ARCADIA
Lake Champlain
or Corlear
Quebec
Montreal
St Peter
Lake
St Francis R.
St Lawrence R.
Connecticut R.
Kennebeck R.
Penobscot R.
Saco R.
Androscoggin R.
Merrimack R.
Piscataqua R.
Arnasquantekeeks
Norridgwok
Yarmouth
Brunswick
Falmouth or Casco
Portland
Kennebeck Falls
Fr Western
Fr Richmond
Fr Halifax
Fr Frank
Shirkskat or Newcastle
Malegrit Falls
Gilles Har.
Goose Fare
Mount Desart I
Little Mananal
Mt Desert Rock
Holt I.
Southacks I.
Monhegan I.
Penobscot Bay
Machias
Passamaquoddy Bay
Wolves I.
Menan
Lake Fox I.
Lake Mistassins
Lake Nekouba
Lake Abitibi
Lake Temiscamingue
Lake Nipissing
Lake Huron
Lake Michigan
Lake Superior
Lake Ontario
Lake Erie
Lake St Clair
Lake St Francis
Lake St Peter
Lake St John
Lake Mistassini
Lake Kasebeen
Lake Papinunka
Lake Chenaitbee
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APPENDIX

TO THE

HISTORY OF AMERICA.

CHAP. I.

The Riſe of the Diſpute between GREAT BRITAIN *and her Colonies, and its Progreſs till the Repeal of the* STAMP ACT.

CHAP. I.
A. D. 1763.

A Conſciouſneſs of the inſtability of human affairs, has made men of a timid but philoſophical temper, contemplate great and unexpected elevation, either in the fortune of nations or individuals, with a degree of attention approaching to melancholy. The fortune of no nation was ever higher than that of the Engliſh at the concluſion of the late war. Beſides their rich poſſeſſions in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, or thoſe on the coaſt of Africa, all enlarged by a ſeries of the moſt extraordinary ſucceſs, and confirmed by a perpetual treaty; without including Hudſon's Bay, Newfoundland or the other iſlands of North America, they were maſters of all that vaſt continent, which ſtretches from the mouth of the river St. Laurence to that of the Miſſiſippi, and from the Atlantic ocean to the South Sea, the moſt extenſive empire that ever was formed on the face of the earth. Nor was this a barren or unprofitable territory. The greater part of it was either cultivated or highly ſuſceptible of improvement; and it offered to the mother-country, in conjunction with her other conqueſts and ſettlements, the largeſt field that was ever opened to the commerce and induſtry of any people. But the time was ſuddenly to arrive, when that commerce was to be interrupted, that induſtry deprived of its vivifying principle, and part of that empire violently torn from the parent-ſtate by her own colonies.

The cauſes of theſe evils, it muſt now be our buſineſs to trace. For this purpoſe it will be neceſſary to take a more particular view of the policy of Great Britain in regard to her colonies, than our ſubject has hitherto required.

APPEND.

Though the Engliſh colonies, like thoſe of Spain and Portugal, were chiefly eſtabliſhed, as we have already ſeen, without any aſſiſtance from the government of the mother country, they no ſooner began to flouriſh, than ſhe endeavoured to make them ſubſervient to her intereſt and ambition. With this view, ſhe purſued the plan of all the European nations who had founded ſettlements in the New World: ſhe endeavoured to ſecure entirely to herſelf the advantages of their trade, by prohibiting, or confining, their intercourſe with other countries. Whether this plan was truly political, conſidered even in regard to the mother-country, which has been queſtioned by a very eminent writer*, it is not our province here to examine: it is ſufficient for us that it was eſteemed ſo by the Engliſh parliament above a century ago, and that it has ſince continued to be the parliamentary ſyſtem.

But though the policy of Great Britain in regard to her American colonies, has been dictated by the ſame commercial ſpirit as that of other nations, it has, like her government, been more friendly to the natural rights of mankind. In every thing, except their foreign trade, the liberty of the Engliſh coloniſts to manage their own affairs in their own way is complete: it is in every reſpect equal to that of their fellow citizens in the mother-country, and is ſecured in the ſame manner, as we have ſeen, by an aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the people, who claim the ſole right of impoſing taxes for the ſupport of the colony government. The authority of this aſſembly over-awes the executive power; and neither the meaneſt nor the moſt obnoxious coloniſt, as long as he obſerves the laws, has any thing to fear from the reſentment either of the governor, or of any other civil or military officer in the province.

This point being eſtabliſhed, according to principles formerly inveſtigated, and which cannot be controverted, let us proceed to examine particularly the reſtraints impoſed by Great Britain on the trade of her colonies, and her attempts to raiſe a revenue independent of the advantages of an excluſive commerce.

Some nations, as we have at different times had occaſion to obſerve, have given up the whole commerce of their colonies to an excluſive company †; from which the coloniſts were obliged to buy all ſuch European goods as they wanted, and to which they were obliged to ſell the whole of their own ſurplus produce. It was the intereſt of the company, therefore, not only to ſell the former as dear,

* Dr. Smith, Inquiry into the Nature and Cauſes of the Wealth of Nations, book IV. chap. vii. This intelligent inquirer ſuppoſes, that the excluſive trade, by employing too great a ſhare of the national ſtock, has been hurtful to general induſtry. It may be urged, however, by way of reply, that the colony-trade was at firſt too inconſiderable to produce this effect, and that the excluſive advantages were ſufficient to create, in its progreſs, a capital equal to the growing demand. But it muſt at the ſame time be acknowledged, that the American trade, when at its height, called off the attention of Britain too much from the markets of Europe; deadened competition with the other European nations, by rendering it in ſome meaſure unneceſſary; and made all trade and induſtry precarious, by reſting it chiefly on the unſtable foundation of a good underſtanding between the mother-country and her colonies.

† The Dutch, and till lately, the French and Danes.

and

and to buy the latter as cheap as poſſible; but to buy no more of the latter, even at this low price, than what they could diſpoſe of at a very high price in Europe: it was their intereſt not only to degrade, in all caſes, the value of the ſurplus produce of the colony, but in many caſes to diſcourage and keep down the natural increaſe of its quantity; in order to inſure a more ready and certain ſale, as well as to command an equal, or perhaps a ſuperior ſum, for a leſs bulky commodity. Other nations, without eſtabliſhing an excluſive company, have confined the whole commerce of their colonies to one or two ports of the mother-country *; from which no ſhip is allowed to ſail but either in a fleet, and at a particular ſeaſon, or if ſingle, in conſequence of a particular licence, which is generally purchaſed at no ſmall premium.

This policy opens, indeed, the commerce of the colonies to all the natives of the mother-country, provided they trade from the proper port, at the proper ſeaſon, and in the proper veſſels; but as all the different merchants, who have joined their ſtocks in order to fit out theſe licenſed veſſels, muſt find it for their intereſt to act in concert, the trade which is carried on in this manner will neceſſarily be conducted nearly upon the ſame principles as that of an excluſive company †. The profits of thoſe merchants will ſcarcely be leſs exorbitant and oppreſſive, the colonies will be ill ſupplied, and obliged both to buy dear and ſell cheap.

Happily the policy of England, in regard to the trade with her colonies, as in every thing elſe, has been more liberal: it is free to all her ſubjects, who may carry it on from all the different ports of the mother-country, and who have occaſion for no other licence, than the common diſpatches of the cuſtom-houſe. Of courſe, the number and diſperſed ſituation of the different traders, render it impoſſible for them to enter into any general combination, and their competition is ſufficient to prevent them from graſping at very exorbitant profits. Accordingly the price of European commodities, though no doubt ſomewhat higher than if the trade were free to all nations, has never been extravagantly high in the Britiſh ſettlements. Under ſo indulgent a policy, the colonies are enabled both to ſell their own produce, and to buy the manufactures of Europe at a reaſonable rate.

Nor are the colonies of Great Britain confined even to the general market of the mother-country in the exportation of their own ſurplus produce, except with regard to certain commodities. Theſe commodities having been frequently enumerated in the Act of Navigation ‡ or other ſtatutes relative to the colonies, are on that account called *enumerated commodities*. The reſt are termed *non-enume-*

* Spain and Portugal.

† See book II. chap. i. of this work, and Smith's Inquiry, book IV. chap. vii.

‡ This act, which gave riſe to all thoſe ſubſequent laws that reſtrain the plantation trade, and are ſuppoſed to aſcertain the juriſdiction of the ſtate and parliament of England over her colonies, was paſſed, as we have formerly had occaſion to notice, during the time of the commonwealth, when the true principles of liberty are allowed to have been well underſtood, and when the very idea of tyranny was held in deteſtation.

rated

APPEND.

rated commodities, and may be exported directly to other countries, provided it be in Britiſh or Plantation ſhips, of which the owners and three-fourths of the mariners are Britiſh ſubjects.

Among the non enumerated commodities, which are ſtill confined, as to the European market, to the countries that lie ſouth of Cape Finiſterre, are ſome of the moſt important productions of America and the Weſt-Indies; grain of all ſorts, lumber, ſalt proviſions, fiſh, ſugar, and rum. Grain is naturally the firſt and principal object of the culture of all new colonies, except thoſe between the tropics; and by allowing our plantations a very extenſive market for it, the government encourages them to extend this culture much beyond the conſumption of a thinly inhabited country, and by that means to provide before hand an ample ſubſiſtence for a continually increaſing population. Nor is the wiſdom of the legiſlature leſs conſpicuous in regard to other articles. The ſale of lumber cannot be too much encouraged in a country almoſt covered with wood, and where the expence of clearing the ground is the principal obſtacle to improvement: to raiſe the price of ſuch a commodity, is offering a bounty to induſtry, and holding out at a diſtance the reward of agriculture; and to extend the fiſheries of well affected colonies, by a free exportation, is to increaſe the ſhipping and naval power as well as the wealth of the Britiſh empire.

The *enumerated* commodities are of two ſorts; namely, ſuch as are either the peculiar produce of America, or as cannot, or at leaſt are not produced in the mother-country; and ſuch as are not the peculiar produce of America, but both may and are produced in the mother-country, though not in ſuch quantities as to ſupply the greater part of her demand, which would otherwiſe oblige her to have recourſe to foreign countries. Of the firſt kind are molaſſes, coffee, cacao-nuts, tobacco, pimento, ginger, whale-bone, raw ſilk, cotton-wool, beaver and other furs, indigo, fuſtick, and other dying woods; and of the ſecond kind are all naval ſtores, maſts, yards, and bowſprits; tar, pitch, and turpentine; hemp and flax, pig and bar iron, copper ore, hides and ſkins, pot and pearl aſhes.

The largeſt importation of commodities of the firſt kind, could not diſcourage the growth, or interfere with the ſale of any part of the produce of the mother-country; and by confining them to the home-market, our merchants, it was expected, would not only be enabled to buy them cheaper in the plantations, and conſequently to ſell them with a better profit at home, but to eſtabliſh between the plantations and foreign countries a carrying-trade, of which Great Britain was neceſſarily to be the centre or emporium, as the European country to which thoſe commodities were firſt to be imported *. The importation of commodities of the ſecond kind might be ſo managed too, it was ſuppoſed, as not to interfere with the ſale of thoſe of the ſame kind produced in the mother-country, but with that of thoſe imported from foreign ſtates; becauſe, by means of proper duties, they might be rendered always ſomewhat dearer than the former, and yet a good deal cheaper than the latter †.

* Smith's Inquiry, book IV. chap. vii. † Id. ib.

Some

Some of theſe prohibitions, which appear the moſt problematical, are even beneficial to the colonies. That, for example, which confines to Great Britain the exportation of maſts, yards, and bowſprits, tar, pitch, and turpentine, has a natural tendency to lower the price of timber in the colonies, and conſequently to increaſe the expence of clearing the lands, the principal obſtacle to their improvement; but it was not impoſed without a reaſon, and is ſo qualified as to have a direct contrary influence. About the beginning of the preſent century, the pitch and tar company of Sweden endeavoured to raiſe the price of their commodities to Great Britain, by prohibiting their exportation except in their own ſhips, at their own price, and in ſuch quantities as they thought proper. In order to counteract this notable piece of mercantile policy, and to render England as independent as poſſible, not only of Sweden but of all the northern powers, the parliament gave a bounty upon the importation of naval ſtores from America, at the ſame time that it confined them to the home market. The effect of this bounty was, to raiſe the price of timber in America, more than the reſtriction could lower it; and conſequently the joint effect of both regulations is rather an encouragement, than an obſtruction to the clearing of land in America. In like manner, although the pig and bar iron of the colonies have been put among the *enumerated* commodities, yet as they are exempted from conſiderable duties, when imported into Great Britain, to which thoſe of other countries are ſubject, one part of the regulation contributes more to encourage the erection of furnaces in America, than the other to impede it; and as there is no manufacture which occaſions ſo great a conſumption of wood as a furnace, none can contribute ſo much to the clearing of a country over-run with foreſts *.

The

* This ſource of wealth to the mother-country, and proſperity to the colonies, had long been obſtructed by enormous duties. The proprietors of the national mines, in concert with thoſe of the coppice woods, which are conſumed in the furnaces, had procured impoſitions, amounting to an abſolute prohibition, to be laid upon American iron; but at length, in 1750, the eyes of the government were opened, and it was permitted to be imported, duty free, into the port of London, though prohibited from being carried to any other port, or above ten miles within land. This whimſical reſtriction continued in force till the year 1757, when the general voice of the people called upon the parliament to repeal an ordinance ſo manifeſtly contrary to every principle of public utility, and to extend to the whole kingdom a privilege that had been ungenerouſly confined to the capital. Though nothing could be more reaſonable than this demand, it met with the ſtrongeſt oppoſition. Combinations of intereſted individuals were formed to repreſent, that the hundred and nine forges worked in England and Wales, without including thoſe of Scotland, produced annually eighteen thouſand tons of iron, and employed a great number of induſtrious workmen; that the mines, which are inexhauſtible, would have ſupplied a much greater quantity, had not a perpetual apprehenſion prevailed, that the duties on American iron would be taken off; that the iron works, then carried on in England, conſumed annually one hundred and ninety-eight thouſand cords of underwood, produced in coppices that grew upon barren lands, which could not otherwiſe be turned to any good account; that thoſe coppices furniſhed beſides bark for the tanners, and wood for building; and that the American iron not being proper for converting into ſteel, for making edge-tools, or any of the utenſils of navigation, would contribute very little to leſſen the importation of iron from Sweden or Ruſſia, but would interfere ſo much

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The moſt perfect freedom of trade is permitted between the Britiſh colonies on the continent of America and thoſe in the Weſt Indies, both in the enumerated and non enumerated commodities; and theſe colonies were become ſo populous and thriving before the preſent diſturbances, that each of them found in ſome of the others a great and extenſive market for every part of its produce, and all of them taken together formed a vaſt internal mart for the produce of one another.

But after all theſe advantages, the liberality of England towards the trade of her colonies has chiefly been confined, either to what regards the ſale of their produce in its rude ſtate, or in what may be denominated the firſt ſtage of manufacture. While ſhe encourages in America, for example, the manufactures of pig and bar-iron, by exempting them, as already noticed, from duties to which the like commodities are ſubject when imported from any other country, ſhe impoſes an abſolute prohibition upon the erection of ſteel furnaces and ſlit mills in any of her American plantations: ſhe will not ſuffer her coloniſts to work in thoſe more refined manufactures even for their own uſe, but inſiſts upon their purchaſing from her merchants and manufacturers all goods of this kind, for which they have occaſion. She prohibits the importation from one province to another by water, and even the carriage by land upon horſeback, or in a cart, of hats, woollen goods, or wool of the produce of America; a regulation which, while obſerved, effectually prevents the eſtabliſhment of any manufacture of ſuch commodities for diſtant ſale, and confines the induſtry of her coloniſts, in this way, to ſuch houſhold manufactures as a private family makes for its own uſe, or for that of ſome of its neighbours in the ſame province.

To prohibit a great people, however, from making all that they can of every part of their own produce, or from employing their ſtock and induſtry in the way that they judge moſt advantageous to themſelves, is a manifeſt violation of the natural rights of mankind. But unjuſt as ſuch prohibitions are, they have not hitherto been very hurtful to the colonies. Land is ſtill ſo cheap, and labour ſo dear in Britiſh America, that the coloniſts can import from the mother-country almoſt all the more refined, or more advanced manufactures, cheaper than they could make them for themſelves *. Though they had not therefore been prohi-

with that of Britain, as to put an entire ſtop, in a little time, to all the forges in the kingdom. Theſe groundleſs apprehenſions had no effect on the majority of the parliament, who ſaw clearly, that unleſs the price of the original materials could be leſſened, the nation muſt ſoon loſe the numberleſs manufactures of iron and ſteel by which it had ſo long been enriched; and that there was no time to be loſt in putting a ſtop to the progreſs other nations were making in theſe works, by underſelling them. It was therefore reſolved, that the free importation of iron from America ſhould be permitted in all the ports of the kingdom: and that wiſe reſolution was accompanied with an act of juſtice. By a ſtatute of Henry VIII. the proprietors of coppices were forbid to clear their lands: that prohibition the parliament took off, in order to remove as far as poſſible all cauſe of complaint, and left them at liberty to make uſe of their eſtates as they ſhould think proper.

* Smith, ubi ſup.

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bited from eſtabliſhing ſuch manufactures, a regard to their own intereſt would probably, in their preſent ſtate of improvement, had no miſunderſtanding happened, have prevented them from ſo doing. But in a more advanced ſtate of ſociety, thoſe reſtraints might become truly oppreſſive; and, in that event, the wiſdom and humanity of the Britiſh legiſlature leave us no room to doubt but they would be removed.

With regard to the importation of goods from Europe, England has likewiſe dealt more liberally with her colonies than any other nation. While ſhe impoſes no duties on the exportation of her own manufactures, ſhe allows always a part, generally the half, frequently a larger portion, and ſometimes the whole of the duty which is paid on the importation of foreign goods, to be drawn back upon their exportation to any foreign country, from a conviction that no independent foreign ſtate would receive them burdened with Britiſh duties. Our American colonies, however, are by no means independent foreign ſtates; and Great Britain having aſſumed to herſelf the right of ſupplying them with goods from Europe, might have forced them, according to the practice of other European kingdoms, to receive ſuch goods, loaded with the ſame duties which they paid on entering the mother country, and alſo her own manufactures burdened with duties, for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue: but, on the contrary, till the year 1763, the ſame draw-backs were paid on the exportation of the greater part of foreign goods to our colonies, as to any independent foreign ſtate. Then, indeed, this indulgence was a good deal abated, it being enacted, that no part of the duty called the *Old Subſidy* ſhall be drawn back for any goods of the growth, production, or manufacture of Europe or the Eaſt Indies, which ſhall be exported from this kingdom to any Britiſh colony or plantation in America, wines, white callicoes, and muſlins excepted *.

Before the framing of this law, many different ſorts of foreign goods might have been bought cheaper in the colonies than in the mother-country, and ſome may ſtill †. A law, however, which affected the coloniſts in the moſt tender part, which widened the grand ſource of their grievances, by obliging them to purchaſe, at a more advanced price, ſeveral manufactures which they were not permitted to fabricate for themſelves, could not fail to occaſion diſguſt, even though entirely conformable to the general policy of Great Britain with reſpect to her American ſettlements. But harder trials were reſerved for their obedience.

The peace of Paris, which at the ſame time reſtored tranquility to Europe and to America, produced a remarkable change in the political ſyſtem of Great Britain with reſpect to her colonies, as well as in the political ſentiments of the coloniſts, in regard to the mother-country. The original ſettlers in New England, as we have had ſufficient occaſion to obſerve, were men of wild and fanatical principles. Enemies to civil power and religious liberty, they endeavoured to erect a kind of ſpiritual deſpotiſm, as ſoon as they arrived in the New World, Feb. 10, 1763.

* 4 Geo. III. cap. xv.

† Smith's Inquiry into the Nature and Cauſes of the Wealth of Nations, book IV. chap. vii.

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and reluctantly acknowledged their dependence on the mother-country. That reluctance particularly appeared on the reſtoration of Charles II. when their enmity againſt kingly government co operated with their ambition of independent juriſdiction. They had acquieſced in the ſupremacy of the republican parliament; which, as early as the year 1642, had indirectly aſſerted its *legiſlative authority* over them ‡; nor did they make any oppoſition to the Act of Navigation, paſſed ten years after, by the ſame parliament: but when Charles endeavoured, in 1679, to enforce the obſervation of that law, which had been ſuſpended for a time, they remonſtrated againſt it, as detrimental to their trade, and replied, that they apprehended "the laws of England did not reach America*!" The arbitrary proceedings of James II. however, and the growing power of the French in Canada, ſoon made them happy to claim the protection of thoſe laws and that government. King William and the revolution parliament afforded them both; but, at the ſame time, drew tighter the dependence of the colonies on the mother-country. Neceſſity continued that dependence till the concluſion of the late war; when all apprehenſions of a foreign enemy being removed, their old ideas of unlimited commerce and independent juriſdiction began to return.

The other colonies, it is true, were not founded by men of the ſame fanatical ſpirit as thoſe of New England. The firſt ſettlers in Virginia were chiefly royaliſts, and reſpectable members of the church of England; thoſe of Maryland were ſober-minded catholics, and many of them perſons of good education, as well as exemplary behaviour; and the quakers of Penſylvania, as every where elſe, are the moſt peaceable, induſtrious, and inoffenſive ſet of men in the whole world. But Penſylvania is not entirely peopled by quakers, nor by Engliſhmen: Dutch, Germans, and other foreigners, compoſe more than two-thirds of the inhabitants. Theſe foreigners ſpeak their native tongues; and to the diſgrace of Britiſh policy, are allowed to have ſchools for inſtructing their children in the ſame languages. In conſequence of this pernicious practice, like the Dutch of New York, and the Swedes in the Jerſies, they will continue a diſtinct race after many generations: ſtrangers alike to the language and the conſtitution of England, and without the affection of citizens, they will ſtill be foreigners, in whatever regards the honour or glory of the Britiſh crown.

Almoſt an equal mixture of foreigners are found in the two Carolinas; and the great number of felons, proſtitutes, and profligate perſons of every kind, tranſported to Virginia and Maryland, during a long courſe of years, has corrupted both the manners and the blood of the original ſettlers, and introduced a daring ſpirit of licentiouſneſs, that ſpurns all the common reſtraints of ſociety, and all regulations of government. Such is the heterogeneous mixture of which our colonies are compoſed; of a ſet of men whoſe ſole aim, and only point of uniformity, is intereſt, and who, with few exceptions, have neither pride nor plea-

‡ It was ordained, for the encouragement of the planters, that all goods ſhould paſs to and from New England duty-free, "until the Houſe of Commons ſhould take further *order* therein to the *contrary*."

* See book IV. chap. iii. of this work, and the authorities there cited.

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ſure in the proſperity of Great Britain. The ſucceſs of the late war in America gave them no joy, farther than as it ſecured them againſt the future attacks of an inſidious enemy. Inſtead of partaking in the triumph of the parent-ſtate, to which they in ſome meaſure contributed, they ſeemed to repine at her victories, as if they had foreſeen againſt whom her arms would next be turned. A ſenſe of their own danger only would have induced them to bear a ſhare in the war with France; and no ſooner did they find themſelves in ſecurity, in conſequence of the peace, and in poſſeſſion of a vaſt continent, remote from the reſt of the world, than they formed the idea of rendering themſelves independent, by eſtabliſhing arts and manufactures, and fabricating at home thoſe articles of labour and ingenuity for which they had hitherto been indebted to the mother-country, and the ſale of which had chiefly, if not ſolely, made them valuable to her *.

The Britiſh miniſtry could not be ignorant of the views of the colonies, and appear to have been partly influenced by them, in the ſyſtem which they adopted. The nation was juſt emerged from an expenſive war, during which every ſpring of government had been overſtrained. Her ſucceſs had indeed been great beyond all example: her victorious fleets had commanded the whole ocean, and her armies had conquered at both extremities of the earth: her proſperity excited univerſal envy and admiration, but that proſperity was more ſplendid than real. Great Britain was loaded with an enormous debt; and in order to pay the intereſt of that debt, and ſupport the common expences of government, every luxury, and even every neceſſary of life had been taxed, till the minds of the people revolted at an attempt to increaſe the grievous catalogue †. The land-tax was a ſhilling in the pound higher, than in any former time of peace; and if we ever expected again to be able, either to maintain the expence of a new war, or a competition with other nations in foreign markets, it was neceſſary both to reduce the taxes and the public debt. For theſe purpoſes, new reſources were requiſite; but where to find ſuch reſources, was the queſtion.

On a political ſurvey of the Britiſh empire, taken in conſequence of this alarming criſis, a reſolution fatal to the tranquillity both of the colonies and the mother-country was embraced. It was reſolved to raiſe an internal tax upon the former, in order to relieve the neceſſities of the latter: nor were arguments wanting to enforce ſuch a meaſure. The Spaniſh war in 1739, it was obſerved, had been principally a colony war: its chief object, as we have had occaſion to notice, being to prevent the ſearch of the colony ſhips, which carried on a contraband trade with the Spaniſh main; and the late war, which had involved the nation in a new debt of ninety millions ſterling, was altogether a colony war. It was therefore but juſt, that the colonies ſhould bear ſome part of a burden, too great for the parent-ſtate, and which had been chiefly incurred upon their account.

* Such a policy was very natural for the colonies, and is in no reſpect blamable conſidered either in a moral or political light, though certainly inconſiſtent with the intereſt of the mother-country, and in ſome degree with their political relation to Great Britain. That they were actually influenced by ſuch a policy, will ſufficiently appear in the ſequel.

† The Cyder Act.

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Beſides it was urged upon general principles, That in order to render any province advantageous to the empire to which it belongs, it ought to afford in time of peace a revenue to the public, ſufficient not only for defraying the whole expence of its own peace eſtabliſhment, but alſo for diſcharging its proportion towards the general government of the empire; as every province neceſſarily contributes, more or leſs, to increaſe the expence of that general government. If any particular province, therefore, does not contribute its ſhare towards defraying this expence, an unequal burden muſt be thrown upon ſome other part of the empire. The extraordinary revenue too, which every province affords to the public in time of war, ought to bear the ſame proportion to the extraordinary revenue of the whole empire, which its ordinary revenue does in time of peace. But neither the ordinary nor extraordinary revenue, which Great Britain derived from her colonies, it was evident, bore any thing near this proportion to the whole revenue of the Britiſh empire; and although the excluſive commerce, it had been ſuppoſed, by increaſing the private wealth of the people of England, and thereby enabling them to pay greater taxes, might compenſate in ſome meaſure for the deficiency of the public revenue of the colonies, it did not afford ſufficient reſources for the preſent exigency.

As Great Britain had long laid it down for an eſtabliſhed maxim in her policy, to impoſe no duty at exportation, on any goods whoſe value has been increaſed by labour, it was impoſſible to tax the merchants and manufacturers, the men who are chiefly benefited by the excluſive trade, beyond the proportion of other orders in the ſtate. They could only be taxed in the luxuries and neceſſaries of life which they conſumed. Had government even reſolved to alter its ſyſtem, and oblige the colonies to purchaſe the manufactures of the mother-country loaded with taxes, ſuch a meaſure could not have anſwered: it would only have rouſed ſooner thoſe diſſentions which afterwards broke out, and have made the coloniſts purſue with more patriotic ardour that plan which they had adopted of manufacturing for themſelves. Of this the miniſtry were ſenſible; and therefore reſolved at once boldly to attempt an internal taxation, on the fundamental principle of all governments, that the different members which compoſe a ſtate ought to contribute towards all its expences, in proportion to their reſpective abilities *. But before

* The ability of the colonies to bear internal taxes, and the right of the mother-country to impoſe them, we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to conſider. In the meantime, it may not be improper to obſerve, that, at the ſame time that the ſcheme of internal taxation was formed, a reſolution ought alſo to have been taken, both in common equity and ſound policy, to remove all reſtraints from their internal trade and induſtry, in themſelves more grievous and tyrannical, more deſtructive of the natural rights of mankind, and the privileges of Engliſhmen, than any ſubſidiary impoſition. This relief would have reconciled the minds of the Americans to a tax impoſed for the general ſupport of government. When allowed the common privileges of Britiſh citizens, of turning their internal trade and induſtry to the beſt advantage, they would not have refuſed to bear a part in the common burdens of the empire; and when it had been ſeen proper to proportion their internal taxes to thoſe of the mother-country, all reſtraints, except ſuch as are common to Britiſh ſubjects of every denomination, ought to have been removed from their foreign commerce. The Engliſh merchants and manufacturers might indeed have complained of this freedom;

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before any ſteps could be taken for that purpoſe, while the mother-country and the colonies were mutually held in ſuſpence with reſpect to the diſpoſitions of each other, the attention of both was called aſide, in order to provide againſt a new danger.

Soon after the ratification of the peace of Paris, it was judged expedient to divide our acquiſitions in North America into three ſeparate and independent governments. The firſt and moſt northerly of theſe, ſomewhat more limited than that of French Canada, was called the government of Quebec; the other two, comprehending our more ſouthern acquiſitions, were diſtinguiſhed, as we have already had occaſion to obſerve, into the governments of Eaſt and Weſt Florida. The territory of Labrador and the adjacent iſlands, from the river Sanguenay to Hudſon's Straits, were very judiciouſly put under the direction of the governor of Newfoundland, as their value conſiſts almoſt wholly in the fiſhery eſtabliſhed on their coaſts; and the iſlands of St. John and Cape Breton were annexed, on account of their vicinity to the government of Nova Scotia. In this diſtribution, great care was taken to reſerve very extenſive hunting grounds for the Indians; and while the crown retained the right of making purchaſes from them, it prohibited all thoſe of a private nature, in order to quiet the minds of the ſavages in general, as well as to prevent thoſe acts of violence or injuſtice, ſo apt to give alarm, and which too frequently accompany ſuch purchaſes. Nor did the attention of government ſtop here. In order to encourage ſoldiers and ſeamen, who had ſerved in the American war, to ſettle in the new provinces, and at the ſame time to reward their ſervices, lots of land were proffered to the officers, correſponding to the rank which they had held in the army or navy; namely, five thouſand acres to a field officer, three thouſand to every captain, and two thouſand to every ſubaltern; to every non-commiſſioned officer, two hundred; and to every private ſeaman and ſoldier, fifty acres. This was a very ample and well judged encouragement; and that nothing might be wanting for the ſecurity of the new ſettlers, for the ſtability of the conqueſts we had made, or for awing and protecting the Indian nations, a regular military eſtabliſhment was formed for

freedom; but merchants and manufacturers ought not to be the legiſlators of nations, any more than the giddy and licentious mob, who are ſwayed by the impulſe of the moment: both judge by immediate appearances, without being able to diſcern diſtant conſequences; and of the two, the mob ought rather perhaps to be conſulted, as they have always national honour in view, and the trader only a confined idea of national profit. When the Americans had found themſelves free from reſtraint, always more grievous in idea than in reality, they would have perceived (when the mind only can perceive juſtly) in a ſtate of freedom, that their true intereſt was, and would be for many years, to clear and cultivate their lands, and purchaſe their manufactures; and they would have purchaſed them from Great Britain. When any trade has been long conducted in a certain line, when credits have been eſtabliſhed and connexions formed, it requires a great effort of government to give it a new direction. But, in the preſent inſtance, government would have been on the ſide of habitual intercourſe and extenſive credit, on the one hand, and of the ſame ancient intercourſe and a ready market, on the other. Every allurement would have been offered, by a wiſe miniſtry, to attach the trade of the colonies to the mother-country; and the commerce between England and America, confined by no excluſive ſtatute, would have continued to flow in its former channel.

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APPEND. the aſſiſtance of the civil power, in our ſettlements in North America and the Weſt Indies. That eſtabliſhment conſiſted of ten thouſand men, divided into twenty battalions, to be maintained for a time by Great Britain, and afterwards by the colonies, when a more ſettled ſeaſon ſhould come on; and little doubt was entertained, in the meanwhile, but this prudent diſtribution of our new territories, and the wiſe regulations eſtabliſhed in regard to them, would enable us to draw from our American empire thoſe advantages, on the proſpect of which we had begun the war, and to ſecure which was the chief object attended to in negociating the peace. But our hopes were particularly ſanguine, that ſince French intrigues could no longer ſeduce, or French force ſupport the Indians, that our ſettlements would thenceforth be ſecure againſt their barbarous inroads. Unhappily, however, we were diſappointed in this flattering expectation. Our danger aroſe from that very quarter on which we thought ourſelves perfectly ſafe. When we concluded that the Indians were entirely overawed, and almoſt ſubdued by our power, they ſuddenly fell upon the frontiers of our moſt valuable ſettlements, and upon all our diſtant forts, with ſuch concert in the deſign, and ſavage fury in the execution, as we had not experienced in any former war with the vindictive and unfeeling, but undiſcerning natives of the New World.

This matter will require ſome illuſtration. When the Indians ſaw the French power annihilated, as it were, in North America, they began to think that they ought to have made greater and earlier efforts in favour of that rival nation, which had always paid a more flattering attention to them than the Engliſh. This attention was rendered ſtill more negligent by our extraordinary ſucceſs during the late war: the uſual preſents were omitted; and ſettlements, contrary to the royal proclamation, were attempted beyond the limits of the ſeveral governments. Theſe were ſources of juſt diſſatisfaction; and the Indians were farther alarmed, when they conſidered the ſituation of the places of ſtrength, which we had acquired by conqueſt or by treaty in their country, without any other European power to controul us. We poſſeſſed a chain of forts upon the ſouth of Lake Erie, which ſecured all the communications with the Ohio and the Miſſiſippi; we were maſters of the Detroit, which ſecures the communication between Canada and Louiſiana; we had drawn a chain of forts around their beſt hunting grounds; and that circumſtance was a matter of the more ſerious concern with them, as ſuch grounds became every day more ſcarce, not only from the gradual extending of our ſettlements, but alſo from their own bad œconomy in this ſingle reſource of ſavage life. Beſides they knew, that of the grounds which were ſtill reſerved to them, ſome were highly deſirable for the purpoſes of an European ſettlement: they beheld in every little garriſon the germ of a future colony, and contemplated with horror, through the medium of barbarous imagination, the period when the wilds of America ſhould become a cultivated country, and its rude inhabitants a poliſhed people; when the copious harveſt ſhall wave, where the earth now groans beneath the venerable foreſt, and

no frontier be left for the ſavage hunter to eſcape from the toils of ſociety, and taſte the blood of his prey in the indolent ſecurity of nature.

In the midſt of theſe apprehenſions, natural to men unacquainted with the pleaſures of poliſhed life, the fruits of induſtry, or the benefit of civil regulations, a report is ſaid to have been ſpread among the Indians, that a ſcheme was formed for their entire extirpation. A deſign ſo ſhocking to humanity, there is every reaſon to believe, was never conceived, much leſs countenanced by any perſon of rank or authority in the Britiſh colonies; and the idea of it was probably ſuggeſted by ſome ambitious chiefs among the ſavages themſelves, in order to excite their countrymen to hoſtilities. Theſe hoſtilities were begun by the Indians on the Ohio. The general plan of the war was, to make a ſudden attack upon all our frontier ſettlements, during the time of harveſt; to deſtroy all the men they ſhould meet; to cut off all proviſions from thoſe who might eſcape in the common maſſacre; and thus, by a ſingle blow, to terminate both their grievances and apprehenſions.

A better plan could not have been concerted by the moſt enlightened ſtateſman; but the precipitancy of ſome of the Indian warriors defeated, as uſual, its execution in part, by giving too early an alarm to our people, who were by that means enabled to eſcape with their effects. Great numbers, however, were ſlain: the crops in many places were ruined, the houſes burnt down, and all the inhumanities of an Indian war carried to the greateſt exceſs.

In conſequence of this irruption all the frontier ſettlements of Penſylvania, Virginia, and Maryland were immediately deſerted, and thouſands of thriving plantations, the labour of years, at once abandoned. All the itenerant merchants, who on the faith of the general peace, traded in the Indian country, were murdered, and their effects plundered to the value, it is ſaid, of ſome hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. Every trading town in North America felt the ſhock. But what was of ſtill greater moment, both in a civil and military light, all the forts which the French had built, in very advantageous ſituations, to the ſouthward of Lake Erie, were taken; namely, Le Bœuf, Venango, and Preſqu' Iſle. Theſe forts, in themſelves very conſiderable, were rendered yet more important by commanding, in ſome meaſure, the heads of all the navigable rivers that run to the ſouthward, at the ſame time that they preſerved the communication between the places which we poſſeſs above the lakes, and our principal poſt of Fort Pitt.

In making themſelves maſters of thoſe forts, though by no means in a proper poſture of defence, the Indians were obliged to make uſe of ſtratagem. Whenever they attacked any of them, they perſuaded the garriſon that they had reduced all the others, at the ſame time that they exaggerated the number of ſavages that were approaching; and by a promiſe of ſafety, which they commonly violated, they perſuaded the Engliſh troops to abandon their quarters. By ſimilar artifices, they ſecured ſome other fortified places; particularly that of Michillimakinac, the remoteſt of all our poſts. But even after this tide of ſucceſs, there ſtill remained three fortreſſes of conſiderable ſtrength, and important by their

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ſituation, which it was neceſſary for the ſavages to reduce, before they could expect any permanent advantage; Detroit, between the Lakes Huron and Erie; Niagara, between the Lakes Erie and Ontario; and Fort Pitt, which checked them on the Ohio.

Senſible that but a few links of their chain were broken, whilſt theſe fortreſſes remained, the Indians directed againſt them the moſt vigorous efforts of their ſtrength and policy; and though the theatre of the war was of an immenſe extent, and the ſavages, conſiſting of various nations, widely disjoined from each other by large tracts of impracticable country, they preſerved an uncommon degree of concert in their operations. They at the ſame time inveſted Detroit and Fort Pitt, at the diſtance of near three hundred miles from each other. The latter, which was called Fort Du Queſne by the French, ſtands at the junction of the Ohio with the Monongahela. Though equally ſtrong and important by its ſituation, it was by no means in a proper ſtate of defence. The works, which had never been completed, had ſuffered greatly from an inundation of the Ohio. In this condition it was ſurrounded by the Indians, who ſeemed determined to reduce it, or to periſh in the attempt. Though unacquainted with the method of attack by trenches, or the uſual forms of regular approach; though deſtitute of cannon, and other engines neceſſary for a ſiege, theſe barbarians hoped to make themſelves maſters of the place by courage and perſeverance. In conſequence of this idea, and with a reſolution unexampled in Americans, they took poſt under the banks of the rivers, cloſe to the fort, and thence poured in an inceſſant ſtorm of muſquetry and burning arrows. Captain Ecuyer, who commanded the ſlender garriſon, though every way ill provided againſt a ſiege, omitted no precaution for the defence of the place. His men ſeconded his efforts. There was no trifling with danger, when death was the leaſt misfortune that could befal them.

General Amherſt, who was at that time commander in chief of the Britiſh forces in North America, had ſent off detachments, as early as poſſible, to ſtrengthen the diſtant garriſons. The party which was diſpatched to Detroit, arrived before the attack upon that place; and though the garriſon failed in an attempt upon the Indian camp in its neighbourhood, it was ſtill ſufficiently ſtrong to make the ſavages deſpair of being able to accompliſh their deſign againſt the fortreſs. Nor was Fort Pitt forgot by the general. He knew that it muſt neceſſarily be a principal object in an Indian war. Its ſituation beſpoke its danger; and as no expreſs had arrived from it for ſome time, that danger appeared to be preſſing. He therefore ſent to its relief, without farther delay, a large quantity of military ſtores and proviſions, protected by a powerful eſcort, under the command of colonel Bouquet.

When the colonel had advanced to the remoteſt verge of our ſettlements, he could learn nothing of the poſition or motions of the enemy. This was a very embarraſſing circumſtance in the conduct of an American campaign. The Indians, as is commonly the caſe, had better intelligence. No ſooner were they informed of the march of the Engliſh, than they broke up the ſiege of

of Fort Pitt, and took the route which they knew the convoy was to purſue, in hopes of cutting it off, before it could reach the garriſon. Happily they had to encounter an officer equally brave, diſcerning, and vigilant. During the alarming uncertainty in which he ſtill remained, colonel Bouquet very prudently reſolved to diſencumber himſelf of all the ammunition and proviſions, except what he judged to be abſolutely neceſſary. Thus lightened, the Engliſh troops entered a rough and mountainous country. Before them lay a dangerous defile, called Turtle Creek, ſeveral miles in length, and commanded the whole way by high and craggy hills. This defile the colonel propoſed to paſs in the night, in order to elude, if poſſible, the vigilance of the Indians.

While the Engliſh troops were making the neceſſary arrangements for this purpoſe, after an haraſſing march of ſeventeen miles, their advanced guard was ſuddenly attacked by the enemy. The ſavages were beat off, and even purſued to a conſiderable diſtance; but they continued to renew the charge, by the help of freſh parties, till darkneſs put an end to the conflict. The night, as may well be imagined, was ſpent in anxiety and terror, and next morning the ſtruggle was renewed. Thoſe who have only experienced the ſeverities and dangers of an European campaign, can ſcarcely form any idea of what is to be done and endured in an Indian war. To act among a civilized people, and in a cultivated country, where roads are made, magazines eſtabliſhed, and hoſpitals provided; where there are fortified towns to retreat to, in caſe of neceſſity, or at worſt a humane enemy to receive ſubmiſſions, may be conſidered as a generous competition, as the exerciſe of a bold and adventurous ſpirit, rather than a rigid conteſt between ſanguinary enemies, where mutual deſtruction is the object. But in a North American campaign every thing is dreadful; the face of the country, the climate, the enemy. There no refreſhment is to be found for the healthy, or relief for the ſick. A vaſt inhoſpitable deſert, full of ſavage enemies ſurrounds them: death lurks in every buſh; and yet, in caſe of a defeat, ſimple death is an eligible condition. This forms a ſervice truly critical, in which all the firmneſs of the mind, and all the addreſs of the body is put to the ſevereſt trial.

Such was the ſervice in which colonel Bouquet was engaged, and ſuch his ſituation when darkneſs drew her curtain over the heavens, and alſo when morning unbarred the gates of light, and revealed to him the mercileſs enemy ſurrounding his camp, and endeavouring to ſtrike terror into his troops by an oſtentatious diſplay of their numbers, and of their ferocity by the moſt horrid ſhouts and yells. Theſe awful ſalutations were followed by an inceſſant fire, under cover of which the ſavages attempted to penetrate into the Engliſh camp. They were repulſed in every attack, in ſpite of their moſt vigorous efforts. But theſe checks, though greatly to the honour of the Britiſh troops, did not diſcourage the Indians from new attempts; and colonel Bouquet and his party, continually victorious, were continually in danger of being cut off. Diſtreſſed to the laſt degree by a total want of water, more intolerable than even the enemy's fire; tied to their convoy, of which they could not loſe ſight for a moment, without expoſing not only that intereſting object, but alſo their ſick and wounded to fall a prey to the

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ſavages, who preſſed them on every ſide, their condition was become truly critical and embarraſſing. To move without abandoning their ſtores, was impracticable. Many of the horſes were loſt, and many of the drivers, ſtupified as well as diſtracted by their fears, had hid themſelves in the buſhes, and were incapable either of hearing or obeying orders. The troops, beſieged rather than engaged, attacked inceſſantly, and were victorious without deciſion; able neither to advance nor to retreat, ſaw before them the melancholy proſpect of crumbling away by degrees, and of periſhing without honour, or even the pleaſure of revenge, in the midſt of thoſe frightful deſarts. A fate no leſs calamitous than that of Braddock was every moment preſented to their eyes; but they were fortunately under the conduct of a more able officer.

Convinced that every thing depended upon bringing the ſavages to a cloſe engagement, and on their ſtanding their ground when attacked, colonel Bouquet endeavoured to increaſe their confidence as much as poſſible. That audacioufneſs which their ſucceſs had inſpired proved favourable to his deſign; and in order to carry it more effectually into execution, he contrived the following ſtratagem. The Britiſh troops were poſted on an eminence; and for greater ſecurity, had formed a circle round their convoy the preceding night. This order they ſtill retained; but directions were now given by the commander, in conſequence of the plan he had embraced, that two companies which had occupied the moſt advanced poſts, ſhould fall within the circle. The troops on the right and left at the ſame time opened their files, and immediately filled up the vacant ſpace, that they might ſeem to cover the retreat of their companions. Another company of light infantry, and one of grenadiers, were ordered to ſupport the two firſt companies, which moved on the feigned retreat, and were intended to begin the real attack. The diſpoſitions were well made, and the plan was executed without the leaſt confuſion.

The Indians gave entirely into the ſnare. The thin line of troops, which took poſſeſſion of the ground that the two companies of light infantry had left, being brought in nearer to the center of the circle, the ſavages, miſtaking theſe movements for a retreat, abandoned the woods which covered them from the fire of our people, and advancing with the moſt daring intrepidity, hurried headlong upon the brave, though fatigued detachment, as to a certain victory. But in the very moment when the enemy thought themſelves maſters of the camp, the two ambuſhed companies made a ſudden turn, and ſallying out from a ſecluded part of the hill, fell furiouſly upon their right flank. The Indians however, though diſappointed, and expoſed to a ſevere fire, preſerved their recollection; and encouraged by their numbers, and their knowledge of the country, reſolutely kept the field, plying their muſkets with great addreſs. Now was the ſuperiority of combined ſtrength and diſciplined valour conſpicuous over barbarous force and ſavage ferocity: on the ſecond charge, the Indians yielded to the irreſiſtible ſhock of the Britiſh troops; who purſuing upon them, killed many, and put the reſt to flight. At this inſtant, the other two companies, which had been ordered to ſupport the former, having placed themſelves full in the

the front of the ſavages, gave them their full fire. This completed their defeat. The four companies, now united, did not allow the enemy time to look behind them, but purſued them till they were totally diſperſed. A. D. 1763.

This victory, which reſcued the detachment from the moſt imminent danger, not only ſecured the field, but cleared the adjacent woods of the ſavages. Still however the march was ſo difficult, the troops had ſuffered ſo much, and ſo many horſes were loſt, that before colonel Bouquet attempted to proceed, he found it neceſſary to deſtroy almoſt the whole convoy of proviſions. Lightened anew by this ſacrifice, the party advanced about two miles farther, and encamped in a place called Buſhy Run. Here they expected to enjoy ſome repoſe, after the incredible fatigues they had undergone, and the ſevere chaſtiſement which they had given the enemy; but hardly had they fixed their tents, when the ſavages were in ambuſcade around them, and ſaluted them with an unexpected fire. Nothing could ſurely be more mortifying than this circumſtance. Happily, however, the Indians did not perſevere in their freſh attack. Being beat off with loſs, and yet ſmarting from their late wounds, they afterwards kept at a diſtance, and the Britiſh detachment arrived at Fort Pitt without farther moleſtation.

Though thus checked, by the timely reinforcements which were thrown into the Detroit and Fort Pitt, in ſpite of their moſt vigorous efforts, the Indians were not diſcouraged from further attempts. Niagara was an object no leſs worthy of their regard, and they endeavoured to gain poſſeſſion of it, by every exertion of their ſkill in attacking fortified places. They chiefly directed their attention towards the convoys, one of which they cut off. They hoped to ſtarve what they could not otherwiſe reduce: but even in this they failed; and as Sir William Johnſon was ſo ſucceſsful in his negociations with the Iroquois, or Six confederated Nations, as to induce them all, except the Senecas, to remain in a ſtate of neutrality, the other Indian tribes found themſelves under the neceſſity of ſuing for peace, one after another. It was granted them; but on terms highly advantageous to Great Britain. A. D. 1764.

The fortunate termination of this war, which not only reſtored tranquillity to our American empire, but ſeemed to eſtabliſh it on a more ſolid foundation than formerly, revived in the minds of the coloniſts the idea of independency: and certain impolitic meaſures at home conſpired to hurry into execution a ſyſtem, which might otherwiſe have remained for years in contemplation; and at length, perhaps, have proved no more than an amuſing theory.

A change had taken place in the Britiſh miniſtry. The earl of Bute, againſt whom the public odium had riſen to an incredible height, had reſigned; and the honourable George Grenville, who had long preſided at the Board of Trade, was placed at the head of the treaſury. He brought his contracted mercantile ideas along with him. By means of commercial regulations alone, and theſe chiefly directed againſt ſmuggling, he hoped to ſupply the exigencies of the ſtate. Agreeable to this idea, the ſovereignty of the Iſle of Man was purchaſed by the crown, and armed veſſels were ſtationed all around the coaſts of Britain; ſo that

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no ſhip could paſs either out from or into any port without a ſtrict examination. This policy, more detrimental to trade than emolumentary to the revenue, was extended even to America and the Weſt Indies, where it was productive of the moſt pernicious conſequences.

A lucrative trade, as we have frequently had occaſion to mention, had long been carried on between our iſlands in the Weſt Indies and the Spaniſh main. In order to enjoy the advantages of this trade, which was entirely in favour of England, and which Spain had taken every method to obſtruct, the inhabitants of Jamaica and Barbadoes had often run the greateſt hazards; and the Engliſh men of war in thoſe latitudes had frequently protected them from the Guarda Coſtas, at the riſk of a national quarrel. But now theſe men of war, having received a general order to prevent ſmuggling of every kind, or in the miniſterial phraſe, to "cruſh the monſter," made prize even of the Spaniſh veſſels, when they came within a certain latitude, with their gold, ſilver, cochineal, and other valuable commodities, which they meant to exchange for Britiſh manufactures; and, as if the Guarda Coſtas had no longer been ſufficient, a like ſeverity was uſed towards ſuch Engliſh ſhips as attempted to viſit the Spaniſh ſettlements. The diſtreſs occaſioned by this abſurd regulation, ſo contrary to the ſpirit of Britiſh policy, was ſoon felt over all our Weſt India iſlands. A total ſtagnation of trade was the conſequence, and gold and ſilver entirely diſappeared *.

Nor did our North American colonies feel leſs ſeverely the effects of the ſame regulation. They had early carried on a beneficial trade with the French iſlands in the Weſt Indies. Thither they conveyed wood for building, corn, cattle, and proviſions of all kinds; and brought back, in return, indigo, cotton, ſugar, and molaſſes. Part of theſe they conſumed themſelves, and part they ſent to the mother-country, in exchange for her various manufactures; and though there is reaſon to believe that they ſometimes received French manufactures immediately for their produce, the trade was attended with ſo many ſolid advantages to our northern colonies, eſpecially after France was deprived of Canada, that it ought never to have been obſtructed, though it ſhould perhaps have been put under certain reſtrictions, as contributing in too great a degree to the proſperity of a rival power, as well as to enhance the neceſſaries of life in our Weſt India iſlands, beyond what is conſiſtent with the general intereſt of the empire.

Theſe conſiderations were partly overlooked by the Britiſh miniſtry, on the one hand, and by the inhabitants of North America, on the other. The latter would admit of no reſtraint upon a trade, which they affirmed was not only eſſential to the clearing of their lands, and the proſperity of their fiſhery, but alſo to enable them to purchaſe the manufactures of the mother-country. The miniſter, like all wrongheaded men, was obſtinate in his purpoſe: in his rage to augment the revenue of the cuſtoms, he loſt ſight of every other circumſtance. The naval

* The precious metals have ever ſince been ſcarce in our Weſt India iſlands; for although an act was paſſed in 1766, declaring Jamaica and Dominica free ports, the Spaniſh trade has never been fully recovered.

officers

officers employed to execute the orders of government, partly from ignorance, partly from rapacity, were guilty of many acts of violence and injuſtice. Our North American colonies were neither in a diſpoſition tamely to ſuffer ſuch injuries, nor in a ſituation that made ſubmiſſion neceſſary. They were undiſputed maſters of an immenſe continent, without a ſingle enemy to moleſt them; their population was great, and increaſing with amazing rapidity; they were poſſeſſed of vaſt internal reſources, and needed only perhaps an entire freedom of trade to be the greateſt people upon earth. They were ambitious of poſſeſſing that freedom, and had already formed the ſcheme of their enfranchiſement. Their conduct was conſiſtent with their temper and condition: they immediately came to a reſolution to import no manufactures from Great Britain, except ſuch as it was impoſſible for them to do without.

This reſolution has been repreſented, by certain politicians, as the moſt moderate that could have been adopted in ſuch circumſtances: and ſo it appears at firſt view; but on a more cloſe examination, it will be found to involve almoſt every thing that the colonies have ſince claimed and the mother country denied. If they did not import their manufactures from Great Britain, they muſt either themſelves fabricate them, or receive them from ſome other European power: and in both theſe inſtances, as we have already ſeen, they were reſtrained by acts of the Britiſh legiſlature, whoſe validity they had never called in queſtion; they therefore claimed independency. Whether the miniſter perceived this or not may be queſtioned; but certain it is, that he perceived the inefficacy of his commercial regulations to anſwer the purpoſes of government. He did not, however, abandon his mercantile ſyſtem. An open trade was permitted between our American ſettlements, and thoſe of other nations; but the moſt important branches of it were loaded with ſuch duties as were thought equal to a prohibition. Thoſe duties were ordered to be paid into the Britiſh exchequer, and in ſpecie too, at the ſame time that a bill was paſſed for regulating the quantity of paper-money in the colonies.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the diſcontent which theſe two acts produced, both in the colonies and the mother-country. The miniſtry were now, it was ſaid, proceeding from violent acts of deſpotiſm, to thoſe of confirmed tyranny and deliberate oppreſſion. Could there be a more arbitrary or abſurd ordinance, than to require the Americans to pay in ſpecie, of which they were entirely deſtitute, and which they had now no means left of acquiring, taxes in themſelves too grievous to be borne?—In vain was it urged, that too great a quantity of circulating paper has a tendency to baniſh the precious metals, which always diſappears where they are not neceſſary; that they would return on its being circumſcribed, and that fair trade and uſeful induſtry, inſtead of being hurt by ſuch a regulation, would be promoted, and idle ſpeculation and romantic projects only diſcouraged; that the taxes complained of were no greater than what ſound policy requires, in order to give a preference to the commodities of the Engliſh Weſt India iſlands above thoſe of other nations; and that they would all be returned, together with an additional ſum in ſpecie, for the payment of the

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the Britiſh troops in America. Theſe troops were a new cauſe of terror, and the conqueſts which had occaſioned their eſtabliſhment, were execrated. The jealous republicans of New England, already beheld in idea their own money employed to pay a band of rapacious mercenaries, hired to keep them in ſlaviſh ſubjection to the mother-country. They were filled with indignation at the thought; and inſtead of attending to ſeveral acts paſſed for the encouragement of their trade *, which were at leaſt a balance for thoſe of a contrary tendency, they not only determined to abide by their former reſolution of non-importation, but to encourage to the utmoſt of their power all kinds of manufactures within themſelves, without paying any regard to the laws of Great Britain in that reſpect.

To this ſecond reſolution, which ſoon became general, the coloniſts were partly incited by a vote of the Houſe of Commons, paſſed at the ſame time with the act impoſing thoſe duties which gave ſo much offence; "that, towards further defraying the neceſſary expences of protecting the colonies, it may be proper to charge certain ſtamp-duties upon them." Nothing could be more imprudent than this vote; which ſeems to have been dictated by the ſame timid policy that, under the name of lenity, has been ſo diſgraceful to the arms, and prejudicial to the intereſts of Great Britain, in the preſent diſpute with her colonies. It was meant as a prelude to the famous STAMP ACT, and was carried with little or no oppoſition. Had the act itſelf been propoſed at the ſame time, it would have paſſed with equal eaſe, and the oppoſition in the colonies would, in all probability, have been very inconſiderable.

But that meaſure was poſtponed till next ſeſſion of parliament, in order that the colonies might have time, as was pretended, "to offer a compenſation for the revenue which a ſtamp-duty might yield; and the miniſter actually ſhewed his willingneſs, when the colony-agents waited upon him to offer their thanks for this mark of his conſideration, "to receive propoſals for any other tax that might be equivalent in its produce to the one under contemplation." There is reaſon however to believe, that the true purpoſe of the vote was to gather the ſenſe of the colonies with regard to an internal taxation: and that was as unfavourable as the boldeſt leader of faction, either in England or America, could have wiſhed it. Had the parliament firmly exerted that legiſlative authority over the colonies, which had never ſeriouſly been called in queſtion ſince the revolution, by giving to the purpoſed bill at once the force of a law, the coloniſts would not have felt in its actual operation thoſe evils ſuggeſted by an enthuſiaſtic fancy, diſcoloured by falſe report; nor would ambitious men have had leiſure to propagate, by working on the fears and the diſcontents of the people, thoſe infectious principles of natural liberty and original equality, ſo flattering to human nature, but inconſiſtent with all government, and which all popular leaders have thought it neceſſary to employ, till they were inveſted, like Waſhington, with

* Namely, "a Bill for granting Leave for a limited Time for carrying Rice from the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia to other Parts of America, on paying Britiſh Duties; a Bill for granting a Bounty upon the Importation of Hemp and Flax from her American Colonies into Great Britain; and a Bill for encouraging the Whale-fiſhery in the American Seas."

the ſupreme command, or like Cromwell, found themſelves ſufficiently powerful to tell their equals they were ſlaves.

In conſequence of this procraſtination, and thoſe licentious principles which it allowed to ſpring up, the coloniſts not only took the ſolemn reſolution, already mentioned, to manufacture for themſelves, without deigning to take any notice of the reſtrictive laws already in force, but ſent over petitions to be preſented to the king, lords and commons, poſitively, and directly calling in queſtion the authority and juriſdiction of the Britiſh parliament over them. The minority in both houſes caught the language, which was re-echoed by their adherents without doors; and when the bill for laying a ſtamp-duty on the colonies was read, a warm debate enſued, in which not only the expediency of that or any other internal tax was called in queſtion, but alſo the right of the Britiſh legiſlature to tax the colonies without their concurrence.

The queſtion of right we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to diſcuſs, when it came formally before the great council of the nation, and the propriety of the particular tax will naturally fall under our examination, in ſpeaking of the repeal of the ſtamp-act: it will therefore be ſufficient here to conſider a queſtion intimately connected with both, the ability of the colonies to bear internal taxes; from which the expediency of impoſing them, will in ſome meaſure appear. The common advantages which every empire derives from the provinces ſubject to its dominion, it was obſerved by the friends of adminiſtration, conſiſts in the military force which they furniſh for its defence, and in the revenue that they yield for the ſupport of its civil government. But the Engliſh colonies have never yet contributed any thing towards the defence of the mother-country, or towards the ſupport of its civil government: on the contrary, they themſelves have been hitherto defended almoſt entirely at the expence of the parent-ſtate. The expence of their own civil government has always been very moderate *: it has generally been confined to what was neceſſary for paying competent ſalaries to the governor, to the judges, and to ſome other officers of police, and for maintaining a few of the moſt uſeful public works. Their eccleſiaſtical government is conducted upon a plan equally frugal: tithes are unknown among them; and their clergy, by no means numerous, are maintained either by moderate ſtipends, or by the voluntary contributions of the people. The moſt important part of the expence of government, that of protection, has conſtantly indeed fallen upon the mother country: and if ſhe is to receive no compenſation for paſt favours, it is at leaſt but reaſonable, that the colonies ſhould henceforth raiſe ſuch a proportion of revenue, as will for the future free her from this burden; eſpecially as the coloniſts, who are ſubject neither to the tythe nor poor's rate,

* The expence of the civil eſtabliſhment of Maſſachuſets Bay, before the commencement of the preſent diſturbances, uſed to be but about eighteen thouſand pounds a year; that of New Hampſhire and Rhode iſland, three thouſand five hundred each; that of Connecticut four thouſand; that of New York and Penſylvania, four thouſand five hundred each; that of New Jerſey, one thouſand two hundred; that of Virginia and South Carolina, eight thouſand each:—in a word, all the different civil eſtabliſhments in North America, did not then much exceed ſeventy thouſand pounds ſterling annually.

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must be infinitely more able to bear revenue-taxes, than the inhabitants of Great Britain, who groan beneath those two grievous and oppreſſive loads.

It was anſwered by the gentlemen in oppoſition, That, however appearances might be in their favour, moſt of the provinces in North America were exceſſively poor; that they were upwards of four millions in debt to the merchants of Great Britain, who being creditors to ſuch an amount, were in reality the proprietors of a great part of what the Americans ſeemed to poſſeſs; that the ſuppreſſion of manufactures in that country, and obliging the coloniſts to take every ſort which they uſe from Great Britain, compriſes all kinds of taxes in one, and makes them in reality the ſupporters of a great part of our public burdens. But if actual taxes were even neceſſary, there was no poſſibility of paying them; the interior commerce of the colonies being entirely carried on by a paper currency, and the gold and ſilver which occaſionally come among them, all ſent to Great Britain: we could not draw from them what they had not; we had already got all their ſpecie: they had neither gold nor ſilver left; and without gold and ſilver taxes could not be paid.

The ſcarcity of gold and ſilver money in America, it was, or might have been replied *, is not the effect of the povery of that country, or of the inability of the people there to purchaſe thoſe metals. In a country where the wages of labour are conſiderably higher, and the price of proviſions much lower than in England, the greater part of the people muſt have the means of purchaſing a greater quantity, if it were either neceſſary or convenient for them ſo to do: the ſcarcity of thoſe metals muſt therefore be the effect of choice, not of neceſſity. It is convenient for the Americans, who could always employ with profit in the improvement of their lands a greater ſtock than they can get, to ſave as much as poſſible the expence of ſo coſtly an inſtrument of commerce as gold and ſilver, and rather to employ that part of their ſurplus produce which would be requiſite for purchaſing thoſe metals, in purchaſing the inſtruments of trade, the materials of cloathing, ſeveral articles of houſhold furniture, and the iron-work neceſſary for building, and for extending their ſettlements and plantations; in purchaſing not dead ſtock, but active and productive ſtock.

As it ſuits the conveniency of the planters to ſave the expence of employing gold and ſilver money in their domeſtic tranſactions, it alſo ſuits the conveniency of the colony governments to ſupply them with paper-money; a medium which, though attended with ſome very conſiderable diſadvantages, enables them to ſave that expence. The redundancy of paper-money has a farther tendency to baniſh the precious metals, which are never ſeen where they are not neceſſary: wherever a cheaper inſtrument of commerce can be found, in the colonies, as they diſappear. In thoſe branches of buſineſs, however, which cannot be tranſacted without gold and ſilver money, it appears that the Americans can always find the neceſſary quantity; and if they frequently do not find it, their failure is generally the effect, not of their neceſſary poverty, but of their bold and projecting ſpirit, of their

* The author has not confined himſelf merely to the arguments offered in either houſe of Parliament: he has alſo included thoſe employed by the beſt political writers on both ſides, as well as ſuch as occurred to himſelf.

unneceſſary

unneceſſary and extravagant paſſion for enterprize. It is not becauſe they are poor, that their payments are ſlow, irregular, and uncertain; but becauſe they are too eager to become exceſſively rich.

The ſame reaſoning is equally applicable to the revenue intended to be raiſed in America. Though all that part of the produce of the colony taxes, which ſhould exceed what was neceſſary for defraying the expence of their own civil and military eſtabliſhments, were to be remitted to Great Britain in gold and ſilver, the colonies have ſufficient means to purchaſe the requiſite quantity of thoſe metals. They would in this caſe be obliged, indeed, to exchange a part of their ſurplus produce, with which they now purchaſe active and productive ſtock, for dead ſtock. In tranſacting their domeſtic buſineſs, they would be obliged to employ a coſtly inſtead of a cheap inſtrument of commerce; and the expence of purchaſing this coſtly inſtrument might damp ſomewhat the vivacity and ardour of their immoderate ſpirit of enterpriſe in the improvement of land. It might not however be neceſſary, if it ſhould be found utterly inconvenient, to remit any part of the American revenue in gold and ſilver: it might be remitted in bills drawn upon, and accepted by particular merchants or companies in Great Britain, to whom a part of the ſurplus produce of America had been conſigned, and who would pay into the treaſury the American revenue in money, after having themſelves received the value of it in goods. Thus the whole buſineſs of the revenue might be tranſacted without exporting a ſingle ounce of gold or ſilver from America.

Recommended by theſe, or ſimilar reaſonings, the bill for impoſing a ſtamp-duty on the colonies, and intended as a prelude to a general internal taxation, made its way through both houſes of parliament; and, according to form, received the royal aſſent. Intelligence of this meaſure no ſooner reached America, where the news of the vote of the Houſe of Commons, relative to its propriety, had already excited univerſal alarm, than the deepeſt melancholy took poſſeſſion of every countenance; and that melancholy was, in ſome places, ſublimed into fury. This was particularly the caſe at Boſton in New England, where unfortunately the diſagreeable tidings firſt arrived. The example of paſſiveneſs, or even moderation in one province, might have had ſome effect to induce the reſt to ſubmit; but neither moderation nor ſubmiſſion were to be expected from the wild fanatics of Maſſachuſets Bay. Their diſſatisfaction diſcovered itſelf in a manner entirely ſuited to their character: in a mixture of affected ſorrow and inſolent contempt of ſovereign authority. The ſhips in the harbour hung out their colours half-maſt high, in token of the deepeſt mourning; the bells rang muffled, the act itſelf was printed, with a death's head to it, in the place where it is uſual to fix the king's arms, and cried publicly about the ſtreets, by the name of the "FOLLY of ENGLAND, and the RUIN of AMERICA." Eſſays ſoon followed, not only againſt the expediency, but the equity of the tax, in ſeveral news-papers, one of which wore, by way of head-piece, the following ſignificant emblem, truly expreſſive of the purpoſe of the leading men in the colonies; a ſnake cut in pieces, with the initial letters of the names of the ſeveral provinces,

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Nor was the diffatisfaction of the colonies, to give it no worſe name, confined to theſe ſymbolical and literary inſults on the authority of the mother-country. The Stamp-Act, printed in his majeſty's name, no ſooner reached America, than it was treated by the populace with all that contempt and indignation, which could be expreſſed by order of the civil power againſt a ſcandalous libel. It was publicly burnt in ſeveral places, along with the effigies of thoſe who were ſuppoſed to have had any hand in promoting it. The maſters of ſhips who had ſtamps on board, were obliged, in order to ſave their veſſels from fire, and their perſons from the gibbet, to ſurrender their execrated cargoes into the hands of the enraged multitude, to be treated in the ſame ignominious manner with the act itſelf, unleſs ſome man of war happened to be at hand to protect them. Even then the danger was not over. Thoſe gentlemen who went from England, as diſtributors of the ſtamps, fared ſtill worſe. Some of them were obliged, on pain of death, to take an oath, that they would never more be concerned in ſuch employment; others, for obſtinately perſiſting, as it was termed, to enſlave the colonies, had their houſes burnt to the ground, and their moſt valuable effects plundered or deſtroyed. Governors and chief juſtices, who had been named for this purpoſe, without their own ſolicitation or knowledge, were treated in the ſame manner: nay, ſhip-maſters bringing ſtamped mercantile or cuſtom-houſe papers, merely in their own defence, from ſuch of the colonies as had thought proper to ſubmit to the act, were forced to reſign them, to be ſtuck up in deriſion in taverns and coffee-houſes, and afterwards publicly committed to the flames.

Many of the better ſort of people gradually mingled with the populace in theſe tumults; and one of them was not afraid to ſet the authority of Great Britain openly at defiance, by advertiſing in the public papers, that the perſons whoſe buſineſs it was to enforce the execution of the Stamp Act, might ſave themſelves the trouble of calling upon him for that purpoſe, as he was determined to pay no taxes except ſuch as were levied by his repreſentatives. Even the provincial aſſemblies not only declined giving the governors any advice concerning their behaviour in this critical emergency, but refuſed to ſtrengthen the hands of the executive power ſo as to prevent future commotions; to condemn the rioters to any corporal puniſhment, or to decree any compenſation to the injured parties. Theſe aſſemblies, encouraged by aſſociations of the freeholders, went yet farther: inſtead of barely conniving at the tumultuous proceedings of the people, in aſſerting their independency by acts of violence and injuſtice, they proceeded to avow it themſelves in the moſt expreſs terms; and conſidering the great diverſity of governments, as well as of opinions both civil and religious, a wonderful harmony appeared in the ſentiments of the aſſemblies of the ſeveral provinces.

The merchants of thoſe colonies that ventured openly to oppoſe the Stamp Act, alſo entered into the moſt ſolemn engagements with each other, to order no

more goods from Great Britain, let the conſequences be what they would, nor even to diſpoſe of any Britiſh goods ſent them by commiſſion, unleſs ſhipped before the firſt of January 1766. In the meantime they imported from Ireland, and no doubt from foreign ſtates, ſuch goods as they could not do without. Nor did they omit any means to free themſelves even from this dependence. A Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, on the plan of the London ſociety, was inſtituted at New York, and markets opened for the ſale of home-made goods. By theſe it ſoon appeared, that the manufacturers whom the coloniſts had, for ſome time paſt, been inviting from Europe, by tempting encouragements, had not been idle; and that the ſcheme of independency*, in what regards internal induſtry, was far advanced, and muſt ſoon have ſhewn itſelf, at leaſt by a diminution in the demand for our manufactures, though no internal tax had been propoſed, and by a contempt of our reſtraints on their internal commerce. Linens, woollens, the coarſer but moſt uſeful kinds of iron-ware, malt ſpirits, paper-hangings, and a variety of other articles, were produced before the ſociety with great approbation; and when brought to market, they were bought up with equal greedineſs, though much inferior to thoſe of the mother-country. A reſolution was at the ſame time entered into by the northern colonies, to eat no lamb, that their new woollen manufactures might not fall ſhort of materials, by the deſtruction of the young of their flocks. In a word, a ſpirit of induſtry and frugality univerſally took place of that of idleneſs and profuſion. Even the women, whoſe weakneſs was moſt to be feared, were forward in ſetting an example to the men, by renouncing whatever Britain had formerly furniſhed them with, either for elegance or conveniency.

Such was the oppoſition made againſt the Stamp Act, and the ſteps taken in conſequence of it, by the eight moſt ancient Engliſh colonies in North America; namely, New England, New York, New Jerſey, Philadelphia, Maryland, Virginia, and the two Carolinas. The other colonies quietly ſubmitted to the authority of the Britiſh parliament, as did all the Weſt India iſlands, except thoſe of St. Chriſtopher and Nevis, where a riot enſued on the firſt arrival of the ſtamped paper.

While theſe tranſactions were going forward in the colonies, a change had been made in the Britiſh miniſtry. The marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of the treaſury, in the room of Mr. Grenville, who had found it neceſſary to reſign; and the duke of Grafton and general Conway were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate. The miniſter was an advocate for the legiſlative authority of Great Britain over her colonies, in all caſes whatſoever, but he diſapproved of the Stamp Act; though only perhaps becauſe it was the meaſure of his predeceſſor, and becauſe he hoped to render himſelf popular by getting it repealed. It muſt be owned, however, that he acted with no leſs prudence than moderation with reſpect to the proceedings in America. The firmneſs as well as temper,

* Though the author of this work has no doubt of the authenticity of *Montcalm's Letters*, in which the views of the coloniſts towards independent ſovereignty itſelf are fully eſtabliſhed, he has founded none of his reaſonings upon them, that he may not be ſaid to build upon a falſe, or even on a ſuſpicious authority.

APPEND. which appeared in his diſpatches to the different governors, do him honour: though inclined to lenity, and even averſe from the meaſure which had made rigour neceſſary, he did not ſacrifice the dignity of the nation by irreſolution or weakneſs. In conſequence of this mild conduct, a door was ſtill left open for reconciliation, when the matter ſhould come finally before the ſupreme legiſlature of the empire, as the coloniſts were not urged to commit ſuch acts as could not be forgiven.

January 1766. That important criſis, for which all parties were prepared, at length arrived. Never was any affair debated in a Britiſh parliament, in which the nation thought itſelf more deeply intereſted, or on which all Europe hung with more impatient anxiety, than the right of taxing the colonies, and the meaſures neceſſary to be purſued relative to their late proceedings. Numberleſs pamphlets were written on both ſides of the queſtion; and, in general, both parties were guilty of the ſame fault, though in the moſt oppoſite extremes. The advocates for the colonies, as on every ſucceeding occaſion, carried the idea of liberty to the higheſt pitch of enthuſiaſm *, while their antagoniſts ſeemed to think that a perſon forfeited every privilege of an Engliſhman by going to live in America. They both proved a great deal too much. The former, by conſidering the colonies rather as independent ſtates, in a ſort of equal alliance with the mother-country, than as provinces under her dominion, or plantations reared by her foſtering care, and immediately belonging to her, furniſhed the ſtrongeſt reaſons why they ſhould be made more ſenſible of

* "In general," ſays Dr. Price, "to be *free* is to be guided by one's own will; and to be guided by the will of another is the characteriſtic of *ſervitude*." Hence he concludes, "that no one community can have any power over the *property* or *legiſlation* of *another* community, which is not incorporated with it by *a juſt and adequate repreſentation*;" becauſe "a country that is ſubject to the legiſlature of another country, in which it has no voice, and over which it has no controul, cannot be ſaid to be *governed by its own will*, and therefore is in a *ſtate of ſlavery*." Such is the ſubſtance of Dr. Price's famous "OBSERVATIONS *on* CIVIL LIBERTY," which are deſtructive of all *civil authority*; of all ſubordination among men or eſtates. Who can doubt that every ſervant would wiſh to be a maſter, or at leaſt to have no controul upon his actions, except that of the magiſtrate, (for then only can he be ſaid to be guided by his own will, even in indifferent matters) and that every ſtate would wiſh to be independent and ſovereign?—But men are born with ſuch unequal powers and capacities, that, even in a ſtate of nature, ſome very early acquire an aſcendency over others; and men of inferior abilities very readily acknowledge the authority, and ſubmit to the controul of thoſe who are able to yield them protection, and to afford them, in a ſtate of ſubmiſſion, ſuch advantages as they were unable to have procured for themſelves, in a ſtate of perfect freedom. In like manner, certain ſtates, in different ages of the world, have voluntarily put themſelves under the government of other ſtates, that they might enjoy the benefit of protection, and other advantages connected with it; an authority over many has been acquired by conqueſt; and a controul over ſome has ariſen from, or been created by colonization. But however ſuch dominion may have been obtained, it has always been underſtood, that when any one ſtate had ſubmitted to the authority of another, by permitting the controul of its laws, and more eſpecially, when it had received protection from the ſovereign or imperial ſtate, that it had no right of breaking free from that ſovereignty or empire. Nor has a ſtate in ſuch a condition any right to repreſentation, even though it ſhould obtain in the ſovereign or parent-ſtate: it is bound to ſubmit itſelf to the wiſdom and equity of the ſtate whoſe laws it has acknowledged, or boldly to rebel againſt ſuch ſtate, and claim natural independency by the ſword.

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their dependence, by a timely check being given to that daring ſpirit of licentiouſneſs, which had inſolently ſet at defiance the imperial authority of Great Britain. On the other hand, the advocates for the ſupremacy of the legiſlature, by exaggerating the power, opulence, and population of the colonies, ſufficiently proved the neceſſity of treating them with tenderneſs; for if ſuch calculations were allowed to be well founded, it muſt be impoſſible to retain the colonies long in ſubjection by any other means.

The reaſonings within doors were nearly of the ſame complexion as thoſe without. The ſpeech from the throne pointed out the American affairs to parliament, as the principal object of its deliberations: the addreſſes of both houſes ſhewed that they conſidered them in the ſame important light; and the petitions received from the principal trading and manufacturing towns in the kingdom, complaining of the great decay of commerce, contributed ſtill farther to rouſe the attention, and call forth the faculties of the members, on this grand occaſion. They conſiſted of three parties: thoſe who were reſolved to ſupport the Stamp Act at all events, as a regular and neceſſary exertion of authority; thoſe who contended for its repeal, as inexpedient, among whom were the miniſtry, but who inſiſted that the legiſlature of Great Britain has an uncontrouled right to tax her colonies; and thoſe, among whom were lord Camden and Mr. Pitt, who abſolutely denied the right of taxation, and who, though a ſmaller body, ſtood high in the eſteem of the public. In the courſe of the debates, which were long and warm beyond example, the ſubject naturally divided itſelf into two queſtions, or objects of inquiry, on the reſult of which the whole depended; namely, "the right of taxation, and the expediency of the late tax."

The noblemen and gentlemen, who oppoſed the right of taxation, produced many learned arguments to prove, that taxation and repreſentation are inſeparable, according to the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, the fundamental maxim of which is, that "no man ſhall be taxed but by himſelf or his repreſentative;" that the charters of the colonies, (which are derived from prerogative, and are in fact only ſo many grants from the crown) are not the only rights the coloniſts have to be repreſented before they are taxed; that as Britiſh ſubjects, they take up their rights and liberties from an higher origin, from Magna Charta, the ſame origin whence they flow to all Engliſhmen; that the charters of the colonies, like all other crown grants, are to be interpreted for the benefit, not to the prejudice of the ſubject; that had the firſt coloniſts renounced all connection with the parent-ſtate, they might have renounced their original right, but as they migrated under the authority of the crown, and with the national ſanction they conſequently carried along with them all the privileges of Engliſhmen: that they were not, however, bound by the penal laws of this country, from the ſeverity of which they had fled, to climates more remote from the heavy hand of power; and that being once removed from the domeſtic legiſlation of the mother-country, they are no more dependent upon it in the general ſyſtem, than the inhabitants of many ſeparate principalities in Europe, during the feudal policy, were on the juriſdiction of their ſuperior, or

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lord paramount. But theſe arguments, it was obſerved at the ſame time, were not meant to affect any external duties laid upon the ports of the colonies, or any reſtrictions which, by the Act of Navigation, or other acts, are laid upon their trade; theſe it was allowed, the mother country, according to the practice of all European nations, had a right to impoſe, but not internal taxes, to be levied on the body of the people, before the people were repreſented.

Arguments of no leſs weight were employed by the advocates for the ſupremacy of the legiſlature. It was neceſſary, they obſerved, to clear away from a queſtion of conſtitutional law, ſuch as the preſent, all that maſs of diſſertation and learning diſplayed by ſpeculative men on the ſubject of government; that no concluſion relative to the colonies of Great Britain, could be drawn from reaſonings concerning thoſe of antiquity *, except what were in favour of the right of taxation; that the colonies of the Greeks and Tyrians were mere emigrations, in order to diſburden the parent ſtate of its ſuperfluous ſubjects, and who were allowed to periſh, or ſtruggle into exiſtence, as they were able, being underſtood to have no political connexion with her; that the colonies, or plantations of the Romans, eſtabliſhed in the conquered provinces, though partly of a military nature, had more reſemblance to ours †; but, like ours, though they had the power of enacting laws for their own government, were at all times ſubject to the correction, juriſdiction, and legiſlative authority of the mother-country; that, on the other hand, nothing could be more unlike our colonies, than principalities in a feudal dependency, or thoſe myriads that poured from the northern hive over the reſt of Europe. The firſt were not colonies, therefore no arguments could be deduced from them relative to the preſent queſtion; the latter, a ſet of plunderers, renounced all laws, all connection with or protection from their reſpective mother-countries: they choſe leaders, and marched out under their command, to ravage the Roman empire, and eſtabliſh new kingdoms on its ruins; whereas our coloniſts, actuated by very different motives, emigrated under the ſanction of the crown and parliament.

Here they met their antagoniſts on their own ground, and proceeded to obſerve, that the Britiſh colonies were gradually modelled into their preſent forms of government, reſpectively by charters, grants, and ſtatutes, but were never ſeparated from the mother-country, or ſo far emancipated as to become their own legiſlators; that they were originally (as we have had frequent occaſion to notice) under the authority of the privy-council, and had agents reſiding here reſponſible for their proceedings; and that the commonwealth parliament, as ſoon as it was ſettled, paſſed a reſolution or act, in order to declare and eſtabliſh the legiſlative authority of England over her colonies. But though there were no expreſs law, or reaſon founded on any neceſſary inference from ſuch law, yet the uſage alone would be ſufficient to ſupport that authority. Have not the colonies, ever

* Theſe reaſonings, on the other ſide, were omitted to avoid the languor of repetition.

† The Greek word ἀποικία ſignifies a ſeparation of dwelling, a departure from home, a going out of the houſe: whereas the Latin word *Colonia* imports ſimply a *plantation*, the original name given to our colonies.

ſince their firſt eſtabliſhment, ſubmitted to the juriſdiction of the mother-country?—In all queſtions of property, the colonies have appealed to the privy-council; and ſuch cauſes have been determined, not by the law of the colonies, but by the law of England. The colonies have alſo been frequently obliged to recur to the juriſdiction here, to ſettle the diſputes between their own governments. Connecticut and New Hampſhire have been in blood about their differences, and the inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland in arms againſt each other: hence is evident the neceſſity of one ſuperior and abſolute juriſdiction, to which all inferior juriſdictions may have recourſe. Nothing could be more fatal to the peace of the colonies, than for the parliament to relinquiſh its juriſdiction over them, and to leave them entirely to their own will; for in ſuch caſe, there would be an entire diſſolution of all government. Conſidering how the colonies are compoſed, it is eaſy to foreſee, that there would be no end of their feuds and factions, when once there ſhould be no controul over them, nor any ſuperior tribunal to decide their mutual differences; and government being diſſolved, nothing remains but that the ſeveral colonies muſt either change their conſtitutions, and take ſome new form, or fall under ſome foreign power.

It was further obſerved, that the conſtitutions of the colonies are various, having been produced, as all governments were originally, by accident and circumſtances; that the forms of government were adapted to the ſize of the ſeveral colonies, and have been extended from time to time, as the number of their inhabitants and their commercial connexions outgrew the firſt model; that, in ſome colonies there was only at firſt a governor aſſiſted by a council of five or ſix members; then more were added; next courts of juſtice were erected; and afterwards, aſſemblies were eſtabliſhed. Some things were done by inſtructions from the ſecretaries of ſtate; others by the order of the king and council, and not a few by commiſſion under the great ſeal. In conſequence of theſe ſucceſſive eſtabliſhments, and the dependence of the colony governments on the ſupreme legiſlature at home, the lenity of each government in America has been very great towards the ſubject; but if all theſe governments, which are now independent of each other, ſhould alſo become independent of the mother-country, the inhabitants would ſoon find, to their ſad experience, how little they were aware of the conſequences: they would, in that event, feel the hand of power much heavier upon them in their own governments, than they had yet felt, or even feared from the parent-ſtate.

As the conſtitutions of the ſeveral colonies are ſo variouſly conſtructed as to preclude the hope of their ever being moulded into one uniform government, ſo every thing proclaims the neceſſity of their ſubmitting without reſerve to the juriſdiction of the mother-country, or of being totally diſmembered from her. The provincial aſſemblies cannot be ſuppoſed to be proper judges of what is neceſſary for the defence and ſupport of the whole empire. The care of that defence and ſupport is not intruſted to them: it is not their buſineſs, and they have no regular means of information concerning it. The aſſembly of a province, like the veſtry of a pariſh, may judge very properly concerning the affairs of its

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own particular diſtrict, but can have no proper means of judging concerning thoſe of the whole political body: it cannot even judge properly concerning the proportion which its own province bears to the whole empire, or concerning the relative degree of its wealth and importance, compared with the other provinces; becauſe thoſe other provinces are not under the inſpection and ſuperintendency of the aſſembly of a particular province. What is neceſſary for the defence and ſupport of the whole empire, and in what proportion each part ought to contribute, it was therefore affirmed, can be judged of only by that aſſembly which inſpects and ſuperintends the affairs of the whole empire; that no one ever thought to the contrary, till the trumpet of ſedition was lately blown; that acts of parliament have been made, not only without a doubt of their legality, but with univerſal applauſe, the great object of which has been ultimately to confine the trade of the colonies, ſo as to make it centre in the boſom of that country whence they derive their origin; that the Navigation Acts ſhut up their commerce with foreign countries; that their ports have been made ſubject to cuſtoms and regulations, which circumſcribed their commerce, and that reſtrictions have been put, and duties impoſed affecting the inmoſt parts of their trade and induſtry; yet all theſe have been ſubmitted to peaceably, nor did any one ever object till now, or even inſinuate, that our colonies are not to be taxed, regulated, and bound by the reſolutions of the Britiſh parliament.

Formerly indeed, as at preſent, a few individual merchants were diſpleaſed at reſtrictions which did not permit them to make the greateſt advantage poſſible of their commerce, in their own private and peculiar branches. But though theſe merchants might think themſelves injured, in having their profits on certain articles circumſcribed, as being contrary to the general national ſyſtem, as prejudicial to the intereſt of the whole empire, yet in the iſſue the colonies were benefited by ſuch laws; becauſe theſe reſtrictive laws, founded on the general policy not only of Britain but of Europe, with reſpect to trade and plantations, flung a great weight of naval force into the hands of the parent ſtate, which was to protect the colonies, in themſelves unequal to their own defence, and enabled her to perform the office of a guardian with honour and dignity, with equal advantage to herſelf and to them. In proportion as the mother-country advanced in ſuperiority over the reſt of the maritime powers of Europe, the colonies, who had contributed to it, became relatively and ſubordinately great, according to the natural and juſt relation in which they reciprocally ſtand, that of dependence on one ſide and protection on the other.

The diſtinction between internal and external taxes, it was urged, is alike falſe and frivolous. It is granted, that reſtrictions upon trade, and duties upon the ports are legal, at the ſame time that the right of the parliament of Great Britain to lay internal taxes upon the colonies is denied. What real difference can there be in this diſtinction?—A tax laid on the commodity of a country in any place, is like a pebble falling into and making a circle in a lake, till one circle produces and gives motion to another, and the whole circumference is agitated from the centre; for nothing can be more clear, than that a tax of ten or

twenty per cent. laid upon tobacco in the ports of Virginia, or even in thoſe of Britain, as long as it is confined to the market of the mother-country, is a duty laid upon the inland plantations of Virginia an hundred miles from the ſea, or wherever the tobacco grows.

As to the argument of repreſentation, there can be no doubt but the inhabitants of the colonies are as much repreſented in parliament as the greateſt part of the people of this iſland, among ſeven millions of whom ſix have no votes in electing members of parliament: every objection therefore, on the part of the colonies, againſt the right of taxation, that may be ſuppoſed to ariſe on the ground of non-repreſentation, is equally applicable to the inhabitants of the mother-country. A member of parliament choſen for any particular borough, repreſents not only the conſtituents and inhabitants of that particular place; he repreſents the inhabitants of every borough in Great Britain: he repreſents all the commons in the Britiſh empire, the inhabitants of all its colonies and acquiſitions, and is in duty and conſcience bound to take care of their intereſts. A more equitable repreſentation however, (in which the colonies ought to be immediately included) it is allowed both might and may take place; but, in the meantime, the obligation between the colonies and the mother-country is natural and reciprocal, conſiſting of defence on the one ſide, and obedience on the other. Common ſenſe indicates, that they muſt be entirely under the authority of the parent-ſtate, otherwiſe not belong to it at all: for if any of the countries of an empire, neither acknowledge the ſupremacy of the legiſlature, nor contribute towards the ſupport of the whole empire, they cannot be conſidered as provinces; and therefore ought to be thrown aſide as incumbrances, whenever the empire can no longer ſupport the expence of ſuch ſplendid trappings.

That part of the queſtion relative to the conſtitution is no leſs ſimple and ſelf-evident. If a matter of right has been generally exerciſed, and as generally held to be law, as in the preſent inſtance, it becomes the conſtitution. The right of England to tax her colonies has not been queſtioned at leaſt ſince the Revolution; an event to which ſeveral of thoſe colonies owe their preſent charters, and conſequently their preſent conſtitution, and to which all our American colonies owe the liberty, ſecurity, and property, which they have ever ſince enjoyed. But not ſatisfied with theſe bleſſings, under the equitable controul of the parent-ſtate, they have dared to ſpurn her authority; and by their late audacious proceedings, particularly in appointing deputies from their ſeveral aſſemblies to confer together, have abſolutely forfeited their charters, unleſs Great Britain ſhall behold their offences with the indulgent eye of a mother.

Such were the principal arguments made uſe of in the celebrated debates relative to the legiſlative authority of Great Britain over her colonies; which, on the queſtion being put, was confirmed and aſcertained without a diviſion. In conſequence of this reſolution, a bill was brought in and paſſed, "for the better ſecuring the dependence of his majeſty's dominions in America on the crown of Great Britain." The bill itſelf declares, "That the colonies have been, are, and of right ought to be ſubordinate unto, and dependent upon the imperial crown

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crown and parliament of Great Britain; and that the king and parliament of Great Britain had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and ſtatutes of ſufficient force to bind the colonies and his majeſty's ſubjects in them, IN ALL CASES WHATSOEVER." It alſo further ſpecifies, "That whereas ſeveral of the houſes of repreſentatives in his majeſty's colonies in America have of late, againſt the law, claimed to themſelves, or to the general aſſemblies of the ſame, the ſole and excluſive right of impoſing duties and taxes on his majeſty's ſubjects in the ſaid colonies, and have paſſed certain votes, reſolutions, and orders, derogatory to the authority of parliament, and inconſiſtent with the dependency of the ſaid colonies upon the crown of Great Britain, all ſuch reſolutions, votes, orders, and proceedings are declared to be utterly null and void to all intents and purpoſes."

At the ſame time with this bill, ſurpriſing as ſuch a meaſure may appear, was brought in another for the total repeal of the Stamp Act. The miniſtry ſatisfied with having aſcertained and ſecured, upon paper, the legiſlative authority of Great Britain over her colonies, ſeemed reſolved to relinquiſh it in reality; or at leaſt they were determined to render themſelves popular, by annulling that obnoxious ſtatute. In this reſolution they were encouraged, and ſupported by the popular party among the minority; who, as appeared in the iſſue, wanted only to betray them, by leading them into ſuch a meaſure as would deprive them of the confidence of the court. In vain was it urged by the true friends of the king and conſtitution, that a conceſſion of this nature, on the part of the ſupreme legiſlature, while ſuch an outrageous reſiſtance continued in the colonies, carried with it ſo palpable an appearance of weakneſs and timidity in government, as muſt for the future leſſen the authority of Great Britain, and make it appear even contemptible. The honour and dignity of the nation was thought ſufficiently provided for by the bill declaring the dependency of the colonies. General reaſonings were no more ſucceſsful. In vain was it advanced, that the power of taxation is one of the moſt eſſential branches of all authority; that it cannot be equitably or impartially exerciſed, if it is not extended to all the members of the ſtate, in proportion to their reſpective abilities: but if a part is ſuffered to be exempt from a due ſhare in thoſe burdens, which the public exigencies require to be impoſed upon the whole, a partiality ſo directly repugnant to the truſt repoſed by the people in every legiſlature, muſt be abſolutely deſtructive of that confidence on which all government ought to be founded.

The great diſtance of our colonies, it was anſwered, and the difficulty of making ourſelves thoroughly acquainted with the minute circumſtances of every colony, render us liable to great miſtakes, and conſequently to the hazard of great oppreſſion, whenever we attempt to levy internal taxes in America; that our true policy is to acquieſce in the great commercial advantages we derive from our colonies, rather than to attempt to raiſe a revenue in them; which by diſabling the people to make returns to our merchants, will put them under the neceſſity of ſetting up manufactures of their own. That, it was replied, they had already done: therefore, unleſs we could engage them to ſhare with us in the common

common burdens of the empire, we would ſoon find, to our melancholy experience, that we had entailed upon ourſelves the waſteful expence of protecting them, without any adequate advantage; as our excluſive trade muſt daily decreaſe, in conſequence of the new order of things that had taken place in North America.

Theſe arguments had no weight with the miniſtry. The repeal of the obnoxious Stamp Act *, it was ſaid, would reſtore every thing to its former footing. The Stamp Act was accordingly repealed, to the great joy of the mercantile and manufacturing part of the kingdom; and a bill of indemnity was paſſed, in favour of thoſe who had oppoſed its operation.

CHAP. II.

The Progreſs of the Diſpute between Great Britain *and her Colonies continued, from the Repeal of the* Stamp Act, *in* 1766, *to the paſſing of the* Boston Port Bill 1774.

NO miniſtry perhaps ever conducted a popular meaſure with ſo little advantage, or even reputation to themſelves, as thoſe under the marquis of Rockingham the repeal of the Stamp Act. The people, ſtruck with the glaring inconſiſtency of a law for aſcertaining the right of impoſing internal taxes upon the colonies, and one for removing the only internal tax that had been impoſed, without any other being ſubſtituted in its ſtead, could not conceive both to be the work of the ſame men: they aſcribed the latter, and with ſome appearance of reaſon, to the bold and animated ſpeech of Mr. Pitt, in the Houſe of Commons, and one no leſs forcible by lord Camden, in the Houſe of Peers †. The court, though not entirely of the ſame opinion, conſidered the miniſtry as a ſet of weak men, labouring under the influence of popular clamour, or ſeduced by the thirſt of popular applauſe, and therefore un-

* The objections againſt the act itſelf were few and inconſiderable, conſiſting chiefly in the obſtruction it might be ſuppoſed to produce in buſineſs, and the occaſions it would afford of oppreſſion, through the ignorance of the Americans of the numerous caſes in which they were liable to penalties. The firſt of theſe objections is of ſome force, but is equally ſtrong againſt a ſtamp duty every where, and the obſtruction it pleads is amply compenſated by that order which it introduces into the tranſactions of men:—and this furniſhes an anſwer to the ſecond objection; for if the ignorance of the Americans of the various caſes in which they were liable to the penalties denounced in the Stamp-Act had at firſt ſubjected them to a few fines, the ſuperior regularity introduced into buſineſs would have prevented law-ſuits, ſo frequent in the colonies, as well as have rendered property more ſecure. In a word, a moderate ſtamp-duty is perhaps the leaſt felt of any general tax that can be deviſed; and that impoſed upon the colonies was by no means exorbitant. It was not the tax, but taxation that was the grievance.

† What contributed particularly to favour this opinion was, that theſe two celebrated ſpeeches were not ſo much levelled againſt the Stamp-Act, as againſt the right of the parliament to tax the colonies, which had juſt been eſtabliſhed by the Declaratory Bill.

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worthy of its confidence: it accordingly threw them aſide, in the hour of their diſappointment; and their places were filled by thoſe who had miſled them, and on whom the beams of public as well as royal favour ſhone. Lord Camden was raiſed to the head of the law, in the room of the earl of Northington; the duke of Grafton to the head of the treaſury, in the room of the marquis of Rockingham; and the new made earl of Chatham, ſuppoſed to be the oſtenſible miniſter, and political guardian to the duke of Grafton, was appointed lord privy-ſeal. At the ſame time, the earl of Shelburne was appointed ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of the duke of Richmond. General Conway retained his place, as the other ſecretary.

Both the old and new miniſtry were much diſappointed in the effect of their lenient meaſures upon the refractory coloniſts. That factious and turbulent ſpirit which had taken poſſeſſion of their minds, was by no means mollified by the repeal of the Stamp-Act. They had obtained a triumph, and were reſolved to enjoy it. Not content with private outrages, too often repeated, and marks of diſreſpect to government, no leſs frequently ſhewn in New England and the neighbouring provinces, the aſſembly of New York, in direct oppoſition to an act paſſed by the Rockingham adminiſtration for providing the troops with neceſſaries in their quarters, took the liberty of regulating the proviſions of the army according to a mode of their own, without any regard to that preſcribed by parliament. This affair, being brought before the Houſe of Commons next ſeſſion, occaſioned warm debates, and rigorous meaſures were by ſome propoſed. Happily, however, the general opinion was, rather to bring the coloniſts to temper, and a ſenſe of their duty by acts of moderation, which ſhould at the ſame time ſufficiently ſupport the dignity of the legiſlature, than by ſevere meaſures to inflame ſtill farther that ſpirit of diſcontent which was already too prevalent among them. According to theſe principles a bill was paſſed, by which the governor, council, and aſſembly of New York, were prohibited from paſſing or aſſenting to any act of aſſembly, for any purpoſe whatever, till they had complied with all the terms of the act of parliament.

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This reſtriction, though confined to one colony, was intended as a leſſon for the whole; and that they might no longer conſider the repeal of the Stamp-Act as a relinquiſhing of the legiſlative authority of Great Britain over them, a bill was alſo paſſed, during the ſame ſeſſion, for laying certain duties on tea, paper, painters colours, and glaſs, imported into the Britiſh colonies and plantations in America. Such a meaſure, though by no means inconſiſtent with the political principles either of the late or preſent miniſtry, as they had maintained the power of impoſing *port-duties*, at the ſame time that they denied the right of *internal taxation*, afforded nevertheleſs to the Grenville adminiſtration and their aſſociates, in its conſequences, great cauſe of recrimination. It demonſtrated to the world the views of the Americans, and the fallacy of ſome late pretenſions to patriotiſm. No better diſpoſed to pay theſe duties than the ſtamp-duties, which had been ſo induſtriouſly repreſented, both at home and abroad, as unjuſt and oppreſſive, the coloniſts took the moſt vigorous and effectual ſteps

for defeating the purpoſe of the new laws; though planned by men whom they had lately adored as their deliverers, and whom every tongue had applauded as the champions of liberty and the conſtitution. A. D. 1767.

Boſton, the capital of Maſſachuſets Bay, was in this, as well as the former inſtance, the place where the oppoſition to the authority of the Britiſh legiſlature firſt diſcovered itſelf. At a general meeting of the inhabitants, ſummoned on the occaſion, ſeveral reſolutions were entered into for the encouragement of manufactures, the promoting of induſtry and œconomy, and the leſſening and reſtraining the uſe of foreign ſuperfluities. Theſe reſolutions, every one of which was highly prejudicial to the commerce of the mother-country, contained a long liſt of enumerated articles, which it was determined either not to uſe at all, or in the ſmalleſt quantities poſſible. At the ſame time a ſubſcription was opened, and a committee appointed, for the encouragement of their own growing manufactures, and the eſtabliſhment of new ones. Among theſe, it was reſolved particularly to promote the making of paper and glaſs, as being liable to the payment of the new port-duties: it was alſo reſolved to reſtrain the expence of funerals; to reduce dreſs to a degree of primitive ſimplicity; and in general, not to purchaſe from the mother-country any commodity that could be procured in any of the colonies. October 27.

Theſe reſolutions were either adopted, or ſimilar ones entered into by all the old colonies on the continent; and a circular letter was ſent ſoon after, by the aſſembly of Maſſachuſets Bay, to all the other aſſemblies in North America. The purport of that letter was, to ſhew the pernicious tendency of the late act of parliament; to repreſent it as unconſtitutional; and to propoſe a common bond of union between the colonies, in order to prevent the effect of the ſtatute, as well as to promote harmony in their applications to government for a repeal of it. Nor were their natural rights as men, or their conſtitutional ones as Engliſhmen forgot; all of which, it was pretended, were infringed by the impoſition of the new port-duties. Feb. 11, A. D. 1768.

Unfortunately during this ill humour of the people of Maſſachuſets Bay, they were diſſatisfied with Mr. Bernard, their governor. He had been thwarted in every meaſure for ſome years paſt by the aſſembly; and both parties ſeemed more attentive to the gratification of private and perſonal animoſity, than zealous for the public good. Proud no doubt of an occaſion of triumph, the governor ordered to be read to the aſſembly, according to its intention, a letter from the earl of Shelburne, one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, containing very ſevere animadverſions on that body. The rage of the members inſtantly vented itſelf in the moſt indecent expreſſions, firſt againſt the miniſtry, and afterwards againſt the governor. The charges made in it muſt have been founded, it was ſaid, on miſrepreſentations of facts in his diſpatches to the ſecretary. A committee was accordingly appointed to wait on him, in order to deſire a copy of lord Shelburne's letter, as well as of thoſe which he had written himſelf relative to the aſſembly, and to which the charges in that muſt refer. Theſe copies being refuſed, the aſſembly wrote a letter to the ſecretary of ſtate, in which great pains were

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were taken to vindicate their own conduct at the expence of the governor, and to aſcribe to his miſrepreſentations the diſadvantageous opinion entertained of them in the cabinet. They alſo wrote letters to the lords of the treaſury, and moſt of the great officers of ſtate; in which, along with great profeſſions of loyalty, they not only remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt the operation of the late act of parliament, but inſinuated that the impoſition of the port-duties was contrary to the conſtitution, and totally ſubverſive of their rights and liberties.

Seeing no hope of being able to mollify the refractory ſpirit, ſo predominant in the aſſembly of his province, governor Bernard adjourned it. The ſpeech which he delivered on the occaſion contained many ſevere ſtrictures on the conduct of the members, particularly in regard to lord Shelburne's letter; and he complained greatly of ſome turbulent and ambitious men, who under falſe pretences of patriotiſm, had acquired too great an influence, as well in the aſſembly as among the people—who ſacrificed the welfare of their country to the gratification of their lawleſs paſſions, and to the ſupport of an importance which could have no exiſtence but in times of trouble and confuſion.

During theſe diſtractions in America, and in conſequence of them, a new office was created at home; a ſecretary of ſtate was appropriated to the department of the colonies only. Much was expected from this arrangement; and lord Hilſborough, who appeared firſt in that office, wrote a circular letter to the governors of all the provinces, to which had been directed the circular letter from the aſſembly at Boſton. In this letter, his majeſty's diſapprobation of that meaſure was expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt terms: it was declared, that he conſidered it as of the moſt dangerous and factious tendency; calculated to inflame the minds of the people; to promote an unwarrantable combination; to excite an open oppoſition to, and denial of the authority of parliament, and to ſubvert the true principles of the conſtitution; that his majeſty therefore expected from the known affection of the reſpective aſſemblies, that they would defeat this flagitious attempt to diſturb the public peace, and treat it with the contempt it deſerved, by conſigning it to neglect.

At the ſame time another letter to governor Bernard was written, in which the exceptions to the circular letter are repeated. It is there ſaid to have been a meaſure adopted in a thin houſe at the end of a ſeſſion; and in which the aſſembly departed from that prudence and reſpect for the conſtitution, which ſeemed to have influenced a majority of its members in a full houſe, at the beginning of the ſeſſion: whence his majeſty could not but conſider it as a very unfair proceeding, and to have been carried by ſurpriſe through the houſe of repreſentatives. A requiſition was therefore made, in his majeſty's name, That the new aſſembly would reſcind the reſolution which gave birth to the circular letter, and declare their diſapprobation of ſo raſh and haſty a proceeding. Never was a more deſirable opportunity afforded to any body of men for correcting the intemperance of popular zeal; and in order to mollify the temper, and diſpoſe the minds of the obſtinate bigots of Maſſachuſets Bay to compliance, it was added, That, as his majeſty had the fulleſt reliance on their affections, (a declaration which it is not impoſſible

impoſſible might be conſidered as a reproach) he had the better ground to hope, that the attempts made by a deſperate faction to diſturb the public tranquillity would be diſcountenanced, and the meaſure recommended embraced, without any difficulty.

Theſe parts of the letter were laid, by the governor, before the new aſſembly, with a meſſage in which he earneſtly requeſted their obedience to the royal pleaſure; but obſerved at the ſame time, that in caſe of a contrary conduct, he had received his majeſty's inſtructions how to act, and muſt do his duty. This produced a meſſage, in return from the aſſembly, deſiring a copy of the inſtructions to which he alluded, as well as of ſome letters and papers which he had laid before the council. A copy of the remainder of lord Hilſborough's letter, in which the inſtructions were contained, was accordingly ſent to the aſſembly. By theſe the governor was directed, in caſe of their refuſal to comply with his majeſty's reaſonable expectation, to diſſolve them immediately, and tranſmit a copy of their proceedings on that occaſion, to be laid before the parliament.

No anſwer having been given to the royal requeſt, after the aſſembly had been in poſſeſſion of all theſe papers for above a week, the governor ſent a meſſage to urge them to it. In anſwer, they applied for a receſs, that they might have an opportunity to conſult their conſtituents on the occaſion. This being denied them, the queſtion was put for reſcinding the reſolution of the laſt houſe; and paſſed in the negative, by a majority of ſeventy-five out of an hundred and nine members. A letter was next reſolved on to lord Hilſborough, and an anſwer to the meſſages from the governor. In both theſe pieces great pains are taken to juſtify the conduct of the laſt aſſembly, as well as of the preſent, and the charges of ſurpriſe and of a thin houſe, (which were probably ſuggeſted to them as apologies for their undutiful conduct) are abſolutely denied. They attempted to juſtify the circular letter, on the inherent right of the ſubjects to petition the king, either jointly or ſeverally for the redreſs of grievances; and in the letter to the ſecretary of ſtate, they made various comments, with great freedom, on the nature of the royal requiſition, alledging that it was unconſtitutional, and without a precedent, to command a free aſſembly on pain of its exiſtence, to reſcind any reſolution, much leſs that of a former houſe. They complained greatly of the baſe and wicked miſrepreſentations that muſt have been made to his majeſty, to induce him to conſider a meaſure perfectly legal and conſtitutional, and which only tended to lay the grievances of his ſubjects before the throne, as of an "inflammatory nature, tending to create unwarrantable combinations, and to excite an oppoſition to the authority of parliament," the terms in which it is deſcribed in lord Hilſborough letter; and they concluded with profeſſions of the greateſt loyalty, and the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances againſt the late port-duties. They were alſo preparing a petition to the king for the removal of their governor, againſt whom they laid a number of charges; but before the laſt hand could be put to it, the aſſembly was diſſolved.

The circular letters which the American ſecretary had written to the other colonies, were attended with as little efficacy as that which had been ſent to Boſton.

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The different aſſemblies wrote anſwers to that of Maſſachuſets Bay, expreſſing the higheſt approbation of their conduct, and a firm reſolution to coincide in their meaſures. Some of them alſo returned addreſſes to the ſecretary of ſtate, in which they not only juſtified the ſteps taken by the aſſembly at Boſton, but animadverted with great freedom on ſeveral paſſages, as well as on the requiſitions contained in his letter. At the ſame time moſt of them entered into reſolutions, not to import or purchaſe any Engliſh goods, except what were already ordered for the enſuing fall, and ſuch articles of neceſſity as they could not do without, until the late laws ſhould be repealed.

Before the diſſolution of the aſſembly a great tumult had happened at Boſton, in conſequence of a ſeizure made by the board of cuſtoms, of a ſloop belonging to one of the principal merchants of that town. This ſloop, it appears, was diſcharged of a cargo of wine, and in part reloaded with a quantity of oil, under pretence of converting her into a ſtore, but without any proper attention being paid to the cuſtom-houſe regulations. On the ſeizure, the revenue officers made a ſignal to the Romney man of war; and her boats being manned and armed, conveyed the ſloop under the protection of that ſhip. The populace, who had aſſembled in crowds on the occaſion, being unable to recover the veſſel, vented their rage on the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms; pelted them with ſtones broke one of their ſwords, and treated them in every reſpect with the greateſt outrage and indignity. Not ſatisfied with inſulting and abuſing their perſons, they attacked their houſes; broke their windows, deſtroyed their furniture, and hauled the collector's barge to the common, where it was burnt to aſhes.

As ſoon as this tumult began to ſubſide, the officers of the cuſtoms judged it neceſſary for the ſecurity of their lives, in caſe of any new ferment, to retire on board the man of war; whence they removed to Caſtle William, a fortification, as we have already had occaſion to notice, on a ſmall iſland at the mouth of the harbour. There they reſumed the functions of their office. Meantime frequent town-meetings were held, and a remonſtrance was preſented to the governor, in which the rights that they claimed were aſſerted in direct oppoſition to the Britiſh legiſlature. An extraordinary requiſition was alſo made; namely, that the governor would "iſſue an order for the departure of his majeſty's ſhip, the Romney, out of the harbour." In a word, the temper and conduct of the people became every day more licentious, till it exceeded all the lines of duty and allegiance, even as traced on the extenſive ſcale of liberty. Nor is the cauſe of ſuch licentiouſneſs inexplicable.

That republican ſpirit, ſo often mentioned, to which the colony of Maſſachuſets Bay owed its foundation, and thoſe fanatical and levelling principles in which the greater part of the inhabitants had been nurſed, being now awakened by meaſures which the body of the people regarded as totally ſubverſive of their rights, and irritated by the arts of factious and deſigning men, who had much influence among them, they were alike incapable of preſcribing due limits to their paſſions, and of preſerving a proper decency in the manner in which they expreſſed them. Their public writers as well as ſpeakers were highly extravagant in their epithets;

and a certain ſtile and mode of compoſition was introduced, which ſeems peculiar to themſelves, and which has never been equalled in abſurdity ſince the days of Oliver Cromwell, when ſerious and comic ſubjects were confounded, and reaſon at war with ſenſe. In ſome of theſe publications, while they appeared to forget, on one hand, their dependence as colonies, and to aſſume the tone of diſtinct and original ſtates, they eagerly claimed, on the other, all the benefits of the Britiſh conſtitution, and the native rights of Engliſhmen, without reflecting that it was their dependence upon England alone, which could entitle them to any ſhare of thoſe rights and benefits. A ludicrous phraſeology became faſhionable in all matters relative to government, or even to the ſupreme legiſlature; an attempt was made to degrade, by ſome light expreſſion, every thing reſpectable in the juriſdiction of the mother-country; but in what concerned themſelves, when their provincial *aſſembles* came to be mentioned, the language was changed: they were no longer known by that humble name; they were on every occaſion honoured with the title of PARLIAMENTS.

A report that their petition to the king had not been delivered by the ſecretary of ſtate, contributed greatly to augment the ferment among the people of Maſſachuſets Bay. It was ſaid that the petition had been rejected at London, under pretence that the colony agent was not properly authoriſed to deliver it, as he had been appointed by the aſſembly without the conſent of the governor. The diſſolution of the general aſſembly increaſed the diſorder, which was ſtill farther heightened by the ſeizure of the ſloop, and a circumſtance connected with it: it was the property of one of the repreſentatives for the town of Boſton!

While things were in this unhappy ſituation, two regiments were ordered from Ireland to ſupport the civil government in Maſſachuſets Bay; and ſeveral detachments, from different parts of North America, rendezvouſed at Hallifax for the ſame purpoſe. No account of a deſcent or inroad, meditated by the moſt dangerous and cruel enemy, could excite a greater alarm, than this intelligence did at Boſton. It was treated in ſuitable language, and ſimilar ſteps were taken in regard to it. On the firſt rumour of ſuch a meaſure, a meeting of the inhabitants was ſummoned at Fanueil Hall, where they choſe one of their late popular repreſentatives as moderator. A committee was then appointed to wait on the governor, in order to know what grounds he had for certain intimations, which he had lately given, that ſome regiments of his majeſty's forces were expected in that town; and at the ſame time to preſent a petition, deſiring that he would iſſue precepts to convene a general aſſembly with the greateſt ſpeed. To both an immediate anſwer was required, nor was the anſwer delayed. The governor replied, that his information concerning the arrival of the troops was of a private nature, and that he could do nothing relative to the calling of an aſſembly, until he received further inſtruction from his majeſty, under whoſe conſideration the matter then was.

A committee which had been appointed to conſider of the preſent ſtate of the affairs of Maſſachuſets Bay, gave in a long declaration and recital of their rights, and the ſuppoſed infractions of them, which had been lately attempted. They

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paſſed at the ſame time ſeveral haſty reſolutions; particularly in regard to the legality of raiſing or keeping a ſtanding army among them without their own conſent. The arguments againſt ſuch a meaſure, they founded on the well known act of king William III. which declares it contrary to law, "to keep an army in the *kingdom*, in time of peace, without the conſent of *parliament*." This report, and the reſolutions accompanying it, were unanimouſly agreed to by the aſſembly, and a general reſolution was paſſed, alſo founded on a clauſe in the ſame act of king William, which recommends the frequent holding of *parliaments*, in conſequence of which a Convention was ſummoned to meet at Boſton. Agreeable to this reſolution James Otis, Thomas Cuſhing, Samuel Adams, and John Hancock, the four members who had repreſented the town in the late aſſembly, were now appointed as a committee to act for it in the convention; and the ſelect-men were ordered to write to all the other towns in the province, requeſting them to appoint committees for the ſame purpoſe. But the moſt extraordinary act of this town-meeting was a requiſition to the inhabitants, That whereas there was a prevailing apprehenſion in the minds of many of an approaching war with France, they would provide themſelves with arms, ammunition, and the neceſſary accoutrements, ſo as to be properly prepared againſt ſudden danger. A day of public prayer and faſting was then appointed, under the ſanction of the ſame atrocious falſehood, and the meeting was diſſolved.

The circular letter which the ſelect-men ſent to the other towns in the province, was written in the ſame ſpirit as the acts and reſolutions which it incloſed, and on which it was founded. In this time of general frenzy, however, when ninety-ſix towns appointed commiſſioners to attend the convention, the town of Hatfield refuſed to concur in the meaſure; and the ſpirited and judicious anſwer which the inhabitants returned to the ſelect-men at Boſton, will be a laſting monument of the prudence and good ſenſe that influenced their conduct. "We are not ſenſible," obſerve they, "that the ſtate of America is ſo alarming, or the ſtate of this province ſo materially different from what it was a few months ſince, as to render the meaſure which you propoſe either ſalutary or neceſſary. The act of parliament for raiſing a revenue, ſo much complained of, has been in being and carrying into execution for a conſiderable time paſt, and proper ſteps have been taken by ſeveral governments on this continent to obtain redreſs of that grievance. Humble petitions by them ordered to be preſented to his majeſty, we truſt have already, or will ſoon reach the royal ear—be graciouſly received, and favourably anſwered; and we apprehend, that nothing that can or will be done by your propoſed convention, either can or will aid the petition from the houſe of repreſentatives of this province. We further propoſe to your conſideration, whether the circular letter which gave ſuch umbrage, containing theſe expreſſions, or others of the like import, that "the king and parliament, by the late revenue act, had infringed the rights of the colonies, impoſed an inequitable tax, and that things yet worſe might be expected from the independence and unlimited appointments of crown-officers therein mentioned," was ſo perfectly innocent, and entirely conſiſtent with that duty and loyalty profeſſed by the houſe of repre-

repreſentatives laſt year, in their petition to his majeſty; and whether the laſt houſe might not have complied with his majeſty's requiſition, with a full ſaving of all their rights and privileges, and thereby have prevented our being deſtitute of a general court at this day.

"We cannot comprehend," added they, "what pretence there can be for the purpoſed convention, unleſs the probability of a conſiderable number of regular troops being ſent into this province, and an apprehenſion of their being quartered partly in your town, partly at the caſtle:" that it was a matter of doubt and uncertainty, whether any were coming or not, or for what purpoſe the king was ſending them; "whether for your defence," obſerve they ingeniouſly, "in caſe of a French war, as you tell us there is in the minds of many a prevailing apprehenſion of one approaching (and which, if we do not miſunderſtand your letter, induced you to paſs the votes tranſmitted to us) or whether they are deſtined for the defence of the new acquired territories, is altogether uncertain: that they are to be a ſtanding army in time of peace, you give us no evidence; and if your apprehenſions in regard to a French war are well grounded, it is not even ſuppoſable that they are intended as ſuch. If your town meant ſincerely, we cannot therefore ſee the need of interpoſing in military matters, in an unprecedented way, by requeſting the inhabitants to be provided with arms, (a matter till now ſuppoſed to belong to another department) eſpecially as they muſt know, that ſuch a number of troops would be a much better defence, in caſe of war, than you had heretofore been favoured with. To ſuppoſe what you ſurmiſe they may be intended for, is to miſtruſt the king's paternal care and goodneſs; but if by any ſudden tumults or inſurrections of ſome inconſiderate people, the king has been induced to think them a neceſſary check upon you, we hope you will, by your loyalty and quiet behaviour, ſoon convince his majeſty and the world, they are no longer neceſſary for that purpoſe, and that thereupon they will be withdrawn. Suffer us then to conclude, that, in our opinion, the meaſures which the town of Boſton is purſuing, and propoſing to us and the people of this province to unite in, are unconſtitutional, illegal, and wholly unjuſtifiable."

That declaration had no effect upon the Convention, the firſt proceeding of which was a meſſage to the governor, diſclaiming all pretence to any authoritative or government acts; and declaring, that they were choſen by the ſeveral towns, and came freely and voluntarily, at the earneſt deſire of the people, to conſult and adviſe ſuch meaſures as might promote peace and good order, in the preſent alarming ſituation. They next repeated their manifold grievances; complained that they were groſsly miſrepreſented in Great Britain; and preſſed the governor in the moſt urgent terms to call a general aſſembly, as the only means to guard againſt thoſe alarming dangers that threatened the total deſtruction of the colony. The governor, on the other hand, admoniſhed them, as a friend to the province, and a well wiſher to the individuals of it, to break up their aſſembly inſtantly, and ſeparate without doing any buſineſs. He was willing to believe, he ſaid, that the gentlemen who iſſued the ſummons for this meeting, were not aware of the nature of the high offence they were committing; and that thoſe who had obeyed them, had not conſidered the penalties that would be incurred, if

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they continued longer to ſit. "At preſent," added he, "ignorance of the law may excuſe what is paſt, but a ſtep farther will take away that plea. A meeting of the deputies of the towns, is an aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the people to all intents and purpoſes, and calling it a *Committee of Convention* will not alter the nature of the thing." He concluded with declaring, That if they did not regard this admonition, he muſt, as governor, aſſert the prerogative of the crown in a more public manner; that they might aſſure themſelves, for he ſpoke from inſtruction, the king was determined to maintain his entire ſovereignty over that province, and whoſoever ſhould perſiſt in uſurping any of the rights of it, would repent of his raſhneſs.

This anſwer produced another meſſage, wherein the Convention juſtified their meeting, as being only an aſſemblage of private perſons, and deſired an explanation relative to the criminality with which their proceedings were charged. The governor refuſed to receive that or any other meſſage from them, as it would be admitting them to be a legal aſſembly, which he could by no means allow. The Convention now appointed a committee, who drew up a report in terms of great moderation, which was approved of by the whole body. In this they aſſign the cauſes of their meeting, diſclaim all pretence to any authority whatſoever, and adviſe and recommend to the people to pay the greateſt deference to government, and to wait with patience for the reſult of his majeſty's wiſdom and clemency for a redreſs of their grievances: at the ſame time they declare for themſelves, That they will, in their ſeveral ſtations, yield every poſſible aſſiſtance to the civil magiſtrate, for the preſervation of peace and order, and the ſuppreſſion of riots and tumults. Having afterwards prepared a repreſentation of their conduct, and a detail of many of the late tranſactions to be tranſmitted to their agent in London, the Convention broke up.

Sept. 29.

The ſame day that this irregular aſſembly was diſſolved, and what perhaps was the cauſe of its moderation and ſhort continuance, the fleet from Halifax arrived in the harbour; conſiſting of ſeveral frigates and ſloops of war, and a conſiderable number of tranſports, with two regiments of ſoldiers, and a party of artillery on board. Some difficulties at firſt aroſe about quartering theſe troops, the council refuſing to admit them into the town, as the barracks of Caſtle William were ſufficient to receive them. That difficulty was however got over, by accepting quarters that were only to be conſidered as barracks; on which footing, the council agreed to allow them barrack proviſions. General Gage arrived at Boſton ſoon after, as did the two regiments from Ireland. A tolerable degree of harmony ſubſiſted for a time between the inhabitants and the troops; and an appearance of tranquility was reſtored, by this ſymptom of vigour in the Britiſh government, not only to the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, but to all his majeſty's dominions in North America.

That tranquility, however, was of ſhort duration. Meanwhile ſeveral changes took place in the Britiſh miniſtry, and various meaſures were propoſed with reſpect to the colonies. Lord North was appointed chancellor of the Exchequer, in conſequence of the death of the honourable Charles Townſhend;

and the earl of Chatham, finding that the firſt lord of the Treaſury, though reputed his political pupil, was no longer willing to be implicitly guided by him, reſigned his place of lord keeper of the privy-ſeal. The earl of Shelburne alſo reſigned his office of ſecretary of ſtate, and was ſucceeded by lord Weymouth, from the northern department. Soon after theſe, and other changes, the American affairs came formally before the parliament; and as an attention to the ſubject had been particularly recommended from the throne, it was conſidered to be the principal buſineſs of the ſeſſion. CHAP. II. A. D. 1763.

Reſolutions and an addreſs to his majeſty on the ſubject of theſe affairs, were accordingly paſſed by both houſes. In thoſe reſolutions, the late acts of the houſe of repreſentatives of the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, which tended to call in queſtion, or import a denial of the authority of the ſupreme legiſlature to make laws to bind the colonies in all caſes whatſoever, were declared to be illegal, unconſtitutional, and derogatory to the rights of the crown and parliament of Great Britain. The circular letters written by the ſame aſſembly to thoſe of the other provinces, requiring them to join in petitions, and ſtating the late laws to be infringements of the rights of the people in the colonies, were alſo declared to be proceedings of a moſt unwarrantable and dangerous nature, calculated to inflame the minds of the inhabitants, and tending to create undue combinations, contrary to the laws, and ſubverſive of the conſtitution of Great Britain. Feb. 8.

The town of Boſton was declared to have been for ſome time paſt in a ſtate of great diſorder and confuſion, diſturbed by riots and tumults of a dangerous nature, during which the officers of the revenue had been obſtructed by violence in the execution of the laws, and their lives endangered; that neither the council of the province, nor the ordinary civil magiſtrates, had exerted their authority for the ſuppreſſing of ſuch tumults and riots; that, in theſe circumſtances of the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, and of the town of Boſton, the preſervation of the public peace, and the due execution of the laws, became impracticable, without the aid of a military force to ſupport and protect the civil magiſtrate, and the officers of his majeſty's revenue; that the declarations, reſolutions, and proceedings in the town-meetings at Boſton were illegal and unconſtitutional, and calculated to excite ſedition and inſurrection; that the appointment of a Convention, to conſiſt of the deputies from the ſeveral towns and diſtricts in the province, and the writing of a letter by the ſelect men to each of the ſaid towns and diſtricts, for the election of ſuch deputies, were proceedings ſubverſive of government, and evidently manifeſting a deſign on the inhabitants of Boſton, to ſet up a new and unconſtitutional authority independent of the crown. The elections by the ſeveral towns and diſtricts of deputies to ſit in the Convention, and its meeting, were alſo declared to be daring inſults offered to his majeſty's authority, and audacious uſurpations of the powers of government.

In the addreſs, the greateſt ſatisfaction was expreſſed at the meaſures which had been purſued to ſupport the conſtitution, and to induce in the colony of Maſſachuſets Bay a due obedience to the authority of the mother-country. The moſt inviolable reſolution was declared, to concur effectually in ſuch further meaſures

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as might be judged neceſſary to maintain the civil magiſtrate in a proper execution of the laws; and it was given as a matter of opinion, That nothing would ſo effectually preſerve royal authority in that province, as bringing the authors of the late unhappy diſorders to exemplary puniſhment. In conſequence of this opinion, it was earneſtly requeſted, that governor Bernard might be directed to tranſmit the fulleſt information that could be procured of all treaſons, or miſpriſion of treaſon committed within his government, ſince the 30th of December 1767, together with the names of the perſons who were moſt active in the perpetration of ſuch offences, that his majeſty might iſſue a commiſſion for inquiring into, hearing, and determining upon the guilt of the offenders within this realm, purſuant to the proviſions of a ſtatute made in the 30th year of king Henry VIII. in caſe his majeſty, upon governor Bernard's report, ſhould ſee ſufficient ground for ſuch a proceeding.

But though this addreſs, and the reſolutions that accompanied it, were carried through both houſes of parliament by a great majority, no meaſures were ever oppoſed with more firmneſs, and few debates have been more ably managed, than thoſe on both ſides of the queſtion. The Rockingham and Grenville parties, ſuppoſed to be irreconcilable in regard to American affairs, united on this occaſion. They urged, that admitting the repeal of the Stamp Act to have been an improper meaſure, as experience ſeemed to prove, yet from the moment of that repeal the policy of the mother country was altered, though her rights were not abridged, as an attempt to tax the colonies no longer ſtood on its ancient foundation of wiſdom and practicability; that it was now the mode with thoſe who had been the cauſe of all the preſent diſorders in America, to repreſent the people there, as nearly in a ſtate of rebellion; and thus artfully to make the cauſe of the miniſtry the national cauſe, and to perſuade us, that becauſe the coloniſts (aggravated by a ſeries of blunders and miſmanagements, and emboldened by the weakneſs and inconſiſtency of government) have ſhewn their impatience in the commiſſion of ſeveral irregular and very indefenſible acts, that they want to throw off the authority of the mother country: that it was indeed true, that popular prejudices were very dangerous, meddled with, and therefore all wiſe governments made very great allowances for them, and when there was a neceſſity for counteracting them, did it always with the greateſt art and caution; that the temper of our American coloniſts, in this reſpect, was well known from the former trial, which had at leaſt experiment and importance to plead; but what arguments could be urged in favour of the preſent attempt, or what hope entertained that it would meet with leſs oppoſition?—A number of duties were laid on, which derive their conſequence only from their odiouſneſs, and the miſchiefs they have produced, and an army of cuſtom-houſe officers, ſtill more odious, was ſent to collect them; that this odiouſneſs chiefly aroſe from an opinion, that the taxes were created for the officers, as indeed they could ſcarcely have any other purpoſe; and that the imprudence of the meaſure had made another army neceſſary to enforce it. But how could it be expected that any ſuch meaſure could be executed without force?—Had not thoſe who were the framers of the bill, or at leaſt under whoſe auſpices theſe duties were laid on, been themſelves

ſelves the zealous ſupporters *, and at the head of that opinion which totally denies the right in the legiſlature to tax America? Had not their names been held up in the colonies as objects of the higheſt veneration, and their arguments made the foundation of whatever was there underſtood to be conſtitutional in writing or ſpeaking?—What wonder then, that the Americans, with ſuch great authorities to ſupport them in opinions ſo flattering to their importance, ſhould fly, in that warmth of paſſion naturally inſpired by diſappointed pride, into the greateſt extravagancies, on a direct and immediate violation of what they were taught to conſider as their moſt undoubted and invaluable rights! Can we be ſurpriſed, in a word, that ſuch unaccountable contradictions between language and conduct ſhould produce the unhappy conſequences which we now experience?

That part of the addreſs which propoſed the bringing of delinquents from the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, to be tried at a tribunal in this kingdom, for crimes ſuppoſed to be committed there, met with ſtill greater oppoſition than the reſolves, and underwent many ſevere animadverſions. Such a proceeding was ſaid to be directly contrary to the ſpirit of our conſtitution. A man charged with a crime is, by the laws of England, uſually tried in the county in which he is ſuppoſed to have committed the offence; in order that the circumſtances of his crime may be more clearly examined, and that the knowledge which the jurors there receive of his general character, and of the credibility of the witneſſes, may aſſiſt them in pronouncing, with a greater degree of certainty, upon his innocence or guilt. As the conſtitution has ſecured this mode of trial, from a conviction of its utility, to every ſubject in England, under what colour of juſtice can he be deprived of it by going to America?—Is his life, his fortune, his character, leſs eſtimable in the eye of the law there than here? or are we to mete out different portions of juſtice to Britiſh ſubjects, which are to leſſen in degree, in proportion to their diſtance from the capital of the empire?—If a coloniſt has violated the laws, by a crime committed in America, let him be tried there for the offence; and if found guilty, puniſhed, as the law in ſuch caſe directs: but let him not be torn away to the diſtance of above three thouſand miles acroſs the ocean, from his family, his friends, his buſineſs, his connexions; from every aſſiſtance, countenance, comfort, and counſel, neceſſary to ſupport a man under ſuch unhappy circumſtances, to be tried by a jury who are not in reality his peers—who are probably prejudiced againſt him, and may perhaps think themſelves intereſted in his conviction.

It was replied by the friends of adminiſtration, that the repeal of the ſtamp-act, in its conſequences, had diſappointed the expectations of the ſincere well-wiſhers of America; that inſtead of producing the hoped for effects of gratitude and a due ſubmiſſion to government, in return for the tender conſideration ſhewn to the ſuppoſed diſtreſſes of the coloniſts, it had operated in ſuch a manner on

* The earl of Chatham, lord Camden, and others of the party, who were equally active in procuring the repeal of the ſtamp-act, and in oppoſing the right of taxation; but who afterwards acquieſced at leaſt in the port-duties.

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their licentiouſneſs, as to make it neceſſary to eſtabliſh ſome poſitive mark of their dependence on the mother-country; that the late duties ſo much complained of, were for one of the very reaſons now objected to them, the ſmallneſs of their produce, choſen as ſufficient to anſwer that purpoſe; they were the leaſt oppreſſive that could be thought of, and the leaſt grievous; they were not internal taxes, and their whole produce was to be applied to the ſupport of the civil eſtabliſhment of the colonies; that the republican principles, and licentious diſpoſition of the inhabitants of Maſſachuſets Bay, being operated upon by ſome factious and deſigning men among them, had broke out into acts of the moſt daring inſolence, and the moſt outrageous violence, which ſufficiently demonſtrated the original neceſſity of making them ſenſible of their dependence upon the Britiſh legiſlature; that by the language held forth, and the writings publiſhed among them, they ſeemed rather to conſider themſelves as members of an independent ſtate, than as the people of a colony and province belonging to this empire.

From the ill-judged ſyſtem of policy, it was obſerved, upon which the government of that province had been originally eſtabliſhed, the council is appointed by the aſſembly, and the grand juries are elected by the townſhips: hence thoſe factious men, already mentioned, having got a great lead in the aſſembly, and being themſelves the rulers of the popular phrenzy, guided and directed according to their pleaſure the whole civil government, ſo that all juſtice and order were at an end where-ever their intereſts or paſſions were concerned; that in ſuch circumſtances the populace, freed from all legal reſtraints, and thoſe who ſhould have been the ſupporters of government and the conſervators of the public peace, ſetting the firſt example of contempt to the one themſelves, and giving every private encouragement to the breach of the other, had at length proceeded to the commiſſion of ſuch atrocious acts, as though not now deemed downright rebellion, would in other times have been conſidered and puniſhed as ſuch, by an exertion of the ſupreme authority of the ſtate, or a regular judgment of law; and which, however extenuated, were offences of a very high nature: that it was therefore full time for government to interfere, and effectually to curb diſorders, which if ſuffered to proceed any farther, could no longer be mentioned by that name; that the example ſet by the people of Boſton, and the raſh and daring meaſure adopted by their aſſembly, of ſending circular letters to the other colonies, had already produced a great effect; and, unleſs ſeaſonably checked, was likely to have ſet the whole continent of North America in a flame; that ſome ſhips of war and troops were accordingly ſent to Boſton, where without bloodſhed, or coming to any violent extremity, they had been able to reſtore order and quiet not only to that town, but to the whole province of Maſſachuſets Bay.

It was farther obſerved, that nothing but the moſt ſpirited and vigorous reſolutions, ſupported by a ſucceſſion of meaſures, equally firm and vigorous, could bring the colonies to a proper ſenſe of their duty and their dependence upon the ſupreme legiſlature; that the ſpirit which prevailed in Boſton was ſo ſubverſive of all order and civil government, and the conduct of the magiſtrates had left

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ſo little room for any hope of their properly fulfilling their duty, during the continuance of the preſent ferment, that it became abſolutely neceſſary to revive and put in execution that law of Henry VIII. by which the king is impowered to appoint a commiſſion in England, for the trial here of any of his ſubjects guilty of treaſon in any part of the world; that unleſs this meaſure was adopted, the moſt flagrant acts of treaſon and rebellion might be committed in that town and province with impunity, as the civil power there was neither diſpoſed, nor able to take cognizance of them; that the perſons who were guilty of thoſe crimes, and who had already occaſioned ſo much trouble and confuſion, were no objects of compaſſion, therefore every objection which aroſe from any diſagreeable circumſtances that might attend this mode of bringing them to juſtice fell to the ground, as theſe ought only to be conſidered as a ſmall part of the puniſhment due to their crimes; that it was ungenerous to ſuppoſe government would make an improper uſe of this law, by the harraſſing of innocent perſons, and that there was no reaſon to call in queſtion the integrity or the impartiality of our juries.

Before any new meaſures were taken with reſpect to America, or any material change had happened in the affairs of that continent, a new change took place in the Britiſh miniſtry. Lord Camden reſigned the ſeals, and the duke of Grafton his office of firſt lord of the treaſury. Various other perſons of eminence threw up their places; and the whole adminiſtration ſeemed falling to pieces, when the promotion of one man gave it a ſtability: which it had not known in the preſent reign, nor perhaps in any reign ſince the days of Elizabeth. Lord North was appointed firſt commiſſioner of the Treaſury, in the room of the duke of Grafton; whoſe incapacity as a miniſter was throught to be as evident, as his accompliſhments as a nobleman are univerſally confeſſed. From that moment, a more conſiſtent plan, in regard to America, was purſued, and greater order was introduced into every department of government. The new miniſter immediately moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal ſo much of the late act, impoſing certain port duties in America, as related to the duty on paper, painters-colours, and glaſs. Theſe he obſerved, with that perfect knowledge of trade and finances which has diſtinguiſhed his adminiſtration, being Britiſh manufactures, it was abſurd to tax them; but that tea being an article of commerce, it was proper the tax on it ſhould be continued, eſpecially as the conſumers in the colonies would ſtill have it cheaper than the people of England, the American port-duty being nine-pence per pound leſs than the Britiſh. This was found reaſoning; and though a total repeal was warmly contended for, his lordſhip perſiſted in his motion, and carried the partial repeal. It would perhaps have been more conſiſtent, however, with the dignity as well as the wiſdom of a great miniſter, to have relinquiſhed the duty on tea along with the reſt, as it was ſcarcely ſufficient to anſwer the expence of collecting it, and to have relied upon ſome future occaſion for aſſerting the authority of the mother country over her colonies in a matter of more importance, ſince the

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the right of taxation was rendered indiſputable by a poſitive act of the ſupreme legiſlature *.

The ſtate of affairs in America was ſoon after brought formally under the conſideration of parliament, in conſequence of an account which had been received of an alarming riot in Boſton between the ſoldiers and the inhabitants †; and a motion was made by the minority for an addreſs to the throne, ſetting forth the neceſſity of an inquiry, how the miniſters here, no leſs than the officers there, have managed ſo unfortunately as to kindle the preſent flame of diſſention between the mother country and her colonies. In fulfilling this duty, it was obſerved, the matter of fact muſt not only be conſidered, but the right of things: not only the turbulence of the Americans, but the cauſe of that turbulence; and not only the power of the crown, but the equity with which that power had been exerciſed. The motion was rejected by a great majority, as were ſeveral reſolutions to the ſame purport: and the diſpoſition of the colonies to diſclaim all dependence on the mother-country; the neceſſity of ſupporting its authority and the dignity of government; the right of the crown to ſtation troops in any part of the Britiſh empire, together with the neceſſity of employing them to ſupport the laws, where the people were in little leſs than a ſtate of rebellion, were urged by adminiſtration as unanſwerable arguments of the propriety of eſtabliſhing a military force in America.

* Other arguments have been urged againſt continuing the duty upon tea, ariſing from an experience of its fatal conſequences; but as theſe could not be foreſeen at this time, and were the reſult of a new meaſure, adopted from too partial a regard to the intereſts of the Eaſt India company, the author of this work has paid no attention to them.

† Various accounts of this unhappy fray have been publiſhed, ſome of which flatly contradict each other; but the truth appears to have been nearly as follows. The arrival of his majeſty's troops in Boſton being extremely diſagreeable to the inhabitants, every method was uſed to ſeduce them from their duty; and as ſoon as their number was diminiſhed, by the departure of two regiments for Halifax, a reſolution was formed to expel them. The ſoldiers had ſome intimation of this intention; and alſo that the inhabitants carried weapons concealed under their cloaths, and meant to deſtroy them, as they were. "Now but a handful!" the ſignificant language uſed by one of their magiſtrates from the ſeat of juſtice. Inſults and injuries took place daily, after this ſuſpicion, between the town's people and the troops, till the hatred of the former knew no bounds. At length, the fifth and ſixth of March ſeem to have been agreed on for a general trial of ſtrength. With that view ſeveral parties of the militia came from the country armed, in order to join their friends; but on this, as on moſt occaſions of a ſimilar nature, the impatience of the populace brought matters to extremity before the ſcheme was ripe for execution. On Monday, March 5, 1770, two ſoldiers were attacked and beat about eight o'clock in the evening. The alarm bell was rung in order to collect the inhabitants, and the beacon was intended to be lighted, to bring in aid from the diſtant country. Captain Preſton, who commanded for the day, immediately repaired to the main guard; and in his way thither he ſaw the people in great commotion, and heard them uſe the moſt cruel and horrid threats againſt the troops. The tumult thickened; a general attack was made upon the military with clubs and bludgeons, after mutual injuries had paſſed between individuals; ſome of the ſoldiers, provoked by blows, fired upon the mob; three men were killed upon the ſpot, and four dangerouſly wounded. Through the interpoſition of Mr. Hutchinſon, the lieutenant-governor, farther miſchief was prevented; but he was under the neceſſity of ordering the troops, for the future, to confine themſelves to Caſtle William.

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The neceſſity of ſuch a force indeed became every day more evident. The diſcontents and diſorders occaſioned by the port-duties, continued to accompany the remaining one upon tea, in a greater or leſs degree, through all the old colonies on the continent. The ſame ſpirit pervaded the whole. Even thoſe colonies which depended moſt on the mother-country for the conſumption of their productions, entered into ſimilar aſſociations with the others; and nothing was to be heard but reſolutions for the encouragement of their own manufactures, the conſumption of home products, the diſcouragement of foreign articles, and the retrenchment of all ſuperfluities. Still, however, theſe were only ſymptoms of diſcontent, which had little effect on the trade between Great Britain and her colonies: for although that trade had ſomewhat ſtagnated on the late non importation agreement, it revived again, and even flouriſhed; and though the article of tea was, by the reſolutions of ſeveral colonies ſtrictly prohibited, it continued to be introduced both from England and other countries *, and the duties were paid, though with ſome ſmall appearance of exterior guard and caution. But in the meantime, the governors of moſt of the colonies, and the people, were in a continual ſtate of warfare. Aſſemblies were repeatedly called, and as ſuddenly diſſolved; and while ſitting, they were wholly employed in reiterating grievances and framing remonſtrances.

This ill humour broke out in a violent outrage at Providence in Rhode iſland, where his majeſty's armed ſchooner the Gaſpee, having been ſtationed to prevent the ſmuggling for which that place was ſo notorious, the vigilance of the officer who commanded the veſſel, ſo enraged the people, that they boarded her at midnight, to the number of two hundred armed men; and after wounding the captain, and forcing him and his people to go on ſhore, they concluded their daring purpoſe by burning the ſchooner. Though a reward of five hundred pounds, together with a pardon, if claimed by an accomplice, was offered by royal proclamation, for diſcovering and apprehending any of the perſons concerned in that atrocious act, no effectual diſcovery could be made.

June 10, 1772.

A ſingular incident contributed, ſoon after, to revive with double force, the oppoſition between the executive part of government and the people, in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay. A number of confidential letters, which had been written during the courſe of the unhappy diſputes with the mother country, by the then governor and deputy-governor of that colony, to perſons in power and office in England, were accidentally diſcovered, and publiſhed. Theſe letters contained a very unfavourable repreſentation of the ſtate of affairs, of the temper and diſpoſition of the people, and the views of their leaders in that province: they tended to ſhew, not only the neceſſity of the moſt coercive meaſures, but that a very conſiderable change in the conſtitution and ſyſtem of government was neceſſary to ſecure the obedience of the colony. The indignation and animoſity which ſuch a repreſentation excited on one ſide, and the confuſion occa-

* This importation from other countries was the chief reaſon why the duty was continued, and why it was laid in America rather than in England.

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ſioned by the diſcovery on the other, may be eaſier imagined than deſcribed *. After ſeveral violent reſolutions in the houſe of repreſentatives, the letters were preſented to the council, under the ſtricteſt injunction from the repreſentatives, that the perſons who were to ſhew them, ſhould not on any account ſuffer them, even for a moment, out of their hands. This affront to the governor was adopted by the council; and upon his requiring to examine the letters that were attributed to him, in order that he might be enabled to acknowledge them if genuine, or to reprobate them, if ſpurious, that board, under pretence of the reſtriction impoſed by the repreſentatives, refuſed to deliver them into his hands, but ſent a committee to open them before him, that he might examine the hand writing. To this indignity he was obliged to ſubmit, as well as to the mortification of acknowledging the ſignature.

A. D. 1773. Such a new ſource of diſcord was little wanted in that colony; and another conſpired to blow the whole into a flame, which has ſince threatened to annihilate the ſovereignty of England in America. The article of tea, as we have already had occaſion to obſerve, continued to be imported into the colonies, notwithſtanding the ſtrong reſolutions of the people to the contrary; but by the advantages which foreigners had in the ſale of the low priced teas, as well as the general odium attending the Britiſh teas, which were conſidered as lures to ſlavery, by bearing a parliamentary duty, the Eaſt India company was found to ſuffer much by the diſputes with America. Thus circumſtanced, the miniſter, as ſome conſolation for the ſtrong meaſures which were then carrying on againſt that company by government, brought in a bill, by which the court of directors were enabled to tranſport their teas duty free, to all places whatſoever. In conſequence of this permiſſion, the company departed, in ſome meaſure, from its eſtabliſhed mode of diſpoſing of its teas by public ſales to the merchants and dealers, and adopted the new ſyſtem of becoming its own exporter and factor. Several ſhips were accordingly freighted with teas, by the company, for the different colonies, where it alſo appointed agents for the diſpoſal of that commodity.

This ſcheme, which was little reliſhed by the trading part of the nation at home, was univerſally conſidered in the colonies as calculated merely to circumvent them into a compliance with the revenue-laws, and thereby open a door to an unlimited taxation: for it was eaſily ſeen, that if the teas were once landed, and in the cuſtody of the conſignees, no aſſociations or other meaſures would be ſufficient to prevent their ſale and conſumption; and no body could be ſo vain as to imagine, that when taxation was eſtabliſhed in one inſtance, it would not ſoon be extended to others. Beſides, all the tea-dealers in the colonies, both legal and

* The letters were in part confidential and private; but the people of the colony inſiſted, that they were evidently intended to influence the conduct of government, and muſt therefore be ſhewn to ſuch perſons as had an intereſt in preſerving their privileges. On the death of a gentleman in England, in whoſe poſſeſſion theſe letters happened to be, they fell into the hands of the agent for the colony of Maſſachuſets Bay, who immediately tranſmitted them to the aſſembly of that province, which was then ſitting at Boſton.

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contraband, who were extremely powerful, as tea is an article of general conſumption in America, ſaw their trade at once taken out of their hands. They ſuppoſed it would all be ſwallowed up by the company's factors, on whom they muſt become in a great meaſure dependent, if indeed they could hope to trade at all. Other circumſtances contributed to increaſe the general diſcontent. The Eaſt India company, by ſome late regulations, was brought entirely under the direction of government: the conſignees were of courſe ſuch as favoured adminiſtration; and, for that reaſon, the moſt unpopular men in America. This was particularly the caſe at Boſton, where they were of the family and neareſt connections of thoſe gentlemen, whoſe letters had occaſioned ſuch heats and animoſities among the people. Theſe zealous aſſerters of liberty and independency, thought they already ſaw a monopoly eſtabliſhed in favour of the moſt obnoxious perſons among them, and that too for the purpoſe of confirming an odious tax. The ſame ſpirit ſeemed to run like wild fire through the other colonies; and without any apparent previous concert, it was every where determined, at all events, to prevent the landing of the teas.

In the meanwhile the Eaſt India company was become ſo exceedingly odious to the people, that a mere oppoſition to her intereſts, abſtracted from all other conſiderations, would have embarraſſed any meaſure undertaken in her favour. She was quitting her uſual line of conduct, the coloniſts ſaid, and wantonly becoming the inſtrument of giving efficacy to a law which they deteſted; and thereby, as they affirmed, involving them in the preſent dangerous dilemma either of ſubmitting to the eſtabliſhment of a precedent which they deemed fatal to their liberties, or of bringing matters to a criſis which they dreaded, by adopting the only means that ſeemed left to prevent its execution.

As the time approached, when the arrival of the tea ſhips for the execution of the new plan was expected, the people aſſembled at different places in great bodies, and began to take ſuch meaſures as ſeemed moſt effectual, in order to prevent the landing of their cargoes. The tea conſignees, who had been appointed by the Eaſt India company, were obliged in moſt places (and in ſome at the riſk of their property, if not at the peril of their lives) to relinquiſh their appointments, and to enter into public engagements, not to act in that capacity. Committees were appointed by the people, in different towns and provinces, which they armed with ſuch powers as they ſuppoſed themſelves enabled to beſtow. They were authoriſed to inſpect merchants books; to propoſe tests; to puniſh thoſe whom they conſidered as contumacious, by the dangerous proſcription of declaring them enemies to their country; and of aſſembling the people, when they ſhould think neceſſary. In a word, their powers were as indefinite, as the authority under which they acted.

In the tumultuous aſſemblies which were frequently held upon this occaſion, numberleſs reſolutions were paſſed, extremely derogatory to the authority of the ſupreme legiſlature. Inflammatory hand-bills and other ſeditious papers were continually publiſhed; nor were the conductors of news papers, or the writers of various pamphlets, more guarded in their expreſſions, or temperate in their manner.

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manner. Even at Philadelphia, which had been ſo long celebrated for the excellency of its government and police, as well as the moderate manners of its inhabitants, printed papers were diſperſed warning the pilots on the Delaware, not to conduct any of thoſe tea-ſhips into their harbour, as they were only ſent out for the purpoſe of poiſoning and enſlaving all the Americans. At the ſame time intimations were given, that it was expected they would apply their knowledge of the river, under the ſanction of their profeſſion, in ſuch a manner as would effectually ſecure their country againſt ſo imminent a danger. At New York, in a ſimilar publication, the tea-ſhips were ſaid to be laden with fetters, which had been forged in Great Britain for America; and every vengeance was denounced againſt all perſons, who ſhould in any manner contribute to the introduction of thoſe chains.

All the colonies, as if by common conſent, ſeemed to have united in this point; but the town of Boſton, which had ſo long been diſtinguiſhed by the republican and fanatical ſpirit of its inhabitants, and which had of late been ſo juſtly obnoxious to government, was the ſcene of the firſt outrage. Three ſhips laden with tea having arrived in that port, the captains were terrified into a conceſſion, that, if they were permitted by the conſignees, the board of cuſtoms, and the garriſon of Caſtle William, they would return with their cargoes to England. Theſe promiſes could not be fulfilled: the conſignees refuſed to diſcharge the captains from the obligations, under which they were chartered for the delivery of their cargoes; the cuſtom-houſe refuſed them a clearance for their return; and the governor to grant them a paſſport for clearing the caſtle. In this ſtate of things, it was eaſily ſeen by the people of the town, that the ſhips lying ſo near, the teas would be landed by degrees, notwithſtanding any guard they could keep, or any meaſures taken to prevent it; and it was as well known, that if they were landed, nothing could prevent their being diſpoſed of; and thereby the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue, and of eſtabliſhing the monopoly fulfilled. In order to prevent theſe conſequences ſo much dreaded, a number of

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armed men, under the diſguiſe of Mohawk Indians, boarded the ſhips; and in a few hours, diſcharged into the ſea their whole cargo of teas, without doing any other damage, or offering any injury to the captains or crews.

It is remarkable that, on this occaſion the civil and military power, the governor, the garriſon of Fort William, and the armed ſhips in the harbour, were totally inactive.—Some ſmaller quantities of tea met afterwards with a ſimilar fate, at Boſton and a few other places; but in general the factors for the ſale of that commodity having been obliged to relinquiſh their employment, and no other perſons daring to receive the cargoes that were conſigned to them, the maſters of the tea veſſels were induced by theſe circumſtances, as well as a ſenſe of danger, and a knowledge of the determined reſolution of the people, to comply with the terms that were preſcribed them of returning directly to England, without entering themſelves by any entry at the cuſtom-houſes. At New York, indeed, ſome tea was landed under the cannon of a man of war; but the governor

was obliged to consent to its being locked up from use, in order to appease the populace.

An account of these disturbances arrived in England during the sitting of parliament, and was formally communicated to both houses in a message from the throne, informing them, That in consequence of the unwarrantable practices carried on in North America, and particularly of the violent and outrageous proceedings at the town of Boston, with a view of obstructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately subversive of its constitution, it was thought fit to lay the whole matter before the great council of the nation; fully confiding, as well in their zeal for the maintenance of his majesty's authority, as in their attachment to the common interest and welfare of all his dominions, that they will not only enable him effectually to take such measures as may be most likely to put an immediate stop to those disorders, but will also take into their most serious consideration, what further regulations and permanent provisions may be necessary to be established, for better securing the execution of the laws, and the just dependence of the colonies on the crown and parliament of Great Britain. March 7.

This message was accompanied with a great number of papers relative to the late transactions in America, consisting of copies and extracts of letters from the governors of the several provinces; from the commander of the forces; from the admiral in Boston harbour; from the consignees of the tea at Boston, to one of the ringleaders of the faction in that town, with votes and resolves of the town of Boston previous to the landing of the tea, and narratives of the transactions which succeeded that event; a petition from the consignees to the council of Massachusets Bay, praying that their persons and property might be taken under the protection of government, with the refusal of the council to interfere in any manner in the business; a proclamation issued by the governor, to forbid factious meetings of the inhabitants; and the mock proceedings of the Massachusets council condemning the act of destroying the tea, and advising legal prosecutions against the perpetrators, none of whom was known, or within the reach of discovery. They also contained details from the different governors of all transactions relative to the teas, which took place in their respective governments, from the first intelligence of their being shipped in England, to the date of the letters; threats and prophetic warnings, which were continually sent to the gentlemen to whom the teas were consigned; and copies of certain printed papers, with a great number of fugitive inflammatory pieces; hand-bills, alarms, violent resolves of town meetings, illegal proceedings of committees, and extraordinary minutes of council.

These papers, but particularly such as related to the transactions at Boston, were accompanied with a comment, in which the conduct of the governor was described and applauded, and that of the prevailing faction represented in the most atrocious light. It was said, that he had taken every measure which prudence could suggest, or good policy justify, for the security of the East India company's property, the safety of the consignees, and the preservation of order

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and quiet in the town; that every civil precaution to avert the miſchiefs that followed had been uſed in vain; that his majeſty's council, the militia, and the company of cadets, had been all ſeparately applied to for their aſſiſtance in the preſervation of the public peace, but without effect: they all refuſed, or declined doing their duty; that the ſheriff had read the proclamation to the faction at their town-meeting, commanding them to break up that illegal aſſembly, but the proclamation was treated with the greateſt contempt, and the ſheriff inſulted in the groſſeſt manner; that the governor had it undoubtedly in his power, by calling in the aſſiſtance of the naval force which was in the harbour, to have prevented the deſtruction of the tea; but as the leading men in Boſton had always made great complaints of the interpoſition of the army or navy, and charged to their account all diſturbances of every ſort, that he, with great prudence and moderation, determined from the beginning to decline a meaſure which would have been ſo irritating to the minds of the people, and might well have hoped by this confidence in their conduct, and truſt repoſed in the civil power, to have calmed their turbulence, and preſerved the public tranquillity.

"Thus, added the miniſter, the people of Boſton were fairly tried; they were left to their own conduct, and to the guidance of their own magiſtrates, and the reſult has given the lie to their former profeſſions: they are now without an excuſe; every civil regulation has been ſet at naught; all the powers of government, in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, have been found inſufficient to prevent the moſt violent outrages, alike deſtructive of public order and private property; the loyal and peaceable inhabitants of a mercantile town, as they peculiarly affected to repreſent themſelves, have given to the world a notable proof of their juſtice, moderation, and affection for the mother country, in wantonly committing to the waves a valuable commodity, belonging to a commercial company whoſe loyalty cannot be called in queſtion, without ſo much as the pretence of neceſſity, even ſuppoſing their oppoſition to the payment of the duties could juſtify ſuch a plea, as they had nothing to do but to adhere to their own reſolutions of non-conſumption, effectually to evade the revenue laws." It was therefore concluded upon the whole, that, from an impartial review of the papers now before the parliament, it would manifeſtly appear, that nothing could be done by either civil, military, or naval officers, to effectuate the re eſtabliſhment of tranquillity and order in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, without additional parliamentary powers to give efficacy to their proceedings; that no perſon employed by government could in any act, however common or legal, fulfil the duties of his office or ſtation, without its being immediately exclaimed againſt by the licentious rabble, as an infringement of their liberties; that it was the ſettled opinion of ſome of the wiſeſt men, both in England and America, and the beſt acquainted with the affairs of the colonies, that in their preſent ſtate of government, no meaſures whatſoever could be purſued that would effectually remedy theſe glaring evils, which were every day growing to a more daring and dangerous height; that parliament, and parliament only, was capable of re-eſtabliſhing tranquillity among thoſe turbulent people, and of bringing order

order out of confuſion; and conſequently, that it was incumbent on every member to weigh and conſider, with an attention ſuitable to the importance of the ſubject, the purport of the papers before the houſe, and laying all prejudices totally aſide, to form his opinion impartially in regard to the meaſures moſt elegible to be purſued for ſupporting the ſupreme legiſlative authority, the dignity of parliament, and the true intereſt of the Britiſh empire.

Theſe arguments produced the deſired effect. The ſpirit rouſed againſt the Americans became remarkably ſtrong, both within and without the houſe; from a conviction of the impoſſibility of the future exiſtence of any trade with the colonies, if the flagrant outrage on commerce, committed at Boſton, ſhould go unpuniſhed. While the nation was in this temper, a motion was made for an addreſs to the throne, in order "to return thanks for his majeſty's meſſage, and the gracious communication of the American papers, with an aſſurance that the commons would not fail to exert every means in their power of effectually providing for objects ſo eſſential to the general welfare as maintaining the due execution of the laws, and ſecuring the juſt dependence of the colonies on the crown and parliament of Great Britain." This motion produced a warm debate, or rather diſcuſſion on American affairs; and a retroſpective inquiry was propoſed, "not only into the behaviour of the Americans, who had reſiſted government, but into that ſyſtem of violence which had provoked, and of weakneſs which had encouraged their reſiſtance." Such a retroſpect into the management of miniſters, the minority aſſerted, was eſſentially connected with an inquiry into the ſtate of America; and that without ſuch retroſpect, our colonies might be loſt, in ſpite of all the votes and reſolutions of parliament. The friends of adminiſtration, on the other hand, ſtrongly objected to all retroſpect, as a deviation from the main ſubject. The buſineſs before the houſe, they obſerved, was important and preſſing; that in the examination of this great ſubject great points would be canvaſſed: it might even perhaps become a queſtion, whether the colonies ought not to be given up. But if this queſtion ſhould be decided in the negative, then it would be neceſſary to examine in what manner their ſubordination ſhall be preſerved, and authority enforced. Theſe points required the moſt ſerious inveſtigation, in which the retroſpect recommended would be unneceſſary, and perhaps dangerous, as having a tendency to inflame and to encourage thoſe whom it was the buſineſs of parliament by every means to reduce under obedience.

The miniſter having carried this addreſs, and avoided the intended examination, opened his plan for the reſtoration of peace, order, juſtice, and commerce in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay. He began with obſerving, that the oppoſition to the authority of parliament had always originated in that colony, and that colony had always been inſtigated to ſuch conduct by the town of Boſton; that, for the purpoſe of a thorough reformation, it of courſe became neceſſary to begin with that town, which by a late unparalleled outrage, had led the way to the deſtruction of commerce in all parts of America; that if a ſevere and exemplary puniſhment was not inflicted on this heinous offence, Great Britain would be wanting in the protection ſhe owed to her moſt peaceable and meritorious ſubjects; that

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had ſuch an inſult been offered to Britiſh property in a foreign port, the nation would have been called upon to demand ſatisfaction for it; and ſhould ſhe be more tame in receiving it from thoſe who owed her allegiance?—Surely not; he would therefore propoſe, that the town of Boſton ſhould be obliged to pay for the tea that had been deſtroyed in its port. The injury was indeed committed by perſons unknown and in diſguiſe, but the town magiſtracy had taken no notice of it: they had never made any ſearch after the offenders; and conſequently, by a manifeſt neglect of duty, became accomplices in the guilt.

The fining of communities for their neglect in puniſhing offences, he very juſtly obſerved, was authoriſed by ſeveral examples*; but it would not be ſufficient to puniſh the town of Boſton, become obnoxious by a ſeries of ſeditious practices of every kind, by obliging her to make a pecuniary ſatisfaction for the late injury, which by not endeavouring to prevent or puniſh, ſhe has in fact encouraged: ſecurity muſt be given that trade may be ſafely carried on in future, property protected, laws obeyed, and duties regularly paid; otherwiſe the puniſhment of a ſingle illegal act could work no reformation. For this purpoſe it would be proper to take away from Boſton the privilege of a port, until his majeſty ſhould be ſatisfied in theſe particulars, and publicly declare in council, on a proper certificate of the good behaviour of the town, that he was ſo ſatisfied; and in the meantime, that the cuſtom-houſe officers, who were not now ſafe at Boſton, or ſafe only while they neglected their duty, ſhould be removed to Salem, where they might exerciſe their functions. By ſuch a meaſure Boſton would ſuffer, but ſhe deſerved to ſuffer, and the duration of her puniſhment was entirely in her own power; for whenever ſhe ſhould ſatisfy the Eaſt India company for the tea that had been audaciouſly deſtroyed by her own violence, and give full aſſurances of obedience in future to the laws of trade and revenue, there was no doubt but his majeſty, in whom it was proper that ſuch a power ſhould be veſted, would again open the port, and exerciſe that mercy which was agreeable to his royal diſpoſition.

The miniſter next proceeded to recommend unanimity and firmneſs. He was no enemy to lenient meaſures; but this was a criſis which demanded vigour. Reſolutions of cenſure and warning would avail nothing: now was the time to ſtand out; to defy the colonies with firmneſs, and without fear. "A conviction," ſaid he, muſt be produced to America, that we are in earneſt, and will proceed with vigour. This conviction can never be obtained ſhould they find us doubting and heſitating. Some friends to Britiſh authority may indeed ſuffer by ſuch an exertion of power; but if with this temporary inconveniency we compare the loſs of the country, or of its due obedience, we ſhall be at no loſs how to determine. The Americans, it is ſaid, in ſuch

* In the reign of Charles II. the city of London was fined, when Dr. Lamb was killed by unknown perſons; the city of Edinburgh was fined, and otherwiſe puniſhed, for the murder of captain Porteous; and part of the revenue of the town of Glaſgow was ſequeſtered, until ſatisfaction had been made for pulling down Mr. Cambel's houſe.

caſe,

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caſe, will not pay their debts. This they threatened before the repeal of the Stamp-Act: the act was repealed; what was the conſequence?—They did *not* pay. Such a threat, if regarded, muſt diſable parliament equally in all its proceedings. The preſent act will not require a great military power to enforce it: four or five regiments will be ſufficient; but if more ſhould be neceſſary, ſuch force muſt be uſed with coolneſs and moderation to ſecure the due operation of the ſtatute. The other colonies will not take fire at a proper puniſhment inflicted on thoſe who have diſobeyed the laws. They will leave them to ſuffer their merited chaſtiſements; but if they ſhould combine with them, the conſequences of their rebellion belong not to us, but to them. It is enough for us that our meaſures are juſt and equitable: let us therefore proceed with firmneſs, juſtice, and reſolution; a courſe which, if ſteadily purſued, will certainly produce that due obedience to the laws of this country, and that ſecurity to the trade of this people, which I ſo ardently wiſh for."

In conſequence of theſe arguments, leave was given to bring in a bill "for the immediate removal of the officers concerned in the collection of the cuſtoms in the town of Boſton in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay in North America, and to diſcontinue the landing and diſcharging, lading and ſhipping of goods, wares, and merchandiſe, at the ſaid town of Boſton, or within the harbour thereof." During the progreſs of the bill a motion was made for an amendment, for the purpoſe of laying a fine on the town of Boſton, equivalent to the damage ſuſtained by the Eaſt India company; and if they refuſed to pay ſuch fine or ſatisfaction, then and not before, the penalties of the act ſhould be allowed to take place. The propoſition however was rejected; and this bill, pregnant with ſo many important conſequences, was puſhed on with ſuch vigour and diſpatch, that it did not remain long in the Houſe of Commons, where it paſſed without a diviſion, as well as in the Houſe of Lords. The antipathy againſt the Americans was now become ſo ſtrong, as to overbear the moſt reſolute and determined champions in the oppoſition. Many of thoſe, who had been the moſt warm advocates for the colonies, went ſo far as to condemn their late behaviour, and even to applaud the preſent meaſure, as not only juſt but lenient.

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Several gentlemen, however, who had voted for the bill to ſhut up the port of Boſton, were nevertheleſs of opinion, that ſomething of a conciliatory nature ought to accompany that high exertion of authority; that parliament, while it reſented the outrages of the incendiaries of Maſſachuſets Bay, ſhould manifeſt a diſpoſition to appeaſe the ſober part of the colonies; that if they had ſatisfaction in the matter of taxation, they would become inſtruments in keeping the inferior and more turbulent ſort in order; and that this ſacrifice to peace might be made at a very ſmall expence, as the only grievous duty, and that which had bred ſo many diſorders, was of very little value to Great Britain. A motion was accordingly made for a repeal of the port-duty on tea, as being conſidered by the Americans as a badge of ſlavery, rather than a contribution to government. The arguments in ſupport of this propoſition were nearly the ſame as formerly, except what regards the policy of ſuch a meaſure. It was urged that ſuch an act of conde-

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ſcenſion would ſhew, that though government meant by penal acts to puniſh diſorders in the colonies, it at the ſame time regarded their privileges and their quiet, and would not only render rigour more effectual, but unneceſſary. The friends of adminiſtration replied, that the tea-duty was by no means ſo inconſiderable as repreſented, and that a repeal of it at this time, inſtead of anſwering any good purpoſe, would ſhew ſuch a degree of wavering and inconſiſtency, as would entirely defeat the beneficial effects that might be expected from the vigorous plan which had been adopted, after too long remiſſneſs; that parliament ought to ſhew that it will relax in none of its juſt rights, but enforce them in a practical way; and that the parent-ſtate ought to demonſtrate, that ſhe is provided with ſufficient means of making herſelf obeyed, whenever ſhe is reſiſted.

On theſe grounds a negative was put on the motion; and it ſoon appeared, that the Boſton Port-Bill formed but one part of the coercive plan propoſed by the miniſtry, in regard to that refractory colony of which it is the capital. Others of a deeper and more extenſive operation were behind, and made their

April 21. appearance in due order. A bill was now brought in for "the better regulating the government in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay." The purpoſe of this bill, as the preamble declares, was "to alter ſo much of the charter granted by king William to the inhabitants of Maſſachuſets Bay as relates to the electing of the council, which ſhall for the future be compoſed of ſuch of the inhabitants, or proprietors of lands within the province, as ſhall be appointed by his majeſty, with the advice of the privy-council, agreeable to the practice now uſed in reſpect to the appointment of counſellors in ſuch of his majeſty's other colonies in America, (namely, Virginia, Carolina, Georgia, and ſeveral others) the governors whereof are appointed by commiſſion under the great ſeal of Great Britain:"—in a word, to change it from a *charter* to a *royal* government, in this and moſt other reſpects. The miniſter, who brought in the bill, alledged in its ſupport, that the diſorders in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay not only diſtracted that colony within itſelf, but ſet an ill example to all the other colonies. An executive power was wanting in the government: the chief power was in the hands of the people, and the people were riotous; there was a total defect in the conſtitutional power throughout. If the democratic part ſhew a contempt of the laws, how is the governor to enforce them? Magiſtrates he cannot appoint: he cannot give an order without ſeven of the council aſſenting; and let the military be ever ſo numerous and active, they cannot move in ſupport of the civil magiſtracy, when no civil magiſtrate will call upon them for ſupport. "It is in vain," ſaid he, "that we make laws and regulations here, while there are none found to execute them in America: it is therefore become abſolutely neceſſary to alter the whole frame of the Maſſachuſets government, ſo far as relates to the executive and judicial powers."

The oppoſition to this bill was more active and united, than that upon the Boſton Port-Bill. The minority maintained, that this carried the principle of injuſtice much farther; that to take away the civil conſtitution of a whole people ſecured by charter, the validity of which was not ſo much as queſtioned at law, upon

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upon mere looſe allegations of delinquencies and defects, was a proceeding of a moſt arbitrary and dangerous nature; that the proceedings againſt the American and Engliſh corporations, during the reigns of Charles and James II. were deſervedly accounted the moſt tyrannical acts of thoſe arbitrary princes, but that this attempt was worſe: then the charge was regularly made, the colonies and corporations called to anſwer, and the rules of juſtice obſerved at leaſt in appearance; but in the preſent inſtance, the very colour of juſtice was indecently neglected, as an unneceſſary ſanction to violence; that the pretences for abrogating this charter, in order to give ſtrength to government, were altogether frivolous; and the miniſtry were aſked, whether the colonies which are already regulated nearly in the manner propoſed by the bill, were more ſubmiſſive to the right of taxation than that of Maſſachuſets Bay?—If not, what can be expected from the bill ſo material to the authority of the legiſlature, as to riſk all the credit of parliamentary juſtice by ſuch a ſtrong and irregular proceeding?—Similar arguments were uſed againſt the bill in the houſe of lords; but the ſpirit of reducing America to obedience was ſo univerſal, that it was carried through both houſes by a great majority.

This majority encouraged the miniſter to propoſe ſoon after another bill, without which, it was ſaid, the two former would be inefficacious. It was entitled, "a bill for the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice in the caſes of perſons queſtioned for any acts done by them in the execution of the laws, or for the ſuppreſſion of riots and tumults in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay in New England:" and it provides, That in caſe any perſon is indicted in that province for murder or any other capital offence, if it ſhall appear to the governor that the fact was committed in the exerciſe or aid of magiſtracy in ſuppreſſing tumults and riots, and that a fair trial cannot be had in the province, he ſhall ſend the perſon ſo indicted to ſome other colony, or to Great Britain to be tried; the charges on both ſides to be borne out of the cuſtoms.

The miniſter ſupported this bill on the ſame principle with a view to which it had been framed, that of ſtate-neceſſity. It was in vain, he obſerved, to appoint a magiſtracy that would act, if none could be found to put their orders in execution. Theſe orders would moſt probably be reſiſted by force; and that force would neceſſitate force alſo to execute the laws. In ſuch caſe, blood would probably be ſpilt: but who would riſk this event, though in the execution of his cleareſt duty, if the rioters themſelves, or their abettors, were to ſit as his judges?—"How can any man," ſaid he, "defend himſelf on the plea of executing your laws, before thoſe perſons who deny your right to make any laws to bind them? The very idea of ſuch a defence involves an abſurdity; yet unleſs that plea is admitted, he muſt neceſſarily be found guilty: he has no other chance for his life." Such an act as that before the houſe, his lordſhip urged was not without precedent at home. "Where ſmuggling has been found to be notoriouſly countenanced in one county, the trial for offences of that kind has been directed to be held in another. The rebels of Scotland, in the year 1746, were tried in England: all particular privileges give way to public ſafety; even the Habeas

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Corpus Act, that great palladium of Engliſh liberty, has been ſuſpended in times of national danger. The preſent acts do not, however, eſtabliſh a military government, but a civil one, by which the former conſtitution is greatly improved: they gave to the province of Maſſachuſets Bay a council, magiſtrates, and judges, whereas in effect it had none before; they do not ſcreen guilt, they only protect innocence." This, he added, was the laſt act he had to propoſe, in order to perfect his plan of authority; that the reſt muſt depend upon the vigilance of his majeſty's ſervants in the execution of their duty, which he hoped would not be wanting; that the uſual relief of four regiments for America, had been all ordered to Boſton; that general Gage, in whoſe abilities he placed great confidence, was ſent as governor and commander in chief; that while proper precautions were taken for the ſupport of the magiſtracy, the ſame ſpirit was ſhewn for the puniſhment of offenders, and that proſecutions had been ordered againſt thoſe who were ringleaders in ſedition; that every thing ſhould be done firmly, yet legally and prudently, as he had the advantage of being aſſiſted by the ableſt lawyers; and that he made no doubt, but by the ſteady execution of the meaſures now taken, obedience and the bleſſings of peace would be reſtored.

The minority, who oppoſed this bill with the ſame vehemence as the former, denied its very foundation; namely, that it would contribute to the procuring of an impartial trial; for if a party-ſpirit againſt the authority of Great Britain would condemn an active officer there as a murderer, the ſame party ſpirit for preſerving the authority of Great Britain, might acquit the murderer here, as a vigilant performer of his duty. This abuſe was not perhaps quite ſo probable, as the people here were not agitated to the ſame degree; but that there is no abſolute ſecurity againſt party ſpirit in judicial proceedings, where men's minds are inflamed by public conteſts, as at preſent both in New and Old England; and that before the people of Maſſachuſets Bay are judged unworthy of the exerciſe of thoſe rights with which the conſtitution has veſted them, ſome abuſe ought to be proved. "Has any proof," ſaid they, "been given or attempted of ſuch an abuſe?—The caſe of captain Preſton is recent. That officer and ſome ſoldiers under his command, were indicted at Boſton for a murder—for killing perſons in the ſuppreſſion of a riot: this is the very caſe the act ſuppoſes; how did the affair turn out?—He was honourably acquitted; therefore the bill is not only unſupported, but contradicted by fact:" and they further inſiſted, that the miniſtry having no ſort of reaſon for impeaching the tribunals of America, their real intention was to ſet up a military government, and to provide a virtual indemnity for all the murders and other capital offences which might be committed under the ſanction of that barbarous authority. Notwithſtanding theſe reprobations, more the effect of paſſion than of reaſon, the bill was ſupported by a great majority, and made its way rapidly through both houſes.

But the miniſter, not ſatisfied with taking the moſt vigorous meaſures for enforcing the obedience of our old and refractory colonies, extended his attention alſo towards the new and ſubmiſſive ones. As there was ſtill a poſſibility that Great Britain, after her utmoſt efforts, might be deprived of her ancient poſſeſ-

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ſions on the continent of America by a lawleſs faction, it was neceſſary that every means ſhould be taken to increaſe the conſequence of her late acquiſitions, and to ſecure the allegiance of the inhabitants, as well as their perpetual dependence on the crown. With this view a bill, which has much engaged the public notice, "for making more effectual proviſion for the government of the province of Quebec," was brought into the Houſe of Lords, quickly paſſed, and tranſmitted to the Commons, where it occaſioned long and warm debates. The particular objects of the bill were, to augment the importance of the province of Quebec, by extending its limits ſouthward to the banks of the Ohio, weſtward to the banks of the Miſſiſippi, and northward to the boundary of the Hudſon's Bay company; to form a legiſlative council for all the affairs of the province, except taxation, and in which his majeſty's Canadian Roman catholic ſubjects were to be entitled to a place; to eſtabliſh the French laws, and a trial without jury in civil caſes, and the Engliſh laws, with a trial by jury, in criminal caſes; and to ſecure to the Roman catholic clergy, the regulars or monks excepted, the legal enjoyment of their eſtates, and of their tythes, from all who are of the Romiſh religion.

In favour of theſe regulations it was urged, That the French, who compoſed by far the greater part of the inhabitants of that province, having been uſed to live under an abſolute government, were not anxious about the forms of a free one, which they little valued or underſtood; that they even abhorred the idea of a popular repreſentation, from obſerving the miſchiefs which it had introduced into the neighbouring colonies: that beſides theſe conſiderations, it would be unreaſonable to have a repreſentative body, out of which all the natives ſhould be excluded, and perhaps dangerous to truſt ſuch an inſtrument in the hands of a people but newly taken into the Britiſh empire: they were not yet ripe for Engliſh government; that their landed property had been granted, and their ſettlements made on the ideas of French law; that a trial by jury, in regard to ſuch property, was ſtrange and diſguſtful to them; that in regard to religion, it had been ſtipulated by the treaty of Paris to allow them perfect freedom in that point, as far as the laws of England permit: and it was farther obſerved, that the penal laws of England with reſpect to religion, do not extend beyond this kingdom, though the king's ſupremacy does, and therefore proviſion was made in the bill to oblige the Canadians to be ſubject to it, and an oath preſcribed as a teſt againſt ſuch papal claims as might endanger the allegiance of thoſe people; that it was againſt all equity to perſecute and puniſh the Canadians on account of their religion, and that a people cannot be ſaid to have their own religion who have not their own prieſthood. As to what regarded the payment of tythes, it was at beſt only ſetting down the French clergy where they were found at the conqueſt: in one reſpect they were indeed worſe, as no perſon profeſſing the proteſtant religion was to be ſubject to ſuch payment; which, being a great encouragement to converſion, would contribute daily to diminiſh their conſequence. Nor was a pretext, different from its real, and even laudable purpoſe, to ſeek for enlarging the boundaries of the province. Thoſe eſtabliſhed by the proclamation, it was ſaid, had been found

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found to be too narrow, as ſeveral French families were ſcattered beyond them on all ſides, and even an entire colony at the Illinois, comprehended in no Britiſh government.

The minority, a ſmall but determined band, replied that a form of arbitrary government, eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, for any part of the Britiſh dominions, was a thing new in the hiſtory of this kingdom; that it was of the moſt dangerous example, and wholly unneceſſary: for either the government of Quebec, ſuch as it then was, might be ſuffered to remain, merely as a temporary arrangement, tolerated from the neceſſity which firſt gave riſe to it, or an aſſembly might be formed on the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, in which the natives might have ſuch a ſhare as ſhould be thought convenient; and that ſuch an aſſembly was not impracticable appeared from the example of Granada. Why admit the Roman catholics of Canada into a legiſlative council, and deny the propriety of their ſitting in a legiſlative aſſembly?—Nothing, it was replied, could induce the miniſtry to embrace that diſtinction, but the hatred which they had to ſuch aſſemblies, and to all the rights of the people at large. The abolition of juries in civil cauſes was ſeverely animadverted upon, and on the ſubject of religion the conflict was peculiarly warm. The capitulation, it was ſaid, provided for no more than a mere toleration of the Roman catholic religion, whereas this is an eſtabliſhment of it; that the people of Canada had hitherto been happy under that toleration, and looked for nothing farther; but by this eſtabliſhment, the proteſtant religion enjoys at beſt no more than a toleration. The popiſh clergy have a legal parliamentary right to a maintenance; the proteſtant clergy are left at the king's mercy: why are not both put at leaſt on an equal footing?—It was farther aſked, why the proclamation limits were enlarged, as if it was thought that this arbitrary government could not have too extenſive an object. If there were, which was queſtioned, any ſpots beyond thoſe limits on which Canadians were ſettled, let them be provided for; but do not annex to Canada immenſe territories, of the fineſt land in North America, which run on the back of all our old colonies. Such a meaſure could not fail, it was ſaid, to increaſe their diſcontents, and to fill them with apprehenſions, that an arbitrary military government, and a people alien in origin, laws, and religion—that the very people whom they had helped to conquer, were choſen to execute that deſign, of which they already ſaw but too many proofs, the cruel deſign of utterly extinguiſhing their liberties, and bringing them into a ſtate of the moſt abject vaſſalage.

Notwithſtanding theſe animated ſpeeches, the bill paſſed; and the moſt ſanguine expectations were entertained by the miniſtry, that, after the vigorous meaſures adopted by the parliament, ſubmiſſion would be general and immediate throughout all North America, and complete obedience and tranquility ſecured in the Britiſh colonies for the future. The king caught the ſame hope, as appeared by the ſpeech from the throne at the end of the ſeſſion. Having mentioned the diſorders in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, he added, that "the temper and firmneſs with which they had conducted themſelves in that important buſineſs, and

and the general concurrence with which the reſolution of maintaining the authority of the laws in every part of his dominions, had been adopted and ſupported, could not fail of giving the greateſt weight to the meaſures which had been the reſult of their deliberations." But human foreſight at beſt is very limited: it ſoon appeared that neither the king nor his miniſters, though perhaps the moſt enlightened men in the kingdom, were ſufficiently acquainted either with the temper or the power of the Americans.

CHAP. III.

The Effects of the BOSTON PORT BILL *and other Penal Laws upon the Minds of the* Americans, *with an Account of their Proceedings, and thoſe of the* Britiſh *Parliament and* Britiſh *Forces, from the Appointment of General* Gage *to the Government of* Maſſachuſets Bay, *till the* BATTLE OF BUNKER'S-HILL.

THE penal ſtatutes relative to the colony of Maſſachuſets Bay, which were intended to operate both as a chaſtiſement for paſt, and a preventative againſt future miſdemeanors in that province, were unhappily productive of events very different from thoſe, for which the ſanguine promoters of thoſe bills had hoped, and which adminiſtration had held out to the national aſſembly. Other purpoſes, beſides puniſhment and prevention, were even confidently expected from them: it was preſumed, that the ſhutting up of the port of Boſton would give a ſecret pleaſure to the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns, on account of the benefits which would neceſſarily accrue to them from the diverſion of its commerce; that this would prove a fruitful ſource of animoſity and diſunion within the province, and conſequently of a general and hearty return to obedience under the government of the mother-country. It was alſo expected, that the puniſhment of that refractory province, in a manner ſo ſevere, yet at the ſame time cool and equitable, would not only operate as an example of terror to the other colonies, but that they from the ſelfiſhneſs and jealouſy natural to mankind, would quietly reſign it to its fate, and enjoy with ſatisfaction any advantages which they might reap from its misfortunes. In a word, it was hoped that thoſe bills, beſides their direct operation, would eventually prove the means of diſſolving that bond of union, which ſeemed of late too much to prevail among our colonies in North America.

The event however, in every inſtance, was the very reverſe of this expectation. The neighbouring towns diſdained to profit in any degree by the misfortunes of their friends in Boſton. The people of the province, where the ſpirit of revolt had made greater progreſs, and where even the ſcheme of independency was farther advanced than had ever been imagined, inſtead of being diſtracted or ſhaken by the coercive meaſures that were adopted for bringing them back to a ſenſe of their duty, united only the more firmly together, in order to brave the

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ſtorm; and the other colonies, in place of abandoning, clung cloſer to their diſobedient, and now ſeemingly devoted ſiſter, in proportion as the danger increaſed.

This attachment, as well as the unanimity of the inhabitants of Maſſachuſets Bay, in their reſolution to reſiſt the authority of the mother country, was chiefly occaſioned by the bill relative to the conſtitution of that province; which, how neceſſary ſoever in itſelf for the quiet government of the colony, was very improperly aſſociated with the bill for ſhutting up the port of Boſton. Till this law was complied with, there could be no occaſion for the other: this was a trial of the allegiance of the colony; and if, inſtead of obedience, it had produced rebellion, it would then have been manifeſtly abſurd to enact civil regulations for ſuch a colony, before the ſword had aſcertained the power of enforcing them, even allowing the right of impoſing them to be perfectly clear and undiſputed. In the preſent inſtance, if the abſurdity was leſs palpable, the imprudence was yet greater. Boſton, the capital of Maſſachuſets Bay, had been guilty of an outrage, little ſhort of rebellion: it was to be puniſhed for that outrage in a manner not altogether inconſiſtent with the laws of England, or unprecedented in the annals of parliament: ſtill however that puniſhment was ſevere, and in ſome degree cruel and arbitrary. Whether Boſton ſhould ever more have a port depended upon the will of the king: the will of the wiſeſt and beſt of kings is apt to be influenced by their miniſters; and the inclinations of even upright miniſters are ſubject to ſuch a variety of influences, paſſions, caprices, intereſts, and miſinformations, that no matter of right ſhould ever be left at their diſcretion: but it was at their diſcretion, whether Boſton ſhould ever more enjoy the advantages of trade; and Boſton, a town containing thirty thouſand inhabitants, owed its very exiſtence to trade. By trade the meaneſt citizen could earn a comfortable livelihood, and without it the richeſt could ſcarcely ſubſiſt. Since it had been thought proper, however, to enact ſuch a law, and to reſt its duration on the will of the prince, it ought to have been the miniſter's buſineſs to ſmoothe the way to its operation; to conciliate, as far as poſſible, the affections of the reſt of the province, at the ſame time that he puniſhed the capital. On the contrary, by deſtroying its ancient conſtitution, by inflicting a general puniſhment, when a particular one was only intended, or merited, he made the cauſe general; and the people, part of whom might have beheld the chaſtiſement of Boſton with indifference, or with pleaſure, perceiving that it was reſolved to deprive them of thoſe rights, which they had been taught from their earlieſt years to revere as ſacred, and to deem more valuable than life itſelf, determined at all events to preſerve them, or to periſh in one common ruin.

Nor was the alarm confined to New England: it ſpread from one end of the continent of North America to the other, and became the cement of a ſtrict and cloſe union between all our old colonies. It was now viſible, they ſaid, that charters, grants, and eſtabliſhed uſages were no longer a protection for the ſubject; that all rights, immunities, and civil ſecurities muſt vaniſh at the breath of an act of parliament; and that ſuch act of parliament, both in its origin and duration,

duration, depended upon the pride, paſſion, or caprice of the miniſter, who had acquired a ſufficient majority, in both houſes, to be able to carry any meaſure, however violent, unjuſt, or oppreſſive. They were all ſenſible, that they had been guilty, in a greater or leſs degree, of thoſe outrages which had drawn down upon Boſton, and the whole province of Maſſachuſets Bay, the indignation of parliament: they believed that puniſhment, though delayed, was not remitted; that vengeance ſtill hung over them; and that all the favour the leaſt obnoxious, or the moſt moderate could expect, was to be the laſt that would feel the arm of power.

Towards this ſtate were things haſtening, when general Gage was appointed commander in chief of the Britiſh forces in North America, and governor of Maſſachuſets Bay. As he had already borne ſeveral commands with reputation on that continent, had reſided there many years, and was both well acquainted with the people and much eſteemed by them, great hopes were formed of the happy effects that might reſult from his adminiſtration. Unfortunately theſe hopes were nipt in the bud. Before general Gage reached his government, a ſhip from England had brought a copy of the Boſton Port Bill to that capital; and at the very time he arrived in the harbour, a town-meeting was ſitting, in order to conſider of the moſt prudent meaſures to be purſued at ſo alarming a criſis. The firſt ſtep taken by this meeting, was a reſolution, in which the other colonies were invited to join, to ſtop all imports and exports to and from Great Britain and Ireland, and all the Engliſh iſlands in the Weſt Indies, until the new act was repealed, as the only means that were left, to uſe their own language, for the ſalvation of North America and her liberties. May 13.

Meanwhile the aſſembly of Maſſachuſets Bay met at Boſton, the council being choſen, for the laſt time, according to their charter. The governor laid nothing before them except the common buſineſs of the province; but he gave them notice of their removal to Salem, on the firſt of June, in purſuance of the late act of parliament. In order to evade this meaſure, the aſſembly were hurrying through the neceſſary buſineſs of the ſupplies, with all expedition, that they might then adjourn themſelves to ſuch time as they ſhould think proper. The governor, however, having obtained ſome intelligence of their deſign, adjourned them unexpectedly to the ſeventh of June, then to meet at Salem. Previous to this adjournment, they had preſented a petition to the governor, that he would appoint a day of general faſting and prayer. This requeſt he did not think proper to comply with, being well appriſed of its purpoſe, and of the uſe that was likely to be made of ſuch an unneceſſary ſeaſon of devotion: but the houſe of burgeſſes of the province of Virginia, a place little famed for piety, pitched upon the firſt of June, the very day on which the Boſton Port Bill was to take effect, to be ſet apart for humiliation, faſting, and prayer, in order to implore the divine interpoſition, to avert the heavy calamity which threatened deſtruction to their civil rights, and to give one heart and one mind to the people, firmly to oppoſe every injury to the liberties of America. This example was followed, or a ſimilar reſolution adopted, almoſt every where; ſo

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that the firſt day of June, in the year 1774, became a general day of prayer and humiliation throughout the whole northern continent of the New World.

The immediate diſſolution of the aſſembly of Virginia, was the conſequence of their forward and factious piety. Before their ſeparation, however, an aſſociation was entered into, and ſigned by eighty-nine of the members, in which they declared, That an attack made upon one colony, in order to compel ſubmiſſion to arbitrary taxes, was an attack upon all Britiſh America, and threatened ruin to the rights of all, unleſs the united wiſdom of the whole was applied in prevention. They therefore recommended to the committee of correſpondence, to communicate with the ſeveral committees of the other provinces, on the expediency of appointing deputies from the different colonies, to meet annually in General Congreſs, and to deliberate on thoſe general meaſures which the united intereſts of America might, from time to time, render neceſſary. At Philadelphia about three hundred of the inhabitants met, and appointed a committee to write an anſwer to the ſolicitation of the town of Boſton: they declined giving their advice in the preſent dangerous criſis, till ſuch time as the ſenſe of the province could be collected; and obſerved, that all lenient applications for redreſs ſhould be tried, before recourſe was had to extremities; that it might perhaps be proper to take the ſenſe of a general congreſs, before the deſperate reſolution of putting an entire ſtop to commerce was adopted; and that, at any rate, it would be proper to reſerve that as the laſt expedient. A town-meeting was alſo held at New York, and a committee of correſpondence appointed; but they were very moderate in their ſentiments, reſpect to the legiſlature being apparently greater in that province than any other. The caſe was very different at Annapolis in Maryland, where a reſolution was taken to prevent the recovery of any debts belonging to Great Britain. This reſolution, however, was neither adopted nor confirmed by the provincial meeting, held ſoon after; nor was it any where carried into execution. In general, as might have been expected in countries which depend ſo much on trade, the propoſal for ſhutting up the ports was received with great heſitation and coldneſs, and more eſpecially as former reſolutions of that kind had been perverted to the private gain of individuals: it was conſidered as the laſt deſperate reſort, when all other means of redreſs ſhould fail.

Some ſymptoms of moderation appeared even in Boſton itſelf. An addreſs of congratulation was preſented to general Gage, ſigned by one hundred and twenty-ſeven gentlemen, merchants, and other inhabitants of that capital. Beſides the compliments uſual on ſuch occaſions, a declaration of the high hopes which they had founded on the general's public and private character, and a diſavowal, as to themſelves, of all lawleſs violences, it contained a wiſh that a diſcretionary power had been lodged in his hands to reſtore trade to its former courſe, as ſoon as the terms of the act had been complied with; and alſo a pathetic repreſentation, that, according to the preſent conditions of the law, ſo much time would be loſt, let compliance be ever ſo immediate, before his favourable repreſentation of their conduct could reach the king and council, and produce, even on well

well diſpoſed minds, the deſired effect, ſuch delay muſt be occaſioned as would involve them in unſpeakable miſery, if not total ruin. A few days after, an addreſs of a very different nature, from the council, was preſented to the governor. It contained ſome very ſevere reflexions on his two immediate predeceſſors, Bernard and Hutchinſon, to whoſe machinations, both in concert and apart, that body attributed the origin and progreſs of the diſunion between Great Britain and her colonies, and all the calamities that afflicted that province. They declared, that the people claimed no more than the rights of Engliſhmen, without diminution or abridgement; and theſe, as it was the indiſpenſable duty of that board, ſo it ſhould be their conſtant endeavour to maintain, to the utmoſt of their power, in perfect conſiſtence, but with the trueſt loyalty to the crown, the juſt prerogatives of which they would be ever zealous to ſupport. This addreſs was rejected by the governor, as containing indecent reflexions on his predeceſſors, whoſe conduct had been examined, and approved by the king, as an inſult on his majeſty and the lords of the privy-council, and an affront to himſelf.

The ſame ſpirit prevailed in the houſe of repreſentatives, when they met at Salem, where they paſſed a reſolution declaring the expediency of a general meeting neceſſary: by another they appointed five gentlemen, from among thoſe who had been moſt diſtinguiſhed for their oppoſition to government, as a committee to repreſent that province; and by a third they voted the ſum of five hundred pounds ſterling to the ſaid committee, in order to enable them to diſcharge the important truſt to which they were appointed. As none of theſe reſolutions could be agreeable to the governor, he refuſed his conſent to ſuch an application of the public money. On this the aſſembly paſſed a new reſolution, recommending to the ſeveral towns and diſtricts within the province, to raiſe the ſum of five hundred pounds for the before-mentioned purpoſe, by equitable proportions, according to the laſt provincial tax.

This recommendation, which had all the force of a law, became a precedent. The aſſembly, foreſeeing that their diſſolution was at hand, were determined to give the people a public teſtimony of their opinions, and under the title of recommendations to preſcribe rules for their conduct. They accordingly paſſed a declaratory reſolution, expreſſive of their ſenſe of the ſtate of public affairs, and of the deſigns of government; in which they ſet forth, that they, with the other American colonies, had been long ſtruggling under the heavy hand of power, and that their dutiful petitions for the redreſs of intolerable grievances had not only been diſregarded, but that the deſign totally to alter the free conſtitution and civil government in Britiſh America, to eſtabliſh arbitrary governments, and to reduce the inhabitants to the condition of ſlavery, appeared more and more to be fixed and determined: they then recommended in the ſtrongeſt terms to the inhabitants of the province, totally to renounce the conſumption of India teas; and as far as in them lay to diſcontinue the uſe of all goods imported from Great Britain, but more eſpecially the productions of the Eaſt Indies, until the public grievances of America ſhould be radically and totally redreſſed.

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Though the committee appointed to conduct this buſineſs proceeded with the greateſt ſecrecy, the governor obtained ſome intelligence of it; and on the very day upon which they made their report, he ſent his ſecretary to pronounce their immediate diſſolution. Finding the door locked on his arrival, the ſecretary ſent the houſe-meſſenger to acquaint the ſpeaker, that he had a meſſage from the governor, and deſired admittance to deliver it. The ſpeaker after ſome delay, returned for anſwer, that he had acquainted the houſe with the meſſage which he had received, and that their orders were to keep the doors faſt. The ſecretary, on this refuſal of admittance, cauſed proclamation to be made upon the ſtairs, of

June 17. the diſſolution of the general aſſembly. Such was the iſſue of the final conteſt between the governor of Maſſachuſets Bay and the laſt aſſembly which was held in that province, on the principles of its charter.

The day after the diſſolution of the aſſembly, a moſt pathetic, but at the ſame time a firm and manly addreſs, was preſented from the merchants and freeholders of the town of Salem to general Gage. It muſt not be forgot, that this town was now become the temporary capital of the province, and principal ſeaport, in place of Boſton; and that the general aſſembly, the courts of juſtice, the cuſtom-houſe, and (as far as ſuch a change could be effected by authority) the trade of that mart was removed: ſo that the people of Salem were already in poſſeſſion of a principal ſhare of the ſpoils, which it was ſuppoſed would have effectually influenced their conduct; and thereby have bred ſuch incurable envy, jealouſy, and animoſity between the gainers and the ſufferers, as would have brought back the capital to a ſenſe of her duty, as well as of the juſtice of her puniſhment.

This conjecture, founded on a general but undiſtinguiſhing knowledge of human nature, was ſtrongly contradicted by the ſentiments of the inhabitants of Salem, as it always will be by people in ſuch circumſtances. When men are threatened with a common danger from abroad, all private jealouſies and particular intereſts are loſt in the neceſſity of public union. The people of Salem were ſenſible that they could derive no permanent advantage from the puniſhment inflicted upon Boſton, unleſs that city perſiſted in withſtanding the authority of government; and in this event, the whole province would be in ſuch a ſtate of confuſion, if not of hoſtility, as muſt put an entire ſtop to trade: they therefore aſſumed the language of generoſity and affection, and pleaded with much eloquence the cauſe of their ſuffering neighbours. "We are deeply afflicted," ſay they in their addreſs to the governor, "with a ſenſe of our public calamities: but the miſeries that are now rapidly haſtening on our brethren in the capital of the province, greatly excite our commiſeration; and we hope your excellency will uſe your endeavours to prevent a further accumulation of evils on that already ſorely diſtreſſed people.—By ſhutting up the port of Boſton, ſome imagine that the courſe of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart: and were it otherwiſe, we muſt be dead to every ſenſe of juſ-

tice, and loſt to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to ſeize on wealth, and raiſe our fortunes on the ruin of our ſuffering neighbours."

The governor had ſtill, however, conſiderable hopes from the conduct of the merchants of Boſton. He expected that they would have entered into the ſpirit of the Port-bill; and by removing their commerce along with the cuſtom-houſe to Salem, have thereby the ſooner induced the capital to the compliances wiſhed for by the legiſlature. But in this hope he was diſappointed; for although the merchants thought it neceſſary to keep fair with government, and in general diſapproved of all violences, they did not enter heartily into the new meaſures. It ſeems alſo probable, that general Gage had been led to believe the intereſt of government to be ſtronger, and the friends of the legiſlature more numerous than they really were. An experiment, however, which was made ſoon after, ſet this matter in a clear light. The friends of government attended a town-meeting at Boſton, and attempted to paſs reſolutions for the payment of the tea, as well as for diſſolving the committee of correſpondence; but they found themſelves loſt in a prodigious majority, and ſaw no other reſource againſt the prevailing ſpirit, and the proceedings of that aſſembly, except a proteſt.

In the meantime, rough draughts of the two remaining bills relative to the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, (both which were in agitation when the ſhips that brought the Port-bill ſailed from England) had been received in Boſton, and were immediately circulated over the continent. The perfect knowledge of theſe bills filled up, in moſt of the colonies, whatever was wanting in the meaſure of violence and indignation. Many of thoſe who were before moderate, or ſeemed wavering, now became reſolute and ſanguine. The propoſal of prohibiting all intercourſe with Great Britain or the Weſt Indies, was now eagerly liſtened to, and conſidered as recommending a neceſſary meaſure. Nothing was talked of but meetings and reſolutions. Liberal contributions for the relief of their diſtreſſed brethren in Boſton, were every where recommended in theſe meetings; and numberleſs letters were written from towns, diſtricts, and provinces, to the people of Boſton, in which, beſides every expreſſion of ſympathy and tenderneſs, they were highly commended for their paſt conduct, and ſtrongly exhorted to a perſeverance in that virtue which had brought on their ſufferings.

The people of North America at this time, in regard to political opinions, might be divided into three claſſes. Of theſe, one was for ruſhing headlong into the greateſt extremities: they were deſirous of putting an immediate ſtop to trade, without waiting till other meaſures were tried, or the general ſenſe of the colonies received on a ſubject of ſuch alarming importance, both in its nature and in its conſequences; although they were eager for the holding of a congreſs, they would leave it nothing to do but to proſecute the violence which they had begun. The ſecond, if leſs numerous party, was by no means leſs reſpectable, and tho' more moderate, were perhaps equally firm: they were averſe from any violent meaſures being adopted, until all other methods had been tried, and found ineffectual; they wiſhed further applications to be made to Great Britain, and the

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grievances they complained of, as well as the rights which they claimed, to be clearly ſtated, and properly repreſented. This, they ſaid, could only be done effectually by a general congreſs, as it might otherwiſe be liable to the objection of being the act of but a few men, or of a particular colony. The third party, conſiſted either of the friends of adminiſtration in England, or ſuch as at leaſt did not totally diſapprove of the penal acts, and other meaſures for ſupporting the authority of the ſupreme legiſlature; but their ſtill ſmall voice, except in a few particular places, was loſt amid the tumultuous din of faction, like that of virtue in a wicked world.

The more violent party, who had not patience even to wait for the reſult of a congreſs, entered into ſuch meaſures as might have been expected from their temper and character. An agreement was framed by the committee of correſpondence at Boſton, which they entitled a *Solemn League and Covenant*, in which the ſubſcribers bound themſelves by the moſt ſacred engagements, to ſuſpend all commercial intercourſe with Great Britain, from the laſt day of the enſuing month of Auguſt, until the Port-bill and the other late obnoxious laws were repealed, and the colony of Maſſachuſets Bay reſtored to its chartered rights. They alſo bound themſelves, in the ſame ſacred manner, not to conſume or to purchaſe from any perſon any goods whatſoever, which ſhould arrive after the ſpecified time, and to break off all commerce, trade, and dealings, with any one who did, as well as with the importers of ſuch goods. They likewiſe renounced in the preſence of God, all future intercourſe and connexion with thoſe who ſhould refuſe to ſubſcribe to that covenant, or to bind themſelves by ſome ſimilar agreement, with the dangerous denounciation annexed, of having their names publiſhed to the world; or in other words, of being marked out for the vengeance of the mob, as well as held up to the ſcorn, and expoſed to the inſults of every factious zealot.

This covenant, accompanied with a letter from the committee at Boſton, was circulated with the greateſt activity; and the people, not only in the New England governments, but alſo in the other provinces, entered into the ſolemn league with the greateſt eagerneſs. Alarmed at ſo extraordinary a proceeding, general Gage publiſhed a proclamation againſt it, in which it was ſtiled an unlawful, hoſtile, and traiterous combination; contrary to the allegiance due to the king, deſtructive of the lawful authority of the Britiſh parliament, and of the peace, good order, and ſafety of the community. All perſons were warned againſt incurring the pains and penalties due to ſuch aggravated and dangerous offences, and all magiſtrates were charged to apprehend and ſecure for trial, ſuch as ſhould have any ſhare in the publiſhing, ſubſcribing, aiding or abetting the beforementioned, or any ſimilar covenant.

That proclamation, however, had no other effect but to exerciſe the faculties of thoſe who were verſed in the crown laws, by endeavouring to ſhew that it did not come within any of the articles of treaſon, and conſequently that the charges made by the governor were erroneous, unjuſt, and highly injurious. He had aſſumed a power, they ſaid, which the conſtitution denies even to the ſovereign; namely,

namely, the power of making thoſe things treaſon which are not conſidered as ſuch by the laws; that the people have a right to aſſemble, in order to conſider of their common grievances, and to form aſſociations for their general conduct towards the redreſs of ſuch grievances. Meaſures were accordingly every where taken for the holding of a general congreſs; and Philadelphia, from the conveniency of its ſituation, as well as its ſecurity, was fixed upon as the place, and the beginning of September the time for meeting. Where an aſſembly happened to be ſitting, as in the caſe of Maſſachuſets Bay, they appointed deputies to repreſent the province in the congreſs; but as this circumſtance concurred in very few inſtances, the general method was for the people to elect their uſual number of repreſentatives, and theſe, at a general meeting, choſe deputies from among themſelves, the number of whom bore commonly ſome proportion to the extent and populouſneſs of the province. Two was the ſmalleſt, and ſeven the greateſt number, that repreſented any province: but whatever the number of repreſentatives might be, each colony was to have only one vote.

Even in this unpromiſing ſtate of public affairs, general Gage had the conſolation to receive a congratulatory addreſs from the juſtices of the peace of Plymouth county, aſſembled at their general ſeſſions; in which, beſides the cuſtomary compliments, they expreſſed great concern at ſeeing the inhabitants of ſome towns, influenced by certain perſons calling themſelves committees of correſpondence, and encouraged by men whoſe buſineſs it was, as preachers of the goſpel, to inculcate principles of loyalty and obedience to the laws, entering into a league calculated to increaſe the diſpleaſure of the ſovereign, to exaſperate the parent-ſtate, and to interrupt the harmony of ſociety. A proteſt was alſo paſſed by ſeveral gentlemen of the county of Worceſter, againſt all riotous diſorders and ſeditious practices. But theſe ſymptoms of duty and allegiance entirely diſappeared on the arrival of the new laws for the government of the province.

Along with theſe laws, the governor received a liſt of thirty-ſix new counſellors, appointed by the crown, in conformity to the new regulations, and contrary to the method preſcribed by the charter, of their being choſen by the repreſentatives in each aſſembly. Of the gentlemen named, about twenty-four accepted the office; a number ſufficient to carry on the buſineſs of government, until a freſh nomination ſhould arrive for filling up the vacancies. Matters were now, however, unfortunately tending to that criſis, which was to put an end to all eſtabliſhed government in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay. The people in the different counties became every day more outrageous, and every thing bore the ſemblance of war and reſiſtance. Nothing was to be ſeen or heard of but the purchaſing and providing of arms; the procuring of ammunition; the caſting of balls; and all thoſe other preparations which teſtify the moſt immediate danger, and moſt determined reſiſtance. Every one who accepted of any office under the new laws, or prepared to act in conformity with them, was declared to be an enemy to his country, and threatened with the puniſhment due to ſuch a character.

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In conſequence of this violent ſpirit, the judges were every where rendered incapable of proceeding in their functions. On opening the courts, the great and petty juries throughout the province unanimouſly refuſed to be ſworn, or to act in any manner under the new judges and the new laws; and the acting otherwiſe was deemed ſo heinous, that the clerks of the courts found it neceſſary to acknowledge their contrition in the public papers, for iſſuing the warrants by which the juries were ſummoned to attend, and not only to declare that, let the conſequences be what they might, they would not act ſo again, but that they had not conſidered what they were doing; and that though they ſhould be forgiven by their countrymen, they could never forgive themſelves for the fault they had committed. At Great Barrington, and ſome other places, the people aſſembled in numerous bodies, and filled the court-houſe and avenues in ſuch a manner that neither the judges nor their officers could obtain entrance; and on the ſheriff's commanding them to make way for the court, they anſwered, that they knew of no court, or other eſtabliſhment, independent of the ancient laws and uſages of their country, and to none other would they ſubmit, or give way upon any terms.

The new counſellors were yet more unfortunate than the judges. Their houſes were ſurrounded by large bodies of the people, who ſoon made them ſenſible, that they had no other alternative but to ſubmit to a renunciation of their office, or to ſuffer all the fury of an enraged populace. Moſt of them ſubmitted to the former condition: ſome had the good fortune to be in Boſton, and thereby evaded the danger; while others, in their flight thither, were hunted and purſued, with threats of deſtruction to their houſes and eſtates, and narrowly eſcaped with their lives. The old conſtitution being diſſolved, as we have ſeen, by act of parliament, and the new one thus rejected by the people, an end was put to all the forms of law and government in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay; and the inhabitants were reduced to that ſtate of anarchy, which has ever been eſteemed the worſt condition of man, as people who have broke looſe from the bands of ſociety, are more apt to abuſe their natural liberty than thoſe who have never known reſtraint. Greater barbarities, and more frequent violences, have therefore commonly been committed in the anarchical than in the ſavage ſtate. But the behaviour of the people of Maſſachuſets Bay, which will for ever excite the aſtoniſhment of mankind, is a ſtriking contradiction of this general truth, as well as a memorable example of the efficacy of long eſtabliſhed habits, and of a conſtant ſubmiſſion to the laws. They were not arrived at that ſtate of corruption, in which a temporary anarchy has uſually taken place in other countries; ſo that except the general oppoſition to the new laws, and the exceſſes ariſing from it, in outrages againſt obnoxious individuals, no other very conſiderable marks of the ceſſation of government appeared.

Meanwhile general Gage thought it neceſſary for the ſafety of the troops, as well as to ſecure the important poſt and town of Boſton, to fortify the neck of land which affords the only communication, except by water, between that town and the continent. This meaſure, however judicious and neceſſary in itſelf,

could not fail to increaſe the jealouſy, ſuſpicion, and ill humour, already ſo prevalent in the province: and it was ſoon ſucceeded by another, which excited yet greater alarm. The ſeaſon of the year was now arrived for the annual muſter of the militia; and the general having probably ſome ſuſpicion of their conduct, when aſſembled, or as they pretend, being urged thereto by inſidious adviſers, and falſe and malicious informers, ſeized upon the ammunition and ſtores that were lodged in the provincial arſenal at Cambridge, and ordered them to be carried to Boſton. He alſo ſeized, at the ſame time, upon the powder that was lodged in the magazines at Charles Town, and ſome other places in the ſame province, being partly private and partly public property.

Theſe prudential precautions excited the moſt violent and univerſal ferment that had yet appeared, and which ſufficiently evidenced their neceſſity. The people aſſembled to the amount of ſeveral thouſands, and it was with the greateſt difficulty, that ſome of the more moderate and leading men of the country, were able to prevent them from marching directly to Boſton; there to demand the delivery of the powder and ſtores, and in caſe of refuſal, to attack the troops. About the ſame time the governor's company of cadets, conſiſting wholly of gentlemen of Boſton, and chiefly of ſuch as had always been well affected to government, diſbanded themſelves, and returned to general Gage the ſtandard, with which he had preſented them, according to cuſtom, on his arrival. This ſlight to the governor, and apparent diſreliſh to the new government, proceeded immediately from his having taken away the commiſſion of Mr. Hancock: a favourite officer, but noted incendiary, whom we have already had occaſion to mention, and who was commander of that corps.

An aſſembly of delegates, from all the towns in the county of Suffolk, of which Boſton is the chief, as well as the capital of the province, was alſo held to conſider of the general's proceedings. In this aſſembly were paſſed a great number of reſolutions, ſome of which militated more ſtrongly againſt the authority of the mother-country than any that had hitherto been publiſhed: they declared that the county would ſupport and bear harmleſs all ſheriffs, jurors, and other perſons, who ſhould ſuffer perſecution for not acting under the preſent unconſtitutional judges, or refuſing to carry into execution any orders of their courts; and it was reſolved, that thoſe who had accepted ſeats at the council board, had violated the *duty* they owed to their *country*, and if they did not vacate them within a ſhort, and limited time, that they ſhould be conſidered as obſtinate and incorrigible *enemies* to their *country*. They recommended to the people to perfect themſelves in the art of war; and for this purpoſe, that the militia ſhould meet once a week. A recommendation alſo followed, which in the then ſtate of things amounted to a poſitive command: the collectors of the taxes, and all other receivers and holders of the public money, were requeſted not to pay it as uſual to the treaſurer, but to detain it in their hands until the civil government of the province ſhould be placed on a conſtitutional foundation, or until it ſhould be otherwiſe ordered by the Provincial Congreſs.

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The aſſembly of delegates concluded their proceedings by appointing a committe to wait upon the governor, with a remonſtrance againſt the fortifying of Boſton neck, and other places. In this remonſtrance they declare, that though the loyal people of that county think themſelves oppreſſed by ſome late acts of parliament, and are reſolved through the *divine aſſiſtance* never to ſubmit to them, they have no inclination to commence war with his majeſty's troops. Beſides the new fortification, the greateſt of all grievances, becauſe the greateſt curb on their licentiouſneſs, they impute the extraordinary ferment in the minds of the people to the ſeizing of the powder, to the planting of cannon on the Neck, and to the inſults and abuſes offered to paſſengers by the ſoldiers; and they conclude with declaring, That nothing leſs than a removal or redreſs of thoſe grievances, can place the inhabitants of the county in that ſtate of peace and tranquillity, which every free ſubject ought to enjoy. General Gage replied, That he had no intention to prevent the free egreſs and regreſs of any perſon to and from the town of Boſton; that he would not ſuffer one man under his command to injure the perſon or property of any of his majeſty's ſubjects, but that it was his duty to preſerve the peace, and to prevent ſurpriſe; that they had no occaſion to be alarmed at the cannon, unleſs their intentions were hoſtile, as no uſe would be made of them, except to repel violence.

Before public affairs had arrived at this turbulent ſtate, the governor, by the advice of the new council, had iſſued writs for the holding of a general aſſembly, which was to meet in the beginning of October. But the events that afterwards took place, and the heat and violence which every where prevailed, together with the reſignation of a great number of the new counſellors, in conſequence of the perſecutions to which they were expoſed, induced him to countermand the writs by a proclamation, and to defer the holding of the aſſembly till a fitter ſeaſon. The legality of the proclamation was however called in queſtion; the elections every where took place without any regard to it, and the new members met at Salem, purſuant to the precepts. Having waited there a day, without the governor or any ſubſtitute for him attending, to adminiſter the oaths and open a ſeſſion, they voted themſelves into a Provincial Congreſs, to be joined by ſuch others as had been, or ſhould be elected for that purpoſe; and the famous Mr. Hancock being choſen chairman, they adjourned to the town of Concord, about twenty miles from Boſton.

Among their earlieſt proceedings, the Provincial Congreſs appointed a committee to wait upon the governor with a remonſtrance, in which they apologized for their preſent meeting, by repreſenting, that the diſtreſſed and miſerable ſtate of the colony had rendered it indiſpenſably neceſſary to collect the wiſdom of the province by their delegates in that aſſembly, and thereby to concert ſome adequate remedy, in order to prevent impending ruin. They next expreſs their grievous apprehenſions of the meaſures then purſuing: they aſſert, that even the rigour of the Boſton Port Bill is exceeded by the manner in which it is carried into execution*: they complain of the late laws, calculated not only to abridge the peo-

* This muſt be a groſs falſehood, as general Gage behaved with the greateſt lenity: even with too much for the honour or intereſt of Great Britain.

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ple of their rights, but to licence murders; of the number of troops in the capital, which were daily increaſing by new acceſſions drawn from every part of the continent, together with the formidable and hoſtile preparations at Boſton-neck, all tending to endanger the lives, liberties, and properties, not only of the people of Boſton, but of the province in general; and they concluded with adjuring the governor, as he regarded his majeſty's honour and intereſt, the dignity and proſperity of the empire, and the peace and happineſs of the province, to deſiſt immediately from the conſtruction of the fortreſs at the entrance into Boſton, and to reſtore that paſs to its natural ſtate.

General Gage was involved in ſome difficulty in giving an anſwer to this remonſtrance, as he could not acknowledge the legality of the aſſembly by which it was framed. The neceſſity of the times however prevailed: he muſt either act or ſpeak. He choſe the latter alternative, and expreſſed great indignation at the idea, that the lives, liberty, or property of any people, except avowed enemies, could be in danger from Britiſh troops. England, he ſaid, could never harbour the dark deſign of ſecretly deſtroying or enſlaving any people; and that, notwithſtanding the enmity ſhewn to the troops, by with-holding from them almoſt every neceſſary for their preſervation, they had not yet diſcovered the reſentment which might naturally be expected to ariſe in the boſoms of men from ſuch hoſtile treatment. He reminded the congreſs, that while they complained of alterations made in their charter by act of parliament, they were themſelves by thus aſſembling, ſubverting that charter, and now acting in direct violation of their own conſtitution: he therefore warned them of their danger, and adviſed them to deſiſt from ſuch illegal and unconſtitutional proceedings.

This caution was not regarded. The Provincial Congreſs not only continued their aſſembly, but their reſolutions having acquired from the promptitude of the people, all the efficacy of laws, ſomething like a new and independent government ſeemed to be formed. Under the ſtile of recommendation and advice, they ſettled the militia; they regulated the public money, and provided arms. Theſe, and ſimilar meaſures, induced general Gage to iſſue a proclamation, in which, though the direct terms are avoided, they are charged with proceedings which are generally underſtood to imply treaſon and rebellion. The inhabitants of the province were accordingly prohibited, in the king's name, from complying in any degree with the requiſitions, recommendations, directions, or reſolves of that unlawful aſſembly.

Nov. 10.

Boſton was by this time become the place of refuge for all thoſe friends of the legiſlature, who thought it neceſſary to perſiſt in avowing their ſentiments. The commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, with all their train of officers, had alſo thought it neceſſary to abandon their head quarters at Salem, and to remove the apparatus of a cuſtom houſe to a place which an act of parliament had proſcribed from all trade. Every thing tended to increaſe the mutual apprehenſion, diſtruſt, and animoſity between the military and the people. On the approach of winter, general Gage had ordered temporary barracks to be erected for the troops, partly for ſafety, and partly to prevent the diſorders and miſchiefs, which, in the preſent ſtate of

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mens minds, muſt be the unavoidable conſequence of their being quartered upon the inhabitants: but ſo great was the diſlike to their being accommodated in any manner, that the ſelect men and the committees obliged the carpenters to quit their employment, though the money for their labour would have been paid by the crown; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the general could get thoſe temporary lodgments erected. Injuries provoke injuries: he retaliated on them, in his turn, by a meaſure no leſs calculated to excite diſguſt or perpetuate hatred. This was the landing by night, from the ſhips of war in the harbour, a detachment of ſailors, who ſpiked up all the cannon upon one of the principal batteries belonging to the town.

During theſe tranſactions in Boſton and its neighbourhood, the twelve old colonies; namely, New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſets Bay, Rhode Iſland, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Penſylvania, the Lower Counties on the Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, occupying that whole extent of continent which ſtretches from Nova Scotia to Georgia, had appointed deputies to attend the GENERAL CONGRESS, which was held at Philadelphia, and opened on Monday the 5th of September, 1774. The number of delegates, who repreſented thoſe colonies, amounted in all to fifty one. Several of the provinces had given inſtructions to their deputies previous to their meeting in Congreſs, ſome of which differed widely from others; but they all contained the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of loyalty and allegiance, and totally diſclaimed the idea of independency. In this declaration, it is poſſible, they might not be altogether inſincere, as it appears by their reſolutions, that Great Britain would have got nothing by ſuch a ſupremacy as they were willing to acknowledge, in return for the expence of protecting them, but the common advantages of trade. Some colonies, however, beſides an obedience to all the commercial laws, except ſuch as were ſpecified, propoſed the granting of an annual revenue to the crown for public purpoſes, and diſpoſable by parliament. But in theſe, as in all other points, the deputies were inſtructed to coincide with the majority of the Congreſs; and this majority, as already obſerved, was to be determined by reckoning the colonies, as having each a ſingle vote, without regard to the number of deputies which any one might ſend.

The debates and proceedings of the Congreſs were conducted with the greateſt ſecrecy, nor have any of them yet tranſpired, except ſuch as they have thought proper to lay before the public. The firſt of theſe was a declaratory reſolution, expreſſive of their ſentiments in regard to the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, and immediately intended to confirm and encourage the inhabitants in that line of conduct on which they had entered. By their ſubſequent reſolutions, the Congreſs not only formally approve of the oppoſition made by this province to the late acts, but farther declare, That if an attempt ſhould be made to carry them into execution by force, all America ought to ſupport the inhabitants in ſuch oppoſition; that every perſon who ſhall accept, or act under any commiſſion or authority, derived from the late act of parliament for changing the form of government, and violating the charter of the colony of Maſſachuſets

Bay, ought to be held in deteſtation, and conſidered as the wicked tool of that deſpotiſm, which is preparing to deſtroy thoſe rights which God, nature and compact have given to the Britiſh colonies in America; and they conclude with a reſolution, that the tranſporting or attempting to tranſport any perſon beyond the ſea, for the trial of offences committed in America, being againſt law, will juſtify, and ought to meet with reſiſtance and repriſal.

Theſe reſolutions being paſſed, the Congreſs ordered a letter to be written to general Gage; in which, after repeating the complaints that had been frequently made by the town of Boſton, and by the delegates of different counties in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, they declare the determined reſolution of the colonies to unite for the preſervation of their common rights, in oppoſition to the late acts of parliament, under the execution of which the unhappy people of that province are oppreſſed; that, in conſequence of their ſentiments upon that ſubject, the colonies had appointed them the guardians of their rights and liberties; and that whilſt they were purſuing every dutiful and peaceable meaſure, in order to procure a cordial and effectual reconciliation between Great Britain and her colonies, they felt the deepeſt concern that his excellency ſhould proceed in a manner that bore ſo hoſtile an appearance, and which even thoſe oppreſſive laws did not warrant. They repreſented the tendency which this conduct muſt have to irritate and force a people into hoſtilities, however well diſpoſed to peaceable meaſures, and involve them in the horrors of civil war. In order to prevent theſe evils, they entreated the general to diſcontinue the fortifications at Boſton, and to give orders that the communications between the town and country ſhould be open and free.

The Congreſs at the ſame time publiſhed a declaration of rights; to which they maintained that the Engliſh colonies in North America are entitled by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the conſtitution, and their ſeveral charters or compacts. Among the firſt of theſe are life, liberty, and property; a right to the diſpoſal of any of which they had never ceded to any ſovereign power whatſoever, and conſequently none of them could be diſpoſed of without their conſent. They repreſent, as has often been done for them, that their anceſtors, at the time of their emigration, were entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of Engliſhmen, and that by ſuch emigration they neither forfeited ſurrendered, nor loſt any of thoſe rights; that the foundation of Engliſh liberty, and of all free governments, is a right in the people to participate in their legiſlative council; and they proceeded to ſhew, That as the coloniſts are not, and from various cauſes cannot be repreſented in the Britiſh parliament, they are entitled to a free and excluſive power of legiſlation in their ſeveral provincial aſſemblies, (where their right of repreſentation can alone be preſerved) in all caſes of taxation and internal policy.

In order to qualify the extent of this demand of legiſlative power in their aſſemblies, which might ſeem to leave no room for parliamentary interference, in order to aſcertain their dependence on the mother country, they declare, That, from the neceſſity of the caſe, and a regard to the intereſt of both countries, they con-

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ſent to the operation of ſuch acts of the Britiſh parliament as are confined to the regulation of their external commerce, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother-country, and the commercial benefit of its reſpective members, but excluding every idea of taxation, internal, or external, for raiſing a revenue on the ſubjects in America, without their conſent.

The Congreſs alſo reſolved, that the colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and more eſpecially to the great and ineſtimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage; that they are likewiſe entitled to all the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or ſecured by their ſeveral codes of provincial laws, which had received the ſanction of the crown; that they have a right to aſſemble peaceably, conſider of their grievances, and petition the king for redreſs; and that all proſecutions, and prohibitory proclamations, on account of their ſo doing, are illegal; that the keeping of a ſtanding army in the time of peace, in any colony, without the conſent of its legiſlature, is contrary to law; that it is eſſential to the Engliſh conſtitution, that the conſtituent branches of the legiſlature ſhould be independent of each other; that therefore the exerciſe of legiſlative power, by a council appointed during pleaſure by the crown, is unconſtitutional, and deſtructive to the freedom of American legiſlation.

After thus ſpecifying their rights, and enumerating their grievances, the Congreſs declared, That, in order to obtain redreſs of the latter, which threatened deſtruction to the lives, liberty, and property of the people of North America, a non-importation, non-conſumption, and non-exportation agreement, would prove the moſt ſpeedy, effectual, and peaceable meaſure. They accordingly entered into an aſſociation, by which they bound themſelves, and of courſe their conſtituents, to the obſervance of a variety of articles to the foregoing purpoſe, "until the repeal of ſuch acts, or parts of acts, as impoſe or continue duties on tea, wine, molaſſes, ſyrups, paneles, coffee, ſugar, pimento, indigo, and foreign paper, imported into America; and alſo until the repeal of the four acts paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament; namely, that for ſtopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boſton; that for altering the charter and government of Maſſachuſets Bay; that which is intituled an act for the better adminiſtration of Juſtice; and that for extending the limits of the government of Quebec, and other purpoſes therein mentioned!"

The Congreſs now proceeded to frame a petition to his majeſty; a memorial to the people of Great Britain; an addreſs to the colonies in general, and another to the inhabitants of the province of Quebec. The petition to his majeſty contains an enumeration of thoſe grievances already mentioned in their reſolutions, and abounds with expreſſions of loyalty, duty and affection. They declare that from the pernicious ſyſtem of policy in regard to America, adopted ſince the concluſion of the late war, have flowed all thoſe diſtreſſes, dangers, fears, and jealouſies, which overwhelm the colonies with affliction; and "appealing to that Being, who ſearches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, they ſolemnly profeſs,

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that their councils have been influenced by no other motive than a dread of impending deſtruction." This is a very extraordinary aſſeveration; and the man who can implicitly believe it, muſt have an equal ſhare of Chriſtian faith and charity.

The memorial to the people of Great Britain is a maſterly compoſition; and ſhews the abilities, if not the views of the Congreſs, in a very advantageous light. After beſtowing the higheſt praiſes on the inhabitants of this iſland, on account of the glorious ſtand which they have at different times made in defence of their liberty and independency, "be not therefore ſurpriſed," ſay they, "that we, who are deſcended from the ſame common anceſtors; that we, whoſe foreſathers participated in all the rights, the liberties, and the conſtitution of which you are ſo juſtly proud, and who tranſmitted the ſame fair inheritance to us, guarantied by the plighted faith of government, and the moſt ſolemn compacts with Britiſh ſovereigns, ſhould refuſe to ſurrender them to men, who found their claims on no principles of reaſon; and who proſecute them with a deſign, that, by having our lives and property in their power, they may with the greater facility enſlave you." This artful preamble is followed by an enumeration of what they conſider as their rights, and a long ſtring of grievances, which they trace, as in the petition to the king, up to the concluſion of the late war. They endeavour by a variety of arguments to vindicate their conduct, and proceed to examine what they call the miniſterial plan for enſlaving them. They repreſent the probable conſequences to this country of a perſeverance in that plan, even though it ſhould be attended with ſucceſs. "In what condition will you then be?—What advantages, or what laurels will you reap from ſuch a conqueſt?—Your national debt, which already preſſes down your liberties, and fills you with penſioners and placemen, will doubtleſs be increaſed; your commerce, we preſume, will alſo be ſomewhat diminiſhed: but granting it ſhould be otherwiſe; may not a miniſter with the ſame armies that have ſubdued us, enſlave you?"—If to this it is anſwered, that we will ceaſe to pay thoſe armies, they reply, that the power of taxing America at pleaſure will pour ſuch a tide of wealth into the royal coffers, as will not only render the crown independent on the inhabitants of Britain for ſupplies, but will furniſh it with treaſure ſufficient to purchaſe the ſmall remains of liberty in the iſland *. "In a word, ſay they, "take care, that you do not fall into the pit that is preparing for us."

"We believe," add they, "that there is yet much virtue, much juſtice, and much public ſpirit in the Engliſh nation. To that juſtice we now appeal. You have been told that we are ſeditious, impatient of government, and deſirous of independency: be aſſured, that theſe are not facts, but calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourſelves, and we ſhall ever eſteem an union with you as our greateſt happineſs: we ſhall ever be ready to contribute all in our power to the welfare of the empire; and ſhall conſider your enemies as our enemies, and your intereſt as our own. But if you are determined, that your miniſters ſhall

* If there is any truth in this, all their former repreſentations of the poverty of their condition muſt have been egregiouſly falſe.

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wantonly ſport with the rights of mankind*; if neither the voice of juſtice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the conſtitution, nor the ſuggeſtions of humanity can reſtrain your hands from ſhedding human blood, in ſuch an impious cauſe, we muſt then tell you, That we never will ſubmit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water for any miniſtry or nation in the world."

In their addreſs to the colonies, the Congreſs inform them, That, as in duty and juſtice bound, they have deliberately, diſpaſſionately, and impartially examined and conſidered all the meaſures that led to the preſent diſturbances: the exertions of both the legiſlative and executive powers of Great Britain, on one hand, and the conduct of the colonies on the other; that upon the whole, they find themſelves reduced to the diſagreeable alternative of being ſilent and betraying the innocent, or of ſpeaking out and cenſuring thoſe they wiſh to revere; and that in making their choice, they have preferred the courſe dictated by honour, and a regard for the welfare of their country. After ſtating and examining the ſeveral laws paſſed, and the meaſures purſued with reſpect to America, from the year 1764, they conclude, that "it is clear, beyond a doubt, that a reſolution is formed, and now carrying into execution, to extinguiſh the freedom of the colonies, by ſubjecting them to a deſpotic government." They next proceed to ſtate the importance of the truſt which was repoſed in them, and the manner in which they have diſcharged it. On this ſubject they ſay, That though the ſtate of the colonies would certainly juſtify other meaſures, than thoſe which they have adviſed, yet they have weighty reaſons for ſuch a choice; that they have adopted a mode of oppoſition, which, far as things have been carried, does not preclude a hearty reconciliation with their fellow citizens on the other ſide of the Atlantic.

This addreſs is on the whole well executed, and breathes a deluſive ſpirit of moderation; but of all the papers publiſhed by the American congreſs, their addreſs to the French inhabitants of Canada, diſcovers the moſt able and ingenious methods of application to the temper and paſſions of thoſe whom they endeavour to gain. They begin with ſtating the right the Canadians had, on becoming Engliſh ſubjects, to the ineſtimable benefits of the Engliſh conſtitution; that this right was farther confirmed, by the royal proclamation, in the year 1763, plighting the public faith for their full enjoyment of thoſe advantages; and they impute to ſucceeding miniſters an audacious and cruel abuſe of the royal authority, in with holding from them the fruition of the irrevocable rights, to which they were thus fully entitled. "As we have lived," ſay they, "to the unexpected time, when miniſters of this flagitious temper have dared to violate the moſt ſacred compacts and obligations; and as you, educated under another form of government, have artfully been kept from diſcerning the unſpeakable worth of that form you are now undoubtedly entitled to, we eſteem it our duty, to explain to you

* It may not be improper here to remark, that the miniſters accuſed by the Congreſs of ſporting with the rights of mankind, as we learn from their complaints, are not only the preſent miniſtry, under lord North, but thoſe under the honourable George Grenville, thoſe under the marquis of Rockingham, and thoſe under the duke of Grafton and the earl of Chatham.

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ſome of its moſt important branches." They accordingly proceed to ſpecify and illuſtrate, under ſeveral heads, the principal rights to which the people are entitled by the Engliſh conſtitution; ſupported by corroborating quotations, in regard to their neceſſity, from Monteſquieu and the marquis de Beccaria. "Theſe are the rights," add they, "without which a people cannot be free and happy, and under the protecting and encouraging influence of which theſe colonies have hitherto ſo amazingly flouriſhed and increaſed: theſe are the rights a profligate miniſtry are now ſtriving, by force of arms, to raviſh from us, and which we are, with one mind, reſolved never to reſign but with our lives.

"Theſe are the rights to which you are entitled, and which you ought at this moment in perfection to exerciſe!—And what is offered to you by the late act of parliament in their place?—Liberty of conſcience in your religion:—No! God gave it to you; and the temporal powers, with which you have been and are connected, firmly ſtipulated for your enjoyment of it. If laws divine or human could ſecure it againſt the deſpotic capacities of wicked men, it was ſecured before. Are the French laws in civil caſes reſtored?—It ſeems ſo; but obſerve the cautious kindneſs of the miniſters who pretend to be your benefactors: the words of the ſtatute are, that thoſe laws ſhall be the *rule*, until they ſhall be *varied* or *altered* by any ordinances of the governor and council. Is the *certainty* and *lenity* of the criminal law of England, and its *benefits* and *advantages*, commended in the ſtatute, and ſaid to have been *ſenſibly felt* by you, ſecured to you and your deſcendants?—No. They too are ſubject to arbitrary alterations by the governor and council; and a power is expreſsly reſerved of appointing ſuch courts of criminal, civil, and eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, as ſhall be thought proper *. Such is the precarious tenure of mere will, by which you hold your lives and your religion.

"The crown and its miniſters are impowered, as far as could be by parliament, to eſtabliſh even the *inquiſition* itſelf among you. Have you an aſſembly compoſed of worthy men, elected by yourſelves, and in whom you can confide, to make laws for you; to watch over your welfare, and to direct in what quantity and in what manner, your money ſhall be taken from you?—No. The power of making laws for you is lodged in the governor and council, all of them dependent upon, and removeable at the pleaſure of a miniſter.—In the very act for altering your government, and intended to flatter you, you are not authoriſed to aſſeſs, levy or apply any rates and taxes, but for the inferior purpoſes of making roads, and erecting and repairing public buildings, or for other local conveniencies, within your reſpective towns and diſtricts. Why this degrading diſtinction? Ought not the property honeſtly acquired by Canadians, be held as ſacred as that of Engliſhmen?—Have Canadians not ſenſe enough to attend to any other public affairs, than gathering ſtones from one place and piling them up in another?—Unhappy people! who are not only injured but inſulted. What would your countryman, the immortal Monteſqueiu, have ſaid of ſuch a

* This power, by the act is veſted in the crown, not in the governor and council.

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plan of adminiſtration as is formed for you?—Hear his words with an intenſeneſs of thought ſuited to the occaſion: "In a free ſtate, every man, who is ſuppoſed a free agent, ought to be concerned in his own government; therefore the legiſlature ſhould reſide in the whole body of the people, or in their repreſentatives:"—and he farther obſerves, that "when the power of *making* laws, and the power of *executing* them are *united* in the *ſame* perſon, or in the *ſame* body of magiſtrates, there can be *no liberty* *; becauſe apprehenſions may ariſe, leſt the ſame monarch or ſenate ſhould *enact* tyrannical laws, to *execute* them in a tyrannical manner: nor can there be *any liberty*, if the power of *judging* be not ſeparated from the *legiſlative* and *executive* powers."

"Apply theſe deciſive maxims," continue they, "ſanctified by the authority of a name which all Europe reveres to your own ſtate. You have a governor, it may be urged, veſted with the *executive* powers, or the powers of adminiſtration. In him, and in the council, is lodged the power of *making laws*. You have *judges* who are to *decide* every cauſe affecting your lives, liberty, or property. Here is indeed an appearance of the ſeveral powers being ſeparated and diſtributed into different hands, for checks one upon another; the only effectual mode ever invented by the wit of men, to promote their freedom and proſperity: but ſcorning to be illuded by a tinſelled outſide, and exerting the natural *ſagacity* of Frenchmen, examine the ſpecious device, and you will find it, to uſe an expreſſion of Holy Writ, *a painted ſepulchre* for burying your lives, liberty, and property.

"Your judges, and your legiſlative council, as it is called, are dependent on your governor, and he is dependent on the ſervant of the crown in Great Britain. The *legiſlative*, *executive*, and *judging* powers, are *all* moved by the nod of a miniſter: privileges and immunities laſt no longer than his ſmiles; when he frowns, their feeble forms diſſolve!—Such a treacherous ingenuity has been exerted in drawing up the code lately offered to you, that every ſentence, beginning with a benevolent propoſition, concludes with a deſtructive power; and the ſubſtance of the whole, diveſted of its ſmooth words, is, That the crown and its miniſter ſhall be as abſolute throughout your extended province, as the deſpots of Aſia or Africa. What can protect your property from taxing edicts, and the rapacity of neceſſitous and cruel maſters? your perſons from *lettres de cachet*, gaols, dungeons, and oppreſſive ſervice? your lives and general liberty from arbitrary and unfeeling rulers?—We defy you, caſting your view upon every ſide, to diſcover a ſingle circumſtance, promiſing from any quarter the faineſt hope of liberty to you or your poſterity, but from an entire *adoption* into the UNION of theſe COLONIES.

"What advice would the truly great man before mentioned, Monteſquieu, that advocate of freedom and humanity give you, were he now living, and knew

* The political liberty of the ſubject, according to Monteſquieu, is a *tranquillity of mind*, ariſing from the opinion each perſon has of his *ſafety*. In order to poſſeſs this liberty, he obſerves, it is requiſite the government be ſo conſtituted, that no one man need be *afraid* of another: and his exemplification of this idea, as well as the maxim, is evidently borrowed from the Engliſh conſtitution. But excellent as the Engliſh conſtitution is, who can doubt but *political liberty*, or that *tranquillity of mind* which ariſes from *an opinion* of *perſonal ſafety*, may exiſt under another form of government?

that

that we, your *numerous* and *powerful* neighbours, animated by a juſt love of our invaded rights, and *united* by the indiſſoluble bands of affection and *intereſt*, called upon you, by every obligation of regard for yourſelves and your children, as we now do, to *join us* in our righteous *conteſt?* to make *a common cauſe* with us therein, and take a noble chance *for emerging* from an humiliating *ſubjection* under governors, intendants, and military tyrants, into the firm rank and condition of Engliſh freemen, whoſe cuſtom it is, derived from their anceſtors, to make thoſe tremble, who dare to think of making them miſerable—would not this be the purport of his addreſs?—" Seize the opportunity preſented to you by Providence itſelf. You have been conquered into liberty, if you act as you ought. This work is not of man. You are a ſmall people, compared to thoſe who with open arms invite you into a fellowſhip. A moment's reflection ſhould convince you which will be moſt for your intereſt and happineſs—to have all the reſt of North America your unalterable friends, or your inveterate enemies. The injuries of Boſton have rouſed and aſſociated every colony, from Nova Scotia to Georgia. Your province is the only link wanting to complete the bright and *ſtrong* chain of *union*. Nature has joined your country to theirs. Do you join your political intereſts. For their own ſakes, they will never deſert or betray you *."

Theſe public meaſures being adopted, the delegates put an end to their ſeſſion, after having reſolved, That a Congreſs ſhould be held in the ſame place on the 10th day of May, 1775, unleſs the redreſs of grievances which they had deſired, ſhould be obtained before that time: and they recommended to all the colonies to chuſe deputies, as ſoon as poſſible, for that purpoſe. They alſo, in their own names, and in behalf of all thoſe whom they repreſented, declared their " moſt grateful acknowledgments to thoſe truly *noble*, *honourable*, and *patriotic* advocates of civil and religious liberty, who had ſo generouſly and powerfully, though unſucceſsfully, eſpouſed and defended the cauſe of America, both in and out of parliament." Theſe are flattering epithets, and were, no doubt, very pleaſing to thoſe who thought they had a right to the application of them. But if by the advocates of America are to be underſtood that ſet of men, either in or out of parliament, who dare inſult a peaceful monarch's reign; who under the different leaders of faction, oppoſe every national meaſure, from a ſpirit of oppoſition; who ſound the trumpet, without having courage to wield the ſword of rebellion—if by the advocates of America are to be underſtood thoſe men who continue to deny the right of Great Britain to tax America, in contradiction to long parliamentary uſage, and in contempt of the force of a poſitive ſtatute, inſtead of meriting ſuch ſounding appellations, at leaſt from the inhabitants of this country, they deſerve to be branded with the name moſt odious among men united in civil ſociety; and the time has been when they would not only

October 26.

* After ſuch an artful and inflammatory addreſs, it is ſurpriſing that the congreſs ſhould ever have had the effrontery either to avow allegiance to Great Britain, or to diſclaim their ambitious purpoſe of independency. This addreſs, excluſive of every other circumſtance, and of the proofs ariſing from their ſubſequent conduct, is of itſelf ſufficient to put ſuch a purpoſe beyond a doubt.

have

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have borne the reproach, but have ſuffered the puniſhment denounced by the law againſt traitors. Nay, the preſent is perhaps the only example in the hiſtory of poliſhed nations, when it was accounted no crime to abet the cauſe of the enemies of the ſtate, to diſpute the authority of the ſupreme legiſlature, and to vindicate the claims of thoſe whom it has declared rebels.

Miſled by the writings and the ſpeeches of ſuch pretended patriots, the Americans imagined all England was of one opinion in regard to them, except thoſe whom they were taught to term the tools of the court; and even the court itſelf they hoped would be obliged to accede to their pretenſions, on the meeting of a new parliament. The king had been frequently importuned to diſſolve the former one; and he at length thought proper to exerciſe that branch of his prerogative, ſo dangerous to the liberty of the people. For if the king has the power of diſſolving a parliament obnoxious to his ſubjects, he has alſo the power of diſſolving one obnoxious to himſelf; and the conſequences to which that leads are too obvious to need being pointed out. The people, however, could not blame a meaſure they had ſo often ſolicited, and the court had its reaſons for ſuch a conduct. The new parliament met on the 30th of November, a few days after the congreſs roſe; and although, at the elections, a more than common proportion of the old members are ſaid to have been thrown out, the ſpeech from the throne announced a continuation of the ſame vigorous meaſures with reſpect to America. Having mentioned the unlawful combination that had been formed, in order to obſtruct the trade of this kingdom, his majeſty aſſured the two houſes, that they might "depend upon his firm and ſtedfaſt reſolution to withſtand every attempt to weaken or impair the ſupreme authority of the legiſlature over all the dominions of the crown; the maintenance of which he conſidered as eſſential to the dignity, the ſafety, and the welfare of the Britiſh empire."

A. D. 1775. January 20.

No ſtep, however, was taken in regard to the affairs of the colonies, till the beginning of the year; when the earl of Chatham, after a long abſence, appeared in the Houſe of Lords, to expreſs his diſapprobation of the whole ſyſtem of American meaſures. Though his power and influence were, for many reaſons, much diminiſhed, his appearance could at no time be wholly without effect. As ſoon as the papers relative to the affairs in queſtion were produced, he moved an addreſs to his majeſty, for recalling the troops from Boſton. This motion was uſhered in and ſupported by a long ſpeech, in which his lordſhip repreſented ſuch a meaſure as a matter of immediate neceſſity. "An hour now loſt, ſaid he, in allaying the ferment in America, may produce years of calamity: the preſent ſituation of the troops render them and the Americans continually liable to events, which may cut off the poſſibility of a reconciliation; but this well-timed mark of affection and good will, on our ſide, will remove all jealouſy and apprehenſion on the other, and inſtantaneouſly produce the happieſt effects to both." He announced his motion as introductory of a plan which he had formed, for a ſolid, honourable, and laſting ſettlement between England and America. "I now only ſet my foot," added he, "upon the threſhold of Peace."


E OF CHATHAM

The language of the lords in adminiſtration was high and deciſive. They condemned the conduct of the Americans in the ſtrongeſt and moſt explicit terms, and inſiſted, that, all conciliating means having proved ineffectual, it was full time for the mother-country to aſſert her authority, or for ever to relinquiſh it. "If the taſk is difficult now," ſaid they, "what will it be in a few years? Parliament muſt be obeyed, or it muſt not: if it is to be obeyed, who ſhall reſiſt its determinations?—If otherwiſe, it is better to give up at once every claim to authority over America. The ſupremacy of the Britiſh legiſlature cannot be diſputed; and the idea of an inactive right, when there is the moſt urgent neceſſity for its exerciſe, is abſurd and ridiculous. If we give way on the preſent occaſion, from miſtaken notions of preſent advantages in trade and commerce, ſuch a conceſſion will infallibly defeat its own object: for it is plain that the Navigation Act, and all other regulatory acts, which form the great baſis on which theſe advantages reſt, and on which the true intereſts of both countries depend, will fall a victim to the ſelfiſh and ambitious views of the Americans." In a word, it was declared, that the mother-country ſhould never relax till America confeſſed her ſupremacy; and it was avowed to be the reſolution of the miniſtry, to enforce obedience by arms.

The lords in the minority, during this debate, did not ſeem to be fully agreed on the propriety of recalling the troops. Some noblemen, who were the moſt earneſt for a reconciliation, did not think it by any means juſt or wiſe, to leave thoſe who had riſked their lives in ſupport of the claims of this country, however ill-founded or improperly exerciſed, as unprotected victims to the rage of an armed and incenſed populace; and that too before any ſtipulations were made for their ſafety. They thought that if conciliatory propoſitions were offered, the troops then at Boſton were not numerous enough to raiſe any alarm on account of a ſuppoſed ill faith in keeping them up, and could nowiſe prevent the reſtoration of peace. It was wrong at firſt to ſend the force; but it might be dangerous to recall it before a reconciliation was accompliſhed. They however ſupported the motion, becauſe it looked towards that great object; and becauſe they thought any thing better, they ſaid, than a perſeverance in hoſtility. But after a pretty long debate, the motion was rejected by a great majority; there appearing, on a diviſion, only eighteen in favour of it, and ſixty-eight againſt it.

This deciſive victory reſtored the confidence of the miniſter, and perhaps encouraged him to meaſures, in the lower houſe, which he would not otherwiſe have hazarded at the meeting of a new parliament. On the American papers being laid before the Houſe of Commons, a celebrated gentleman in the oppoſition, deſired that the houſe might be informed, whether theſe papers contained all the intelligence which the miniſtry had received from America. The miniſter replied, that he would not undertake to ſay they did, as thoſe which he had brought were extracts, containing only the facts in the original letters; that the opinions of the writers were not mentioned, it having been frequently found, that the making public the private opinions of men in office had been attended

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with bad conſequences: therefore his majeſty's ſervants had determined for the future, never to mention the private opinion of any perſon. The gentleman who propoſed the queſtion remarked, that in ſome caſes it might be proper to keep a perſon's private opinion ſecret, but in ſo critical and alarming an affair as that of the Americans, the opinions of the people in power on the ſpot muſt be of great ſervice; that their judgment muſt operate here as facts, or at leaſt that facts, unconnected with the opinions of thoſe who beſt knew the ſpirit and tendency of each action, would be of little uſe; that things were gone too far to make it neceſſary to conceal the ſentiments of any man in office in America; that the riſk to be run, at ſuch a time, is a neceſſary conſequence of their ſituation, and that they would be more endangered by the ignorance of parliament concerning their ſentiments, than by any ſentiments they could deliver: he was therefore of opinion, that the whole of the information received from America ought to be laid before the houſe, and not ſuch extracts from particular letters, as ſuited the miniſter's purpoſe.

This propoſition being rejected, the miniſter moved, that the American papers, conſiſting chiefly of letters from the governors of the ſeveral provinces, ſhould be referred to a committee of the whole houſe; and that a ſeparate committee ſhould be appointed to take into conſideration the petitions from the principal trading and manufacturing towns relative to the ſame ſubject. In favour of this diſtinction, the miniſtry urged, that the matter was to be taken up in a political, not in a commercial light; that therefore, as there was little connexion between the views of the houſe and thoſe of the merchants and manufacturers, it would be the higheſt abſurdity that a committee, whoſe thoughts were occupied with the former, ſhould be at all broke in upon or diſturbed by the latter. This idea was ſeverely reprobated by the gentlemen in oppoſition. "Is it then true," ſaid they, "that in a queſtion concerning the colonies, politics and commerce are ſeparate and independent objects?—But if they are, ſtill the information which the merchants may give, in their evidence, of matters merely political, may be of advantage to the houſe. Their correſpondencies are of all kinds. They do not ſcruple to offer to the houſe all they know of the ſtate of America, without thoſe fears which affect our officers in that country; and as the miniſter has refuſed to give us the whole correſpondence, this ſupplemental information is become the more neceſſary."

It was further repreſented on the part of adminiſtration, that the committee for the conſideration of the American papers was appointed with a view to their coming to ſome ſpeedy reſolution, ſuited to the dignity of parliament, and to the preſent ſtate of affairs in North America; that the reſtoration of peace in that country, depended as much upon the immediate application, as upon the vigour of the meaſures purſued; that the great variety of facts, and the maſs of matter which muſt of courſe come under conſideration in the committee to which the petitions were referred, would be a work of tedious inquiry and long toil; that ſuch a length of inquiry was incompatible with the diſpatch neceſſary

in



Dr. FRANKLIN.

in the other buſineſs, as the hands of government would thereby be tied up, and the powers of parliament reſtrained from giving that ſpeedy relief, which the preſſure of public affairs required. On the ſide of oppoſition, it was replied, that the miniſtry need not be in ſuch a violent haſte to forward coercive meaſures, which experience had ſhewn, in late inſtances, to be highly pernicious; that it would be leſs inſulting to the petitioners, and leſs diſgraceful to parliament, as well as fairer and more manly, at once to reject the petitions, though they contained nothing exceptionable either in matter or form, than to conſign them to what was termed "a committee of *oblivion*," or to hear them after a determination. The motion was however carried, by a majority of more than two to one.

A petition was afterwards offered to the Houſe of Commons from Mr. Bollan, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Lee, three American agents, ſtating, That they were authoriſed by the American continental Congreſs, to preſent a petition from the Congreſs to the king, which petition his majeſty had referred to that houſe; that they were enabled to throw great light upon the affairs of North America, and prayed to be heard at the bar, in ſupport of the ſaid petition. On this ſubject a violent debate aroſe. The miniſtry alledged, that the Congreſs was no legal body, and that no perſon could be heard in regard to their proceedings, without giving that illegal body ſome degree of countenance; that parliament could only hear the colonies through their legal aſſemblies, and the agents properly authoriſed by them, and regularly admitted as ſuch here; that to act otherwiſe would lead to inextricable confuſion, and deſtroy the whole order of colony-government. To theſe arguments it was anſwered, That regular colony-government was in effect deſtroyed already:—in ſome places, by act of parliament; in others, by the diſſolution of aſſemblies by governors; and in ſeveral, by popular violence. The queſtion now was, How to reſtore order?—And it was urged, that the General Congreſs, how illegal ſoever in other reſpects, was ſufficiently legal for preſenting a petition; eſpecially as this petition was ſigned by all the perſons who compoſed that aſſembly, and might therefore be received as from individuals. The petition was however rejected, on a diviſion, by a majority of two hundred and eighteen to ſixty-eight. Jan. 26.

In this manner the parties tried their ſtrength in the new parliament, and in the nation, by petitions for and againſt the meaſures of government in reſpect to the colonies, previous to the propoſing of the grand ſcheme, on which the miniſtry reſted their hope of finally breaking that obſtinate ſpirit, which gave them ſo much trouble in America. It was already evident, that the failure of their former plans had not in the leaſt abated the readineſs ſhewn, by both houſes of parliament, to adopt any others which ſhould afford the moſt diſtant proſpect of ſucceſs; and it was confidently believed and aſſerted, that when the merchants and manufacturers were deprived of all hopes of preventing the operation of force, it would then become their united intereſt to give all poſſible effect to it. Thus would they become, by degrees, a principal ſupport of that cauſe which they now ſo eagerly oppoſed: when once every thing was made to depend upon war, nothing but the ſucceſs of that war could give the trading body any hopes of

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of recovering their debts and renewing their commerce; therefore not only their opinion of the efficacy of ſuch a mode of proceeding in America, but the hopes of engaging a great body at home to concur in it, determined the miniſtry more and more to go through with, and complete that coercive plan which they had begun.

Meanwhile the earl of Chatham, not diſcouraged at the great majority by which his motion for the recal of the troops from Boſton was rejected, ſtill perſevered in the proſecution of that conciliatory ſcheme with America, which he then in part announced, and to which that motion was but an introduction.

Feb. 1. His lordſhip accordingly brought into the Houſe of Peers the outlines of a bill, which he hoped would anſwer that ſalutary purpoſe, under the title of "a Proviſional Act for ſettling the troubles in America, and for aſſerting the ſupreme legiſlative authority and ſuperintending power of Great Britain over the colonies." He entreated the aſſiſtance of the houſe to digeſt the rude materials, which thrown together in the nature of a bill, he now preſumed to lay before them; to reduce the whole to that form, which was ſuited to the dignity and importance of the ſubject, and to the great ends towards which it was directed. He called on them to exerciſe their candour, and deprecated the effects of party or prejudice, of factious ſpleen or blind predilection: he declared himſelf to be actuated by no narrow principle, or perſonal conſideration whatſoever; and ſaid, that though the propoſed bill might be looked upon as a bill of conceſſion, it was impoſſible but to confeſs at the ſame time, that it was a bill of aſſertion.

This bill, which occaſioned a variety of diſcuſſions, both in and out of parliament, contained a multiplicity of matter, and its parts were ſo numerous and ſo different in their nature, that the aggregate maſs has been thought too great to be compriſed in one draught. As it was in a great meaſure conditional, its operation depended, not only on the conſent, but on the acts of others; and as a farther objection, a long time might elapſe before it could be certainly known, whether it was or was not to operate. It laid down, as a principle not to be controverted, and a condition upon which all the benefits of the act depended, a full acknowledgment of the ſupremacy of the legiſlature, and of the ſuperintending power of the Britiſh parliament. Though it did not abſolutely decide in words upon the right of taxation, but ſeemed to leave it partly as a matter of grace, and partly as a compromiſe; yet by declaring and enacting, that no *tallage*, *tax*, or other *charge* ſhall be *levied* in America, except by *common conſent* in the *provincial aſſemblies*, both the right of taxation and the right of the Britiſh legiſlature to order taxes to be levied in another manner, are evidently implied in this form of conceſſion. The bill aſſerts, as an undoubted prerogative, the royal right to ſend any part of a legal army to any part of the dominions of the crown, at all times and all ſeaſons, and condemns a paſſage in the petition from the American congreſs which militates with that right: but by way of ſalvo, it declares, that no military force, however legally raiſed and kept, can ever be lawfully employed to violate and diſtroy the juſt rights of the people; a declaration which, it was ſaid, would afford little conſolation to a people groaning under the preſſure of a military go-

vernment. It rendered legal the holding of a Congreſs in the enſuing month of May, for the double purpoſe of duly recognizing the ſupreme legiſlative authority and ſuperintending power of parliament over the colonies, and for making a free grant to the king, his heirs and ſucceſſors, of a certain and perpetual revenue, ſubject to the diſpoſition of parliament, and applicable to the alleviation of the national debt. On a ſuppoſition that this free aid would bear an honourable proportion to the great and flouriſhing ſtate of the colonies, the neceſſities of the mother-country, and their obligations to her, the bill reſtrained the powers of the admiralty courts to their ancient limits; and without repealing, it ſuſpended for a limited time thoſe late acts, or parts of acts, which had been complained of in the petition from the general congreſs. It placed the judges on the ſame footing, as to the holding of their ſalaries and offices with thoſe in England; and it ſecured to the colonies all the privileges, franchiſes, and immunities, granted by their ſeveral charters and conſtitutions.

Lord Dartmouth, who was then at the head of the American department, behaved on this occaſion with great moderation. He ſaid that the bill took in ſuch a variety of matter, that it was impoſſible to pronounce any immediate opinion concerning its propriety; and that as its noble author did not ſeem to preſs the houſe to any immediate deciſion, but appeared rather deſirous that it ſhould be maturely and fully conſidered, he was willing to take it into conſideration after the American papers. But this conceſſion had no effect upon the other lords in adminiſtration, who oppoſed it with ſo much heat, as in ſome meaſure to forget the reſpect due to its noble framer, and that attention which the importance of the ſubject ſeemed to demand. They condemned, without reſerve, the bill in whole and in all its parts, and cenſured the mode of bringing it in as irregular, unparliamentary, and unprecedented: they affirmed that it was impoſſible to conceive how ſuch a maſs of matter, ſo important in its nature, ſo extenſive in its conſequences, and directed to ſuch a variety of objects, each of them worthy of a ſeparate conſideration, could be thus brought forward together, and in ſuch a manner; that the matter ſhould have been laid before the houſe in ſeparate portions, each of which ought to be ſingly diſcuſſed, as leading to one great comprehenſive ſyſtem. It was beſides contended, that this bill fell in with the ideas of the Americans in almoſt every particular, and held out no one ſecurity; that the ſuſpenſion of the late acts, as propoſed in the bill, would in effect amount to an actual repeal; that if the laws for eſtabliſhing the admiralty courts were repealed, the Act of Navigation would be of no farther avail, and become only a dead letter. The rebellious temper and hoſtile diſpoſition of the Americans was much enlarged upon; they were not diſputing about words, it was ſaid, but about realities; that though the duty upon the tea was the pretence, the reſtrictions upon their commerce, and the hope of throwing them off, were the real motives of their diſobedience; that they had already attacked and taken one of the king's forts *, and ſeized the ſtores and ammunition, in order to employ

* This act of hoſtility we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to relate.

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them againſt himſelf; that if any thing can conſtitute rebellion, this muſt; that the preſent was no time for conceſſion; that to concede now, would be to give up the point for ever. It was therefore moved, and ſtrongly ſupported by all the lords on the ſide of adminiſtration, That the bill ſhould be rejected in the firſt inſtance.

The earl of Chatham defended himſelf and his purpoſed act with great ſpirit and vigour: the indignity that was offered to his conciliatory plan, which appears to have been a favourite object, ſeemed to renew all the fire of youth; and he retorted the ſarcaſms that were levelled againſt him, from different quarters, with a moſt pointed ſeverity. If he was charged with hurrying this buſineſs in an unuſual and irregular manner into parliament, he placed it to the critical neceſſity of the times; to the wretched inattention and incapacity of the miniſters, who though they declared all America to be in a ſtate of rebellion, had not at this late ſeaſon a plan to propoſe, or a ſyſtem to purſue, for the adjuſtment of public affairs; that under ſuch circumſtances of emergency on one ſide, when perhaps a ſingle day might determine the fate of this great empire, and ſuch a ſhameful negligence and inability on the other, no alternative remained, but either to abandon the intereſts of this country, and relinquiſh his duty, or to propoſe ſuch meaſures as ſeemed moſt capable of reſtoring peace and proſperity. He then called upon the ſervants of the crown to declare, whether they had any plan, however deficient, to lay before the houſe?—And if they had, he would ſet them an example of candour, which they by no means deſerved, by inſtantly withdrawing the preſent bill.

Though it was evident that no previous concert had been held with the lords in oppoſition, in regard to this bill, and that few of them, if there had, would have approved of it in all its parts; yet they all felt, as in their own caſe, the inſult offered, and the contempt ſhewn, by throwing it out in this abrupt and diſgraceful manner. A conciliatory ſcheme from ſo great a man, it was ſaid, ſhould at leaſt be examined: the exceptionable parts might be ſtruck out; and undoubtedly many would afterwards be found, highly uſeful to retain. The debate became general, and the whole of the American affairs underwent a warm diſcuſſion. On one ſide, the dangers of a civil war were ſhewn, as well with reſpect to its domeſtic as its foreign conſequences, and its miſeries ſtrongly painted: our calamitous ſituation was deplored, and the men and meaſures that had involved us in ſuch a labyrinth of evils, were ſeverely execrated. On the other hand, the domeſtic dangers were in part leſſened, and thoſe reſpecting foreign ſtates, denied. The conſequent evils of rebellion, it was ſaid, were inſeparable from dominion, conqueſt, and extended empire; and, in the preſent inſtance, that they ſprung entirely from the original traiterous deſigns, hoſtile intentions, and rebellious diſpoſition of the Americans. After much keen altercation, and even perſonal animadverſion, if indeed ſo mild a name may be given to brutal abuſe, the bill was rejected by a majority of ſixty-one to thirty-two.

The day after this debate a petition was preſented to the Houſe of Commons, from the planters of the ſugar colonies reſiding in Great Britain, and the merchants of London trading to thoſe colonies. In this petition they ſet forth, how exceedingly they were alarmed at the aſſociation and agreement entered into by the

continental congreſs; in conſequence of which all trade between North America and the Weſt Indies was to ceaſe at a certain day, unleſs the late acts of parliament were repealed by that day: they ſtated that the Britiſh property in the Weſt India iſlands amounted to upwards of thirty millions ſterling; that another property of many millions was employed in the commerce created by the ſaid iſlands; a commerce comprehending Africa, the Eaſt Indies, and Europe; and that the whole profits and produce of thoſe capitals ultimately centre in Great Britain, and increaſe the national wealth, while the navigation neceſſary to all the branches of this trade eſtabliſhes a ſtrength, which wealth can neither purchaſe nor balance. They obſerved, that the ſugar plantations in the Weſt Indies are ſubject to greater variety of contingencies than any other ſpecies of landed property, from their neceſſary dependence upon external ſupport; that ſhould any interruption therefore happen in the general ſyſtem of their commerce, the great national ſtock thus veſted and employed, muſt become precarious and unprofitable; and that the profits ariſing from the preſent ſtate of thoſe iſlands, or which are likely to ariſe from their future improvement, in a great meaſure depend upon a free and reciprocal intercourſe between them and the ſeveral provinces of North America, whence they are furniſhed with proviſions and other ſupplies, abſolutely neceſſary for their ſupport, and the maintenance of the perſons employed in the plantations. They proceeded farther to ſhew, that they could not be ſupplied from any other markets, or in any degree proportioned to their wants, with thoſe articles of indiſpenſable neceſſity, which they then derived from the middle colonies of North America; and that if the agreement and aſſociation of the Congreſs ſhould take full effect, which they firmly believed would happen, unleſs the former harmony which ſubſiſted between Great Britain and her North American colonies ſhould be reſtored, the iſlands would be reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs.

This petition, like all the former upon the ſame ſubject, was referred to the committee eſtabliſhed for the examination of ſuch petitions; and the time being at length arrived, when the miniſter thought proper to open his deſigns with reſpect to America, he in a long ſpeech recapitulated the information contained in the papers which had been referred to the grand committee. He next proceeded to diſcriminate the temper, diſpoſition, and degrees of reſiſtance, which diſcovered themſelves in the ſeveral colonies; to point out thoſe where moderation really prevailed, thoſe where violence was concealed under the maſk of duty and ſubmiſſion, and thoſe which he conſidered to be in a ſtate of actual rebellion. He aſſerted with much truth, that various arts had been practiſed on both ſides of the Atlantic, to raiſe this ſeditious ſpirit to its preſent alarming height. He drew a compariſon between the burdens borne by the people in England and theſe in America; by which it appeared, that, one with another, an Engliſhman then contributed fifty times as much money towards the public expence as an American. He ſtated the legiſlative ſupremacy of parliament, the meaſures adopted by America to reſiſt it, and the almoſt univerſal confederacy of our colonies on the continent in that reſiſtance. "Here," ſaid he, "I ſet my foot

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foot on the great barrier which ſeparates, and for the preſent diſunites both countries; and on this ground alone, of reſiſtance and denial, I will raiſe every argument relative to the motion which I intend to make." This motion, he explained, would be for an addreſs to the king, and a conference with the lords, that it might be the joint act of both houſes. He then gave a ſketch of the meaſures which he intended to purſue; namely, to ſend a greater force to America; to bring in a temporary act to put a ſtop to all the foreign trade of the different colonies of New England, but particularly to their fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland, till ſuch time as they ſhould return to their duty. The other colonies, he ſaid, were not ſo culpable, and might yet he hoped be brought to a ſenſe of their duty to the mother-country by more lenient meaſures. The queſtion now, he added, lay within a very narrow compaſs; it was ſimply whether we ſhould abandon all claim on the colonies, and at once give up all the advantages ariſing from our ſovereignty and the commerce connected with it; or whether we ſhould reſort to the meaſures indiſpenſably neceſſary in ſuch circumſtances, and thereby inſure both.

This language was ſufficiently explicit, and the addreſs ſpoke yet plainer. After enumerating the diſorders in the colonies, and declaring that a rebellion actually exiſted in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, the two houſes of parliament "beg leave in the moſt ſolemn manner to aſſure his majeſty, that it is their fixed reſolution, at the hazard of their lives and properties, to ſtand by his majeſty againſt all rebellious attempts, in the maintenance of his juſt rights and thoſe of the legiſlature." An addreſs loaded with ſuch important conſequences called up all the powers of oppoſition, and a dread of the horrors of civil war, even induced ſome moderate men, properly of no party, to join with them. They contended, that it was a matter of little moment, though even this they doubted much, whether the diſturbances which prevailed in the colonies might legally be termed rebellious or not; that the queſtion before the houſe was, whether it was prudent for parliament, and at that time, to *declare* them ſuch; for if parliament ſhould find it neceſſary, in the courſe of events, to reconcile matters by any conceſſion, treaty with, and conceſſion to rebels, would be highly diſhonourable to parliament. If a treaty ſhould not take place, it was obſerved, that our arms would never be the more powerful for diſtinguiſhing the diſorders they were deſtined to ſuppreſs, and which had been created by the arbitrary conduct of thoſe in power, by the name of rebellion; that it would render many in America quite deſperate, and make them think that they were contending for their lives, their fortunes, and their families, as well as their political liberty. It was in vain expected, they ſaid, that this method of ſingling out Maſſachuſets Bay as the only ſeat of rebellion, could ever blind the other colonies to the conſequences, or perſuade them to abandon, what they had already made a common cauſe, in the moſt public and ſolemn manner poſſible; that it was well known no act of violence had been committed in Maſſachuſets Bay, which was not equalled by ſomething of a ſimilar, and ſometimes even of a more heinous nature in other provinces: that therefore the only effect of the violent,

violent, but partial declaration of rebellion, would be to delude ourſelves into ineffectual preparations of hoſtility, as if againſt one province only, when in reality we had twelve to contend with; and that the experience of laſt year in the partial proceedings againſt Boſton, might ſerve to inſtruct the houſe in the inefficacy of ſuch low contemptible politics. The colonies were now, it was obſerved, compacted into one body: the proceeding of one was become the proceeding of all: every attempt to diſunite them had been found to ſtrengthen their union, and all ſeverities to augment their rage and indignation; ſo that a general war, or general reconciliation was neceſſary.

On the other ſide, it was inſiſted by the crown lawyers, and the friends of adminiſtration, that ſuch Americans as came within certain deſcriptions, had been guilty of certain acts, and who ſtill perſevered in the ſupport and commiſſion of thoſe acts, were in a ſtate of actual rebellion; that thoſe who by open force make a general reſiſtance to the execution of the laws, are by all writers conſidered as guilty of high treaſon; that ſuch was the ſtate of Maſſachuſets Bay; and that as to the declaration of parliament, it does not preclude the future mercy of the crown, if the rebels ſhall appear to be deſerving of it. The very addreſs, they ſaid, was an act of mercy, in warning an ignorant and obſtinate people of their danger; that it was not neceſſary to puniſh univerſally, as the making examples of a few of the ringleaders would be ſufficient; that the boaſted union of the colonies would diſſolve the moment that parliament ſhewed itſelf reſolved on meaſures of vigour and ſeverity; that their whole commercial and political ſyſtem being founded upon principles of ſelf-denial, ſuffering, and rigour, to which human nature is not equal, muſt fall to the ground: that therefore both juſtice and reaſon required ſuch a declaration from parliament as the preſent, in ſupport of its authority, which might as well be formally abandoned as not reſolutely aſſerted. After violent altercations, and the groſſeſt perſonal abuſe, and even perſonal defiance, the motion for the addreſs was carried by a majority of two to one in the Houſe of Commons, and four to one in the Houſe of Lords.

The anſwer from the throne to the addreſs, beſides the uſual thanks, contained an aſſurance of taking the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures for enforcing due obedience to the laws, and the authority of the ſupreme legiſlature, together with a declaration, That, whenever any of the colonies ſhould make a proper and dutiful application, his majeſty would be ready to concur with the parliament in affording them every juſt and reaſonable indulgence; and it concluded with an earneſt wiſh, that this diſpoſition might have an happy effect upon their temper and conduct. A meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, which accompanied the anſwer from the throne, informed them, That as it was determined, in conſequence of the addreſs, to take the moſt ſteady and effectual meaſures for ſupporting the juſt rights of the crown and the two houſes of parliament, ſome augmentation to the forces by ſea and land would be neceſſary for that purpoſe. This meſſage was referred, as uſual, to the committee of ſupply.

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While meaſures were thus concerting for the application of a military force to the cure of the diſorders in America, other means were thought neceſſary to come in aid of that expedient. The military force might, indeed, reſtrain or puniſh the diſobedient, and effectually ſupport the magiſtrate, in caſe of an inſurrection; but how to get the magiſtracy to act, or any ſufficient number of them to engage, on ordinary occaſions, heartily in the cauſe of the legiſlature, appeared to be a matter of more difficulty, and which muſt be accompliſhed by other means. The change in the charter of Maſſachuſets Bay had not been attended with the deſired effect: on the contrary, it had produced an entire diſſolution of government; and ſhould it even yet be practicable to carry it into execution, the inferior magiſtrates, conſtables, ſelect-men, grand and petty juries, muſt be aiding to the higher magiſtrates, or nothing could be done. Theſe muſt alſo be choſen in the country; and as the coercive plan was ſtill relied on, it was propoſed to inflict a puniſhment ſo univerſal, that the inconveniencies which every man would feel, might intereſt every man in procuring obedience and ſubmiſſion

Feb. 10. to the late acts of parliament. With this view, the miniſter moved for leave to bring in "a bill to reſtrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Maſſachuſets Bay and New Hampſhire, the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Iſland, and Providence Plantation, in North America, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh iſlands in the Weſt Indies; and to prohibit ſuch provinces and colonies from carrying on any fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein to be mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a limited time."

The miniſter ſupported the intended bill, of which, as we have already ſeen, he had given ſome previous intimation, on the following grounds:—That as the Americans had refuſed to trade with this kingdom, it was but juſt that we ſhould prohibit them from trading with any foreign ſtate; that the reſtraints of the Navigation Act were their charter, and the ſeveral relaxations of that law ſo many acts of grace and favour, all which, when they ceaſed to be merited by the colonies, it was reaſonable and neceſſary ſhould be recalled by the legiſlature; that the fiſheries on the banks of Newfoundland, as well as all the others in North America, were the undoubted right of Great Britain, and ſhe might accordingly diſpoſe of them as ſhe pleaſed; that as both houſes had declared a rebellion to be actually exiſting in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, it was therefore ſurely juſt to deprive that province of the benefits which it derived from thoſe fiſheries. With reſpect to the other two colonies of New England included in the bill, he obſerved, that though there was ſtill a governor and government in the province of New Hampſhire, yet government was there ſo weak, that a quantity of powder had been taken out of one of the king's forts by an armed mob; beſides, from the vicinity of that province to Maſſachuſets Bay, unleſs it were included, the purpoſe of the act would be defeated. Nor was Connecticut deſerving of more favour; the people of which, on a rumour that the ſoldiery had killed ſome of the inhabitants of Boſton, marched a large body of men towards that place; and though, on finding the report falſe, they returned without proceeding to any violence, the temper and diſpoſition they ſhewed, as well as the general

general ſtate and conduct of the colony, ſufficiently evidenced the neceſſity of chaſtiſement. Having thus ſtated the reaſons for his propoſed meaſure, the miniſter declared, that he would not be againſt ſuch alleviations of the act, as ſhould not prove deſtructive of its great object: he would therefore only offer it as temporary; to continue either to the end of the year, or of the next ſeſſion of parliament; and he would alſo agree, that particular perſons ſhould be excepted, upon their obtaining certificates of their good behaviour from the governor of the province in which they reſided, or upon their ſubſcribing to a teſt, acknowledging the rights of parliament.

This bill, beſides the matter peculiar to itſelf, brought up the whole ſeries of American controverſy. With regard to the particular meaſure, the principle of involving the innocent in the puniſhment of the guilty, was alternately combated with ſerious argument, pathetic remonſtrance, and pointed ridicule. What legiſlature, it was ſaid, had ever eſtabliſhed a precedent of equal cruelty and injuſtice with the condemning of half a million of people * to periſh with famine, for the ſuppoſed crimes of a few unknown perſons? – And why were three other provinces to be puniſhed, for a rebellion ſuppoſed to exiſt only in one? or if they were alſo in rebellion, why not declare them to be ſo?—One province was to be deprived of its ſubſiſtence, becauſe a rebellion, no body knew where or by whom, was ſaid to be lurking in ſome part of it: a ſecond province was to be puniſhed becauſe it happened to be next door to rebellion; a third, becauſe it had ſhewn a ſpirit of humanity towards the firſt; and a fourth muſt be ſtarved, becauſe the miniſtry could not otherwiſe ſquare their plan. But the bill, it was added, would not only operate upon ſuppoſed rebels, or upon thoſe who had the misfortune of being their neighbours, or who it was imagined either did or might conceal the ſeeds of rebellion: it would alſo puniſh the people of Great Britain, who were charged with no delinquency, but who, in conſequence of this law, muſt loſe a very conſiderable part of their property, which was lying in the proſcribed provinces. For as New England did not produce ſtaple commodities ſufficient to pay the great quantity of goods, which it was annually under the neceſſity of importing from this country, it had no other means of diſcharging the debt, thus unavoidably incurred, than the fiſhery and the circuitous trade dependent on it: ſo that to cut off thoſe reſources was, in fact, to beggar our merchants and manufacturers; and the Britiſh legiſlature was, in its wiſdom, going to paſs a diſabling bill, to prevent the payment of debts due to its Britiſh ſubjects.

It was farther contended, that the abſurdity of the bill was even equal to its cruelty and injuſtice; that its object was to take away a trade from our colonies,

* This computation of the number of inhabitants in New England, though thrown out in the warmth of debate, appears to be pretty juſt. They are indeed eſtimated in the former part of this work at one fifth leſs; but the author has ſince been aſſured, by a very intelligent native, that they could not amount to leſs than five hundred thouſand, at the beginning of the preſent conteſt. The eſtimate of the Congreſs is much higher; but to that little regard is due, as it was framed for a particular purpoſe.

which

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which all who underſtood it knew we could not tranſfer to ourſelves; that God and nature had given the fiſheries to the Americans, not to us, and ſet limits to our avarice and cruelty, which we could not paſs; that when they were once deſtroyed, we could neither benefit by the fiſheries ourſelves, nor reſtore them to thoſe, whom we had thus violently and unjuſtly deprived of the means of ſubſiſtence; that diſtance and local circumſtances ſhut us out in the firſt inſtance; and in reſpect to the other, that the little capital, veſſels, and implements of fiſhermen, the majority of whom muſt ever be neceſſarily poor, could only be kept up by the conſtant returns of profit, ſo that when theſe returns failed, the capital and implements would be loſt for ever; that the people muſt either periſh or apply themſelves to other occupations from which they could not be recalled at will; that we were thus finding out the means for Providence to puniſh our own cruelty and injuſtice; as thoſe fiſheries, which were a more inexhauſtible, and infinitely more valuable ſource of wealth and power than all the mines in the New World, would not only be loſt to ourſelves, but would be thrown into the ſcale againſt us, by falling into the hands of a rival nation; and that the American fiſherman, having no occupation, muſt of courſe become a ſoldier. "Thus," added they, "you provoke a rebellion by the injuſtice of one ſet of acts, and then recruit the rebellious army by another!"

In ſupport of the bill, beſides the arguments originally urged, the charges of injuſtice and cruelty were denied; and it was ſaid, that whatever diſtreſs the bill might bring upon the colonies, they could not complain of the legiſlature, as they not only deſerved it by their diſobedience, but had themſelves ſet the example; that they had entered into the moſt unlawful and daring combinations, to ruin, as far as in them lay, the merchants of this country, to impoveriſh our manufacturers, and to ſtarve our Weſt India iſlands; that nothing could be more equitable than to prohibit the trade of thoſe who had prohibited ours; that if any foreign power had offered us but a ſmall part of the inſult and injury which we had received from our colonies, the whole nation would have been in a flame to demand ſatisfaction, and woe to the miniſters who were ſlack in obtaining it! were we then to act the part of bravoes with all the reſt of the world, and be tamely buffetted by our own people?—The charge of cruelty was affirmed to be equally ill founded: this was a bill of humanity and mercy as well as of coercion; it being the only moderate means of bringing the diſobedient provinces to a ſenſe of their duty, without involving the empire in the horrors of a civil war. They had daringly incurred all the penalties of contumacy and rebellion, and were liable to the ſevereſt military execution, without any imputation of cruelty; but inſtead of theſe dreadful puniſhments, which they ſo juſtly merited, they were to be brought to their ſenſes merely by a reſtriction on their trade, which would laſt no longer than their diſobedience.

"Never," added the friends of adminiſtration, after lamenting the neceſſity, that in this, as in other extreme caſes, the innocent muſt ſhare the puniſhment of the guilty, "never was a meaſure more truly neceſſary than the preſent. The colonies have too long impoſed upon and deluded us, by the bugbear of with-

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drawing their trade; hoping through the terror of our merchants and manufacturers, to bend the legiſlature to a compliance with all their demands, until they had brought their deſigns to ſuch a ripeneſs as to be able to pull off the maſk, and openly to avow their rebellious purpoſes. This is the third time, within theſe few years, that they have thrown the whole commerce of Great Britain into a ſtate of the greateſt confuſion. Both colonies and commerce were better loſt, than preſerved upon ſuch terms; not even life itſelf would be worth keeping in a perpetual ſucceſſion of uncertainty and fear. Things are now come to a criſis, and the conflict muſt be ſuſtained: we muſt either relinquiſh our connexions with America, or fix them upon ſuch a firm and permanent baſis, as will effectually prevent the return of thoſe evils." Supported by theſe arguments, the motion for bringing in the bill was carried upon a diviſion, by a majority of more than three to one.

In the further progreſs of the bill, which made its way, though ſlowly, through both houſes of parliament, a petition from the merchants of London, intereſted in the American commerce, was preſented againſt it; particularly on the danger, even to our own fiſheries, from ſuch a prohibition. The petitioners were allowed to be heard by counſel at the bar of the houſe on this ſubject; and a number of witneſſes, conſiſting of merchants and captains of ſhips, were examined. In the courſe of their evidence, it appeared, that as far back as the year 1764, the four provinces of New England employed, in their ſeveral fiſheries, no leſs than forty-five thouſand, eight hundred and eighty ton of ſhipping, and ſix thouſand men; and that the produce of their fiſheries, in the foreign markets, for that year, amounted to the very conſiderable ſum of three hundred and twenty-two thouſand, two hundred and twenty pounds ſterling. It was alſo given in evidence, that neither the whale nor the cod-fiſhery, both which had much increaſed ſince that time, could be carried on to any degree of equal extent and advantage, either from Newfoundland or Great Britain, as from the continent of North America; and that, though an experiment ſhould even be made by government to transfer the fiſheries to Nova Scotia or Canada, the attempt could not ſucceed for want of men and veſſels, which were only to be found in New England; or at any rate, that the ſtopping of one fiſhery, and the creation of another, muſt take up much time, and in the interval the trade would be inevitably loſt.

On the other hand, a petition from the merchants, traders, and principal inhabitants of the town of Poole in Dorſetſhire was preſented to parliament in ſupport of the principles of the fiſhery bill. This petition ſet forth, That the fiſhing trade would by no means be materially hurt by the reſtraints upon the colonies; that the foreign markets might be amply ſupplied, by extending the Newfoundland fiſhery from England; that the produce of this fiſhery already amounted to upwards of five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling annually, all which centres in this kingdom, whereas the profits of the colony fiſheries go elſewhere; that the fiſhery from the mother country is a conſtant nurſery of ſeamen for the navy; but that the American ſeamen are not compellable to ſerve their country

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in time of war: and they concluded with ſoliciting, no leſs for their own immediate advantage, than for the univerſal benefit of their country, ſuch encouragement to the Britiſh fiſhery to Newfoundland, as the parliament ſhould think proper.

In the courſe of the evidence produced in ſupport of this petition, it appeared, that four hundred ſhips, in all of about thirty ſix thouſand tons burden; two thouſand fiſhing ſhallops, of twenty thouſand tons burden, and twenty thouſand men, were then employed in the Britiſh Newfoundland fiſhery; that above ſix hundred thouſand quintals of fiſh were caught annually, which upon an average of ſeven years, were worth fourteen ſhillings per quintal, and with the other amounts, conſiſting of ſalmon, cod-oil, ſeal-oil and ſkins, exceeded half a million ſterling:—and that of the twenty thouſand men, from Great Britain and Ireland, employed in that fiſhery, eight thouſand neceſſarily continued in Newfoundland all the winter. In a word, an attempt was made to ſhew, and with no ſmall appearance of truth, that the Britiſh Newfoundland fiſhery might not only be extended to ſuch a degree as to ſupply all the European markets, but that if an abſolute prohibition took place, ſo as to exclude the Americans totally and perpetually from the fiſheries, it would be of the greateſt benefit to this nation; and that upon every principle of policy and commerce, both to ſtrengthen our navy and increaſe our trade, they ſhould be confined entirely and perpetually to our own people.

This was carrying the matter beyond the views of the miniſter, who intended the bill merely as a coercive meaſure. But the ideas of commercial and political advantage made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon the minds of the lords, that many of them not only contended for making it a permanent regulation, but an amendment was actually inſerted, on the third reading of the bill in that houſe, for including the colonies of New Jerſey, Penſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, in the ſame reſtrictions with the New England Provinces. In ſupport of this amendment it was urged, That by late accounts which had arrived it appeared, that the ſeveral provinces ſpecified in it, were equally culpable with thoſe of New England, and that of courſe they ought to ſuffer under one common puniſhment; that at the time the bill originated in the lower houſe, this information was not received; but that now they were in poſſeſſion of evidence fully ſufficient to authoriſe ſuch amendment, and that without it the bill would be imperfect, and the puniſhment partial. The amendment was accordingly adopted by the lords, but rejected by the commons, as cauſing a diſagreement between the title and the body of the bill, which muſt be productive of great embarraſſment to the officers employed to carry it into execution. This matter occaſioned the holding of a conference between the two houſes; at which the reaſons offered by the commons having appeared ſatisfactory, the lords agreed in rejecting the amendment, and the bill received the royal aſſent.

The idea of the amendment however was not laid aſide. It was adopted by the miniſter, who brought in another bill "to reſtrain the trade and commerce of the colonies of New Jerſey, Penſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Caro-

lina, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh iſlands in the Weſt Indies, under certain conditions and limitations." Nothing that could be called a debate aroſe upon this motion, which was carried without any difficulty; but during the time that the bill was in agitation, a long ſeries of important evidence was laid before the houſe, in behalf of the Weſt India merchants and planters, and in ſupport of the petition which they had lately, as we have ſeen, preſented to parliament. In the courſe of that evidence, which was conducted with much ability by the celebrated Mr. Glover, author of the poem entitled Leonidas, it appeared, That the ſugar colonies may be conſidered as vaſt manufactories, with this peculiar diſtinction, that they are obliged to raiſe their own materials; that the cane is the raw material or ſtaple produce, and ſugar, molaſſes, and rum, the manufacture; that the raiſing of proviſions was, and muſt from the natural ſtate of things, continue to be a very ſecondary object; that if neceſſity ſhould at any time render it otherwiſe, the ſtaple produce muſt proportionally decline; and that the ſcarcity of land in the ſmall iſlands, together with the high price of labour, and the great value of improvable land in all, for the purpoſe of raiſing the ſtaple, beſides many inſurmountable natural impediments, rendered it utterly impracticable to raiſe any thing near a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions: that the middle colonies in North America were the great ſources of ſupply to the Weſt India iſlands not only for proviſions, but for an article equally neceſſary, namely, *lumber*; under which term is comprehended every kind of timber and wood that is uſed in building and the cooperage, excepting only in ſome particular caſes, where great ſtrength and durability are required, and in which the hard woods peculiar to the tropical regions are preferable.

It farther appeared, by a very moderate calculation, in which large allowances were made for every poſſible exceſs, that the capital in our Weſt India iſlands, conſiſting of cultivated lands, buildings, negroes, and ſtock of all kinds, did not amount to leſs than the immenſe ſum of ſixty millions ſterling; that their exports of late years to Great Britain run to about one hundred and ninety thouſand hogſheads and puncheons of ſugar and rum annually, amounting in weight to near an hundred thouſand tons, and in value to about four millions of Engliſh money, excluſive of a great number of ſmaller articles, and of their very large exports to North America; that their growth had been ſo rapid, and improvement ſo great, that within a very few years, their export of ſugar to this kingdom was increaſed forty thouſand hogſheads annually *, amounting to about eight hundred thouſand pounds in value. It alſo appeared, that the revenue gained above ſeven hundred thouſand pounds a year upon the direct Weſt India trade, excluſive of its eventual and circuitous products, and of the African trade, which cannot exiſt without it; and an attempt was made to ſhew, that this immenſe capital and trade were, from nature and circumſtances, both totally dependent upon North America. The bill however paſſed, without any difficulty; and experience

* This extraordinary increaſe muſt not be altogether aſcribed to improvement, at leaſt in our old iſlands; but chiefly to an acceſſion of territory, in the ceded iſlands.

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has ſhewn, that though the intercourſe with North America was highly beneficial to the Weſt India iſlands, it is not eſſential either to the continuation of their lucrative cultures, or to the enjoyment of thoſe commercial advantages which Britain had been accuſtomed to derive from them *.

While theſe reſtraining bills were in agitation, a motion was made in the committee of ſupply for an augmentation of two thouſand ſeamen, and an addition of four thouſand, three hundred and eighty three men to the land forces. This motion was attended with an explanation of the intended military arrangements; by which it appeared, that the army at Boſton would be augmented to about ten thouſand men, which was thought a force ſufficient for enforcing the laws; and that the appointment of a number of additional officers was neceſſary, as it was intended to carry on the operations againſt the rebels by detachments. Beſides the reproach of cruelty brought againſt ſuch a mode of carrying on war, it was inſiſted that the armament, both by ſea and land, was totally inadequate to the purpoſe for which it was appointed; and it was added, with no ſmall degree of truth, That the uſe of an inſignificant force muſt infallibly have the effect of encouraging the colonies to that reſiſtance, which the early appearance of a great fleet and army might poſſibly check in its infancy. The miniſtry, however, perſevered in deſpiſing the ſtrength of the colonies, and the augmentation was agreed to.

At the very time when party thus claſhed with party, and nothing but a contemptuous defiance was hurled at America on the part of government, the noble lord at the head of the treaſury, and the ſuppoſed chief pillar of adminiſtration, amazed all parties by that famous conciliatory motion, which has been the ſubject of ſo much diſcuſſion. He moved that a reſolution to the following purport might be paſſed:—"When the governor, council, and aſſembly, or general court of any of his majeſty's provinces or colonies, ſhall propoſe to make proviſion, according to their reſpective conditions, circumſtances, and ſituations, for contributing their proportion to the common defence, ſuch proportion to be raiſed under the authority of the general aſſembly of ſuch province or colony, and diſpoſable by parliament; and ſhall engage to make proviſion alſo for the ſupport of the civil government and the adminiſtration of juſtice in ſuch province or colony, it ſhall be proper, if ſuch propoſal ſhould be approved of by his majeſty in parliament, and for ſo long as ſuch proviſion ſhall be made accordingly, to forbear, in reſpect to ſuch province or colony, to levy any duties, tax or aſſeſſment, or to impoſe any farther duty, tax, or aſſeſſment, except only ſuch duties as it may be expedient to impoſe for the regulation of commerce: the net produce of the duties laſt mentioned, to be carried to the account of ſuch province."

Lord North introduced this motion by a long ſpeech, in which he endeavoured to ſhew that it was founded upon the late addreſs to the throne, and particularly

* Though the iſlands ſuffer many inconveniences from the interruption of their commerce with North America, it may be queſtioned whether the mother-country is not a gainer, as ſhe furniſhes them with many articles which they formerly purchaſed from the colonies on the continent, and alſo receives a greater proportion of their produce.

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on the following paſſage:—" whenever any of the colonies ſhall make a proper application to us, we ſhall be ready to afford them every juſt and reaſonable indulgence." He ſeemed, however, to build more upon the principles by which he was actuated in moving for that addreſs, and the explanations he then made to the houſe, than upon the literal conſtruction of any part of it. It was his meaning, he ſaid, and he believed it to be the ſenſe of the houſe, that parliament in paſſing that addreſs, not only meant to ſhew the Americans its firm determination to ſupport its juſt rights, but alſo its tenderneſs, and its conciliatory diſpoſition, upon the making of proper conceſſions; and that particularly upon the great object of diſpute, the point of taxation; for although they could never give up the *right*, and muſt always maintain the maxim, that every part of the empire is bound to bear its ſhare of ſervice and burden in the common defence, yet as to the *mode* of contribution, if that and not the queſtion of right was the bone of contention, if the Americans would propoſe ſuch means as were moſt agreeable to themſelves, and at the ſame time would effectually anſwer the *end*, parliament would not heſitate a moment to *ſuſpend* the *exerciſe* of the *right*: it would even *concede* to the Americans the *authority* of raiſing their ſhare of the contribution themſelves.

" This reſolution," continued he, " marks the ground on which negociation may take place: it is explicit, it defines the terms, ſpecifies the perſons from whom the propoſals muſt come, and to whom they muſt be made; it points out the end and purpoſe for which the contributions are to be given, and the perſons from whom the grant of them is to originate; and it takes away every ground of ſuſpicion as to the application of the revenue to purpoſes for which the Americans would not grant their money, by its ſpecific appropriation to the public defence. This reſolution," added he, " will be an infallible touchſtone to try the ſincerity of the aſſociated colonies. If their profeſſions are real, and their oppoſition only founded on the principles which they pretend, they muſt, conſiſtent with thoſe principles, agree with this propoſition; but if they are actuated by ſiniſter motives, and have dangerous deſigns in contemplation, their refuſal of theſe terms will expoſe them to the world. We ſhall then be prepared, and know how to act: after having ſhewn our wiſdom, our juſtice, and our humanity, by giving them an opportunity of redeeming their paſt faults, and holding out to them fitting terms of accommodation—if they reject them, we ſhall be juſtified in taking the moſt coercive meaſures, and they muſt be anſwerable to God and man for the conſequences *."

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* He gave it as his opinion, That no declaration of his, or even of the Houſe *itſelf*, could bind to a ſtrict adherence to any former reſolution relative to the ſubmiſſion to be required of the colonies, previous to a relaxation on our ſide. The greateſt nations, he obſerved, and this among the reſt, had often made the moſt ſolemn declarations, and entered into the moſt ſacred engagements to adhere unalterably to certain points, which afterwards, when circumſtances changed, they departed from without ſcruple and without blame. He inſtanced in the war 1741, when we declared, that we would never make peace with Spain, unleſs the point of *ſearch* was given up; yet peace was made, without giving up the point in queſtion. In the *grand alliance*,

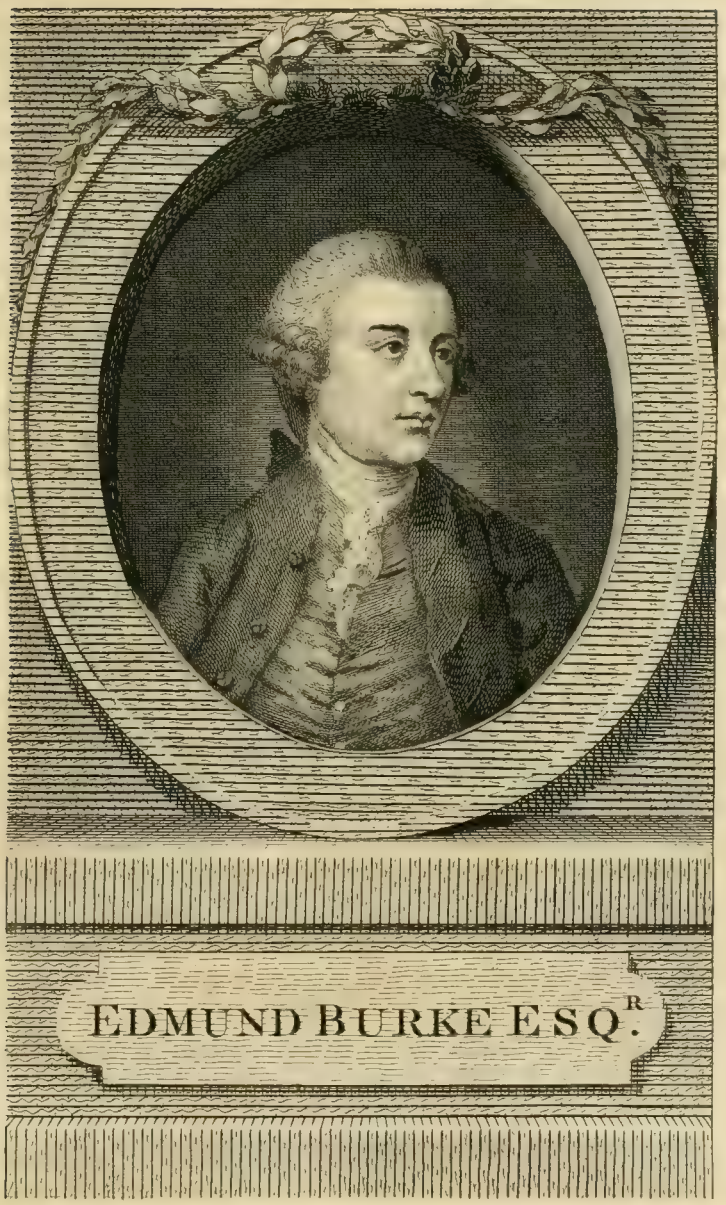
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The oppoſition to the miniſter's motion originated among the courtiers. They aſſerted, that the propoſitions contained in it were in direct contradiction to every principle and idea of the addreſs; that by adopting it, they muſt give up every ground they had gone upon in the whole courſe of the American meaſures; that it would be putting a negative upon all the acts and declarations of parliament; that it could be productive of no good, but numberleſs bad conſequences; and they finally concluded, That they would make no conceſſions to rebels with arms in their hands, nor would they enter into any meaſure for a ſettlement with the Americans, in which an expreſs and definitive acknowledgement from them, of the ſupremacy of parliament, was not a preliminary article. The miniſter was repeatedly called on his legs, and all was uproar and confuſion, when Mr. Wedderburne, who had, a ſhort while before, diſtinguiſhed himſelf remarkably on the part of oppoſition, huſhed the troubled waves to peace, by exhibiting the authoritative ſide of the reſolution. "What will parliament loſe," ſaid he, "by accepting this motion?—The right?—No. It expreſsly reſerves it; and it is, indeed, ſo eſſential a part of ſovereignty, that parliament, if it would, cannot ſurrender it. Does it ſurrender the profitable exerciſe of that right?—So far from it, that it ſhews the firm reſolution of parliament to enforce the only eſſential part of taxation, by obliging the Americans to provide what we, not they, think juſt and reaſonable for the ſupport of the whole empire. The diſpute is at length put upon its proper footing:—"Revenue or no revenue."

This explanation ſoon convinced the malcontent courtiers, that the appearances of conceſſion, lenity, and tenderneſs, held forth in the reſolution, were of ſuch a nature as not to interfere with their views. But the gentlemen in the oppoſition, who exhibited on this occaſion a remarkable inſtance of the baneful influence of party-ſpirit, would allow no merit to the miniſter's motion, though it was evidently made as much with a view to reconcile them to the meaſures of parliament, as to conciliate the affections of the Americans. They conſidered it as a proof of his inſecure ſituation, and as an impotent attempt to procure ſupport from them: and they execrated it accordingly; though it would certainly have been very generally approved, had it originated with one of their own party. They ſaid it was inſidious, baſe, and treacherous in the higheſt degree; and calculated to render incurable all thoſe miſchiefs which it pretended to remedy; that the people are as effectually taxed without their own conſent, by being compelled to the payment of a groſs ſum, as by an aggregate of ſmall duties to the ſame amount, but with this odious difference, that the former carries all the appearance of a contribution, or ranſome, levied by an hoſtile army in a ſtate of

at the beginning of the preſent century, the parties engaged to each other, "That no prince of the houſe of Bourbon ſhould ſit on the throne of Spain:" yet peace was made with a prince of the houſe of Bourbon ſitting on that throne. He cited many other inſtances to the ſame purpoſe; and diſplayed great hiſtorical knowledge, as well as judgment in applying it.

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EDMUND BURKE ESQ.R

avowed warfare *. The motion was, however, carried on a diviſion, by a majority of two hundred and ſeventy-four to eighty-eight.

This conciliatory plan gave birth to two others: one by Mr. Burke, the other by Mr. Hartley, both of which wore a very plauſible appearance. Mr. Burke, whoſe plan was ſimilar to lord Chatham's, endeavoured to prove, without inquiring whether it was to be *yielded* as a matter of *right*, or *granted* as a matter of *favour*, That the only method of governing the colonies with ſafety and advantage was, by admitting them to an *intereſt* in our *conſtitution*. With this view, he went into an hiſtorical detail of the manner of admitting Ireland, Wales, and the counties palatine of Cheſter and Durham, into an intereſt in the conſtitution; and he attempted to ſhew, from thoſe inſtances, that this intereſt in the Britiſh conſtitution was not only the cauſe of the internal happineſs of thoſe countries, but of their union with and obedience to the crown and ſupreme legiſlature. He therefore propoſed to go back to our old policy, and to eſtabliſh the equity and juſtice of a taxation in North America by *grant*, and not by *impoſition*; to mark the *legal competency* of the colony aſſemblies for the ſupport of their government in peace, and for public aids in time of war; to acknowledge, that this legal competency has had a *dutiful* and *beneficial* exerciſe, and that "experience has ſhewn the benefit of their grants, and the futility of parliamentary taxation as a method of ſupply."

It was objected by the friends of adminiſtration, and even by ſeveral gentlemen of properly of no party, That theſe reſolutions abandoned the whole object for which we are contending; that in words, indeed, they did not give up the right of taxation, but they did ſo in reality; that as parliament had frequently reſolved not to admit the unconſtitutional claims of the Americans, it could not admit reſolutions directly leading to them; that we had no aſſurance the Americans would make any dutiful returns on their ſide, ſhould theſe reſolutions even be adopted; and thus the ſcheme, purſued through ſo many difficulties, of compelling that refractory people to contribute their fair proportion to the expences of the whole empire would fall to the ground. They took notice alſo, that the Houſe of Lords had rejected a conciliatory plan †, upon principles more conſiſtent with the dignity of parliament; that if the American aſſemblies had made proviſion upon former occaſions, it was only when preſſed by their own immediate danger, and for their own local uſe: but if the diſpoſitions of the colonies had been as favourable as they were repreſented, ſtill it was denied, that the American aſſemblies ever had a legal power of granting a revenue to the crown; this being the peculiar privilege of parliament, and a privilege which cannot be

* It was even aſſerted, that this ſcheme of taxation exceeded in oppreſſion any other that the rapacity of mankind had yet deviſed. But if theſe furious advocates of America had been better acquainted with hiſtory, they would have been ſenſible, that it is no new thing with ſovereigns to tax a province by requiſition; and that, according to the ſcheme propoſed by lord North, the parliament of Great Britain would ſtand nearly in the ſame ſituation towards the colony aſſemblies, as the king of France does towards the ſtates of thoſe provinces which ſtill enjoy the privilege of having ſtates of their own—the provinces of France which are ſuppoſed to be beſt governed.

† The earl of Chatham's.

communicated

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communicated to any other body whatſoever. In ſupport of this doctrine they quoted the following clauſe, from that palladium of the Engliſh conſtitution, and of the rights and liberties of the ſubject, commonly called the *Bill of Rights*; namely, That "levying money for, or to the uſe of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, *without grant of parliament*, for a longer time, or in other manner, than the ſame is or ſhall be granted, is *illegal*." This clauſe, they inſiſted, clearly enforced the excluſive right in parliament of taxing every part of the Britiſh empire:—and that right, they added, was indeſpenſably neceſſary. "The right of taxation, the moſt eſſential of all others," concluded they, "muſt reſide in the ſupreme power; and not only be reſerved in theory, but exerciſed in practice, otherwiſe it will be in effect loſt, and all other powers along with it."

Theſe arguments appeared ſatisfactory to near three fourths of the members, who conſidered lord North's conciliatory plan as offering every thing conſiſtent with the rights of parliament. This opinion, however, did not hinder Mr. Hartley from making an attempt to improve upon that plan. He propoſed that a letter of requiſition ſhould be ſent to the colonies by a ſecretary of ſtate, on a motion from the Houſe of Commons, for contribution to the expences of the whole empire. According to this propoſition, it was urged, that the ineſtimable privilege of judging for themſelves of the expediency, fixing the amount, and determining the application of the grants, would ſtill be left in the colony aſſemblies; that the compulſory threat would be left out, and the objection of raiſing a revenue without conſent of parliament removed, as this requiſition would be made at the expreſs deſire of parliament. A propoſal ſo moderate could intereſt the paſſions of neither party: it granted too much for the one, and too little for the other; and was therefore rejected, without a diviſion.

Having thus got free from every obſtruction, the miniſter moved for a committee of the whole houſe, "to conſider of the encouragement proper to be given to the fiſheries of Great Britain and Ireland." As the American fiſheries were now aboliſhed, it became neceſſary to think of ſome meaſures for ſupplying their place, and particularly to guard againſt the ruinous conſequences of the foreign markets either changing the courſe of conſumption, or falling into the hands of our rivals and natural enemies. The conſumption of fiſh-oil, as a ſubſtitute for tallow, was become ſo extenſive as to render that alſo an object of great national concern; the city of London alone expending about three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling annually in that commodity. It ſeemed alſo neceſſary, in the preſent ſtate of public affairs, that the kingdom of Ireland ſhould be taken more notice of, and a greater conſideration paid to her intereſts, than had hiterto been the practice of parliament. Several circumſtances conſpired to awaken this conſideration. It had been ſhewn, in the courſe of the late evidence before the houſe, that the exports from Great Britain to Ireland, then amounted to two millions four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling annually; beſides the other advantages derived from her, in ſupporting a large and excellent ſtanding army, at all times ready for our defence, and the immenſe ſums of ready caſh which her numerous abſentees, penſioners and placemen ſpend in this country. The attention to that ſiſter

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kingdom was therefore generally approved of, and ſeveral bounties were granted by the committee, in its progreſs to the ſhips of Great Britain and Ireland, without diſtinction, for their encouragement in proſecuting the Newfoundland fiſhery. A bounty was alſo allowed upon all flax-ſeed imported into Ireland, in order to prevent the evils which were apprehended to that country from the reſolutions of the Congreſs, cutting off its great American ſource of ſupply in this article. The committee farther agreed to the granting of bounties for the encouragement of the whale-fiſhery, in thoſe ſeas to the ſouthward of the fiſheries of Greenland and Davis's Straits; and, on the ſame principles, they took off the duties that were payable upon the importation of oil, blubber, and bone from Newfoundland, as well as thoſe payable on the importation of ſeal-ſkins.

While parliament was taking theſe neceſſary meaſures for bringing back the colonies to a ſenſe of their duty, and preventing the dangerous conſequences to be feared from the interruption of their commerce with this country, the determinations of the General Congreſs were received as laws over all North America; and great hopes were entertained from the unanimity of thoſe determinations, and the petitions to the king and people of England, that the miniſtry would be obliged to yield to them. Theſe hopes had, for ſome time, a conſiderable influence in reſtraining thoſe violences, to which the coloniſts were ſtrongly inclined, and which afterwards took place. The leading men, however, did not allow themſelves to be deceived by ſuch an expectation. Conſcious that their demands were ſuch as Britain would never comply with, until they had ſhewn not only the reſolution, but their power to maintain them by the ſword, they every where gave orders, in the ſouthern as well as the northern colonies, to train and exerciſe the militia; and as ſoon as advice was received of the proclamation iſſued in England to prevent the exportation of arms and ammunition to America, meaſures were ſpeedily taken to remedy that inconveniency. For this purpoſe, and to render themſelves as independent as poſſible on foreigners for the ſupply of thoſe eſſential articles, mills were erected, and manufactories formed, both in Penſylvania and Virginia, for the making of gun-powder; and encouragement was given in all the colonies for the fabrication of arms, and weapons of every ſort.

In Maſſachuſets Bay, no regard was paid to general Gage's proclamation againſt the Provincial Congreſs. That aſſembly continued to ſit till towards the end of November; and as Boſton was already become a very formidable fortification, and was capable, with little further trouble, of being rendered a place of ſuch ſtrength as, under the protection of a powerful navy, would leave but little hope of its being ever reduced, various conſultations were held concerning it. At theſe it was diſcovered, that, at the diſcretion of the governor, it might be converted into a ſecure priſon for the inhabitants, who would thereby become hoſtages for the ſecurity of the province at large. In order to prevent ſo great an evil, different propoſals were made: one was ſimply to remove the inhabitants; another, to ſet a value upon their eſtates, burn the town, and reimburſe them for their loſſes. Both theſe ſchemes, however, were found to be

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clogged with ſo many difficulties as to render them impracticable; and it was not yet thought adviſable to reſort to force, t[illegible] appeared to be the only expedient. Meanwhile many of the principal inhabitants quitted the town, under the pretended apprehenſion of immediate violence from the troops; and aſſociations were formed by the friends of government, in different places, in order to oppoſe the reſolutions of the Provincial Congreſs: but the contrary ſpirit was ſo prevalent that this oppoſition was ſoon quelled, the loyaliſts being in all quarters overwhelmed by numbers.

The people of Rhode Iſland, having no army to over-awe them, were yet more bold in their proceedings. As ſoon as they received an account of the prohibition againſt the exportation of military ſtores from Great Britain, they ſeized upon all the ordnance belonging to the crown in that province. The aſſembly alſo paſſed reſolutions for the procuring of arms and military ſtores, by every means, and from every quarter, as well as for training and arming the inhabitants; and the people of New Hampſhire, who had hitherto preſerved a greater degree of moderation than thoſe in any other of the New England provinces, no ſooner obtained intelligence of theſe tranſactions and reſolutions at Rhode Iſland, than they were ſeized with a ſimilar ſpirit. A body of men accordingly aſſembled in arms, and marched to the attack of a ſmall fort, called William and Mary. This place was eaſily taken, and ſupplied them with a quantity of powder and other ſtores, by which they were enabled to put themſelves in a ſtate of defence. No other acts of extraordinary violence took place during the winter; but a firm determination of reſiſtance was univerſally ſpread, the acts of the General Congreſs were approved in the provincial aſſemblies or conventions, and delegates appointed to repreſent them in the new Congreſs, which was to be held in the enſuing month of May.

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The aſſembly of New York, which met in the beginning of the year, was however a ſingle exception to the reſt of the twelve aſſociated colonies. In this aſſembly, after very warm debates upon the queſtion of acceding to the reſolutions of the General Congreſs, it was rejected upon a diviſion, though by a very ſmall majority. They afterwards proceeded to ſtate the public grievances, with an intention of laying them before the king and parliament; a mode of application in which they were encouraged by the lieutenant-governor, and from which they preſaged the happieſt effects. They accordingly drew up a petition to the king, a memorial to the lords, and a repreſentation and remonſtrance to the commons; but as, in theſe papers, they called in queſtion the right of taxation, it was inſiſted in the Houſe of Commons, that the Declaratory Act muſt be repealed, before any ſuch repreſentation could be received. The like fate attended the petition and memorial; which were both rejected, as containing claims derogatory to, and inconſiſtent with, the legiſlative authority of parliament.

Feb. 1.

The new Provincial Congreſs, which met at Cambridge, in Maſſachuſets Bay, did not deviate from the line which had been chalked out by their predeceſſors. Among other reſolutions, they publiſhed one to inform the people, That from the

the preſent diſpoſition of the Britiſh miniſtry and parliament, there was real cauſe to fear that the reaſonable and juſt applications of the colonies to the mother-country for peace, liberty, and ſafety, would not meet with a favourable reception; but, on the contrary, from the large reinforcement of troops expected in that province, the tenor of intelligence from Great Britain, and general appearances, they had reaſon to apprehend that the ſudden deſtruction of the colony was intended; for refuſing, with the other colonies of North America, tamely to ſubmit to what they termed, the moſt ignominious ſlavery. They therefore urged, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the militia in general, and the *minute-men* * in particular, to ſpare neither time, pains, nor expence, at ſo critical a juncture, in perfecting themſelves in military diſcipline.

Meanwhile general Gage having received intelligence that ſome braſs cannon were depoſited in the town of Salem, ſent a detachment of troops under the command of a field officer, in order to ſeize and bring them to Boſton. The troops having landed at Marblehead, proceeded to Salem, where they where diſappointed as to finding the cannon; but being informed that they had been only removed that morning, in conſequence of their approach, they were induced to march farther into the country, in ſearch of them. In this march, they arrived at a draw-bridge, over a ſmall river, where a number of people were aſſembled; and thoſe on the oppoſite ſide had taken up the bridge, to prevent the paſſage of the troops. Here a ſcuffle enſued; and the detachment was permitted to paſs, when it was thought all danger was over. Happily no lives were loſt on the occaſion, if no advantage was gained. The colonel having advanced a little way into the country, in the exerciſe of that right which he claimed, returned without moleſtation to Salem, and embarked for Boſton. There new dangers began to diſcover themſelves on every ſide.

The coloniſts having collected a conſiderable quantity of military ſtores at the town of Concord, where the provincial Congreſs was now held as formerly, general Gage thought it neceſſary to diſpatch the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, under the command of lieutenant colonel Smith, and major Pitcairn, of the marines, in order to deſtroy the magazine. It is ſaid that this expedition had another object; namely, to ſeize on the perſons of Meſſrs. Hancock and Adams, thoſe violent leaders of faction, who ſeemed determined to involve their country in all the horrors of civil war. The detachment, conſiſting of about eight hundred men, embarked in boats at Boſton, on the night preceding the nineteenth of April, and having ſailed a little way up Charles river, landed at a place called Phipps' Farm, whence they proceeded, with great expedition and ſilence, towards Concord. At the ſame time, ſeveral officers on horſeback ſcoured the roads, and ſtopped ſuch country people as they chanced to meet with at that ſeaſon of repoſe. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, they diſcovered, by the firing of guns and the ringing of bells, that the country was alarmed; and the people actually began to aſſemble in the neighbouring towns and villages before day break. On their

April 18

* A certain number of the militia, who undertook to hold themſelves, at all times, in readineſs for ſervice.

arrival.

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arrival at Lexington, about five in the morning, they found the [illegible] militia belonging to that town drawn up on a green near the road [illegible] the van called out, "Diſperſe, ye rebels!—Throw down your arms, and diſperſe!"—At the ſame inſtant ſome ſhots were fired from a neighbouring [illegible] to be a place appropriated to religious worſhip, and where the people [illegible] bled, under pretence of offering up their ſupplications to the God of Peace. The ſoldiers, conſidering this as a ſignal of defiance, ruſhed forward; a [illegible] ſhots led to a more general diſcharge; eight of the militia were killed upon the ſpot, and ſeveral wounded.

The detachment, after this execution, advanced to Concord; the colonel having previouſly diſpatched ſix companies of light infantry, to take poſſeſſion of the bridges, which lay at ſome diſtance beyond the town. A body of the militia, who occupied a hill in the way, retired at the approach of the troops, and paſſed over one of thoſe bridges, which was ſoon after occupied by the light infantry. In the meantime the main body being arrived at the town, proceeded to execute their commiſſion, by rendering ſome pieces of iron cannon unſerviceable, and throwing ſeveral barrels of gun powder, bullets, and other ſtores into the river. During theſe operations, the militia who had retired from the hill, returned towards the bridge, with a ſeeming intention to relieve the town. On this movement, the light infantry retired to the Concord ſide of the river and began to deſtroy the bridge; but on the nearer approach of the militia, they judged it neceſſary to betake themſelves to their arms: they fired, and killed two men. The provincials returned the fire, and a ſkirmiſh enſued at the bridge, where the light infantry loſt ſeveral men, and found it neceſſary to retreat towards the main body. The country now roſe on the troops: they were attacked on all ſides; and ſkirmiſh ſucceeded ſkirmiſh, through the whole of a long and very hot day.

Fortunately general Gage, apprehenſive of the danger of the ſervice, had detached lord Percy early in the morning with ſixteen companies of foot, a detachment of marines, and two pieces of cannon, to ſupport colonel Smith's detachment, otherwiſe the fate of that party muſt have been very doubtful. In their march of ſix miles back to Lexington, they were annoyed not only by a prodigious body of the provincials, who threatened every moment to cut them off, but by the ſecret fire from houſes, walls, and other coverts, all of which were lined with armed men. The ſupport of the ſecond detachment, which was arrived before the return of the firſt, afforded the wearied troops time to breathe; the field pieces, in particular, obliging the provincials to keep their diſtance: but as ſoon as the military reſumed their march, the attacks became proportionally more violent, as the country people grew more numerous, and the danger was continually increaſing, until they reached Charles Town. Thence they paſſed over directly to Boſton, entirely ſpent with the exceſſive fatigue which they had undergone. The loſs, however, was not ſo great on either ſide, as the length, irregularity, and variety of the engagement may ſeem to indicate. This muſt be aſcribed to the caution, if not timidity of the provincials, who ſeized every advantage, but declined coming to cloſe fight. Their loſs is not exactly known; but according

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to their own accounts, it did not exceed ſixty men, about forty of whom only were killed on the ſpot. Of the king's troops, ſixty-five were ſlain, twenty taken priſoners, and upwards of one hundred and fifty wounded *.

This affair immediately called up in arms the whole province of Maſſachuſets Bay; and although a ſufficient number of men were ſoon aſſembled effectually to inveſt the Britiſh troops in Boſton, it was with difficulty the crowds that were haſting from different parts could be prevailed upon to return to their reſpective homes. The body of militia that ſurrounded Boſton, is ſaid to have amounted to twenty thouſand men, under the command of the colonels Wood, Pribble, Heath, Preſcot, and Thomas. Theſe officers, for the preſent, acted as generals; and having fixed their head quarters at Cambridge, formed a line of encampment, the right wing of which extended from that town to Roxbury, and the left to Myſtick, the diſtance between thoſe extreme points being about thirty miles. They were ſpeedily joined by colonel Putnam, an old and experienced officer, who had acted with reputation in the two laſt wars. He encamped with a large detachment of Connecticut men, in ſuch a poſition as to be ready to ſupport thoſe who were before the town.

Nor did the other colonies prepare for war with leſs eagerneſs. Though ſome ſuch an event as the affray at Lexington might have been foreſeen and expected, it excited the greateſt indignation over the whole continent. Beſides the bravery ſhewn by the militia in this their firſt eſſay, and the ſuppoſed advantages which they had obtained over the regulars, were matters of great exultation: they were applauded as heroes; while thoſe who fell in the action were regretted with the deepeſt concern, and honoured not only as patriots, but as martyrs, who had ſhed their blood in the cauſe of their country. The outrages and cruelties charged upon the king's forces, however unjuſtly, contributed greatly to increaſe the general ferment. In ſome places the government magazines were ſeized, and in others the public treaſury, which was converted to the payment of the rebel forces. Lord North's conciliatory plan was totally rejected by the aſſemblies of Penſylvania and New Jerſey; nor was it any where received. Every thing wore an hoſtile appearance.

Meanwhile the General Congreſs having, at the time appointed, met at Philadelphia, ſoon adopted ſuch meaſures, as confirmed the people in their conduct and reſolutions. Theſe delegates entered into articles of confederation and perpetual union, under the name of "The UNITED COLONIES of North America;" and it was reſolved to raiſe an army, and eſtabliſh a large paper currency for its payment, the United Colonies being ſecurities for realizing the nominal value of this currency. A reſolution was alſo paſſed, to prohibit the ſupplying of the Britiſh fiſheries with any kind of proviſions; and in order to render this prohibition more effectual, a ſtop was put to all exportation to thoſe colonies, iſlands, and places,

May 10.

* Each ſide charged the other, on this occaſion, with the moſt inhuman cruelties; but to thoſe little credit is due. Such charges are common in the beginning of civil wars, when men having lately been friends, cannot brook the treatment, though they have offered the injuries of enemies.

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The city and province of New York, notwithſtanding their former moderation, on receiving an account of the late action at Lexington, ſeemed to be inſpired with a plentiful portion of that ſpirit which operated ſo powerfully in the other colonies. A numerous aſſociation was accordingly formed, and a provincial congreſs elected; but as ſome regiments were expected ſpeedily to arrive there from Ireland, the ſituation of that capital, which lies open to the ſea, became very critical. In the meantime ſeveral private perſons, belonging to the back parts of Connecticut, Maſſachuſets Bay, and New York, undertook at their own riſk, and without any public command or encouragement, an expedition of the utmoſt importance. This was the ſurpriſe of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and other fortreſſes, ſituated upon the great lakes, and commanding the paſſes between the United Colonies and Canada. Theſe fortreſſes, by an unpardonable negligence in government, at ſuch a time, were ſo feebly garriſoned, and ſo little prepared againſt danger, that they were taken, without the loſs of a man, by two hundred and forty provincials, under the command of a colonel Eaſton and a colonel Ethan Allen. They found in Ticonderoga and Crown Point about two hundred pieces of cannon, beſides ſome mortars, howits, and a quantity of various ſtores, which were to them highly valuable: they alſo got poſſeſſion of two veſſels, which gave them the command of lake Champlain, and of materials for the building and equipping of others.

During theſe tranſactions, the generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrived at Boſton from England, together with a conſiderable number of marines, and draughts from other regiments, to ſupply the vacancies, which might have happened. Theſe were ſoon followed by ſeveral regiments from Ireland; ſo that the force at Boſton, with reſpect to numbers, the goodneſs of the troops, and the character of the commanders, was become highly reſpectable, and it was generally believed that matters would no longer continue in their former languid ſtate. Nothing had hitherto been done for the honour of Great Britain, nor had any thing remarkable happened ſince the commencement of the blockade, except two ſlight engagements, which aroſe from the attempts of each party to carry off the ſtock of ſome of thoſe ſmall iſlands with which the Bay of Boſton is interſperſed, and which afforded the mixed ſpectacle of ſhips, boats, and men, engaged by land and water. In both theſe ſkirmiſhes the king's troops were foiled; and notwithſtanding the late reinforcements, and the arrival of generals of the moſt active diſpoſition, the army continued for ſome time very quiet at Boſton, though expoſed to the daily inſults of the provincials.

In the meanwhile ſeveral ſteps were taken by both parties, which indicated the approach of a criſis. The General Congreſs reſolved, That the compact between June 9. the crown and the inhabitants of Maſſachuſets Bay being diſſolved by the violation

tion of the charter of William and Mary, the people of that province are authoriſed, and recommended to proceed to the eſtabliſhment of a new government, by electing a governor, aſſiſtants, and houſe of aſſembly, according to the powers contained in their original charter *. They alſo paſſed a reſolution, that no bill of exchange, draught, or order, of any officer in the army or navy, their agents or contractors, ſhould be received or negociated, or any money ſupplied to them by any perſon; and they prohibited the ſupplying of the army, navy, or ſhips employed in the tranſport ſervice, with proviſions or neceſſaries of any kind. They erected a general poſt-office at Philadelphia, to extend through all the United Colonies, and placed Dr. Franklin, who had been removed from that place under the government, at the head of it. Nearly at the ſame time general Gage iſſued a proclamation, by which a pardon was offered, in the king's name, to all thoſe who ſhould forthwith lay down their arms, and return to their reſpective occupations and peaceable duties, excepting only Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whoſe offences were ſaid to be of too flagitious a nature to admit of lenity; and all thoſe, who did not except of the proffered pardon, or who ſhould protect, aſſiſt, ſupply, conceal, or correſpond with them, were to be treated as rebels and traitors. June 12.

This proclamation was generally conſidered as a prelude to immediate action; more eſpecially as Hancock, in contempt of it, was about that time elected, and continued preſident of the General Congreſs. Accordingly, from that moment the provincials, as well as regulars, held themſelves in readineſs for a trial of ſtrength. The poſt of Charles Town had hitherto been neglected by both parties, from an unaccountable ignorance of military matters. The provincials now perceived it to be equally important to them, whether they choſe to act on the offenſive or defenſive. The neceſſary preparations were therefore made for that purpoſe; and a body of men was ſent thither at night, with the greateſt privacy, in order to throw up works upon Bunker's Hill, an eminence juſt within the iſthmus, or neck of land that joins the peninſula to the continent. This peninſula is very ſimilar to that on which Boſton ſtands, excepting that the iſthmus is conſiderably wider, and that Bunker's Hill is much higher than any hill in the latter. The towns are only ſeparated by Charles river; which, in that part, is but about the breadth of the Thames at London-bridge: ſo that Charles Town ſeemed to hold nearly the ſame relation to Boſton, which the borough of Southwark does to the capital of the Britiſh empire.

The party that was ſent on this ſervice, carried on their works with ſuch extraordinary ſilence and compoſure, that though the peninſula was ſurrounded by ſhips of war, they were not heard during the night; and with ſuch incredible diſpatch in the execution, that by break of day, they had almoſt completed a ſmall but ſtrong redoubt, conſiderable entrenchments, and a breaſt-work that was in ſome parts cannon-proof. The ſight of theſe works, early in the morning, was the firſt notice that alarmed the Lively man of war; and her guns called the June 17.

* The original charter contained no power of electing an aſſembly.

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town, camp, and fleet, to behold a fight which ſeemed little leſs than miraculous. A heavy and continual fire, of cannon and mortars, was, from that time, kept up on the works on Bunker's Hill from the ſhips, the floating batteries, and from the top of Cope's Hill in Boſton. Such a great and inceſſant diſcharge of artillery, would have been a ſevere ſhock to the firmneſs even of veteran troops, and muſt no doubt have greatly alarmed the bold, but raw provincials. They continued their labours, however, with unremitted aſſiduity, till about noon; when general Gage cauſed a large body of troops to be embarked, under the command of major-general Howe and brigadier Pigot, in order to drive them from their works. This detachment conſiſted of ten companies of grenadiers, as many of light infantry, and the fifth, thirty-eighth, forty-third, and fifty-ſecond battalions, with a proper artillery. The troops were landed without oppoſition, and drawn up under the fire of the ſhips of war; but the two generals found the enemy ſo numerous, and in ſuch a poſture of defence, that they thought it neceſſary to ſend back for a reinforcement before they began the attack. They were accordingly joined by ſome companies of light infantry and grenadiers, by the forty-ſeventh regiment, and by the firſt battalion of marines; ſo that they now amounted in the whole to about two thouſand men.

The attack was begun by a moſt ſevere fire from the artillery, under which the troops advanced very ſlowly towards the enemy, and halted ſeveral times, in order to afford the cannon an opportunity to ruin the works, and throw the provincials into confuſion; but the diſadvantage of ground, the number and ſituation of the enemy, and perhaps in ſome a ſecret diſinclination to the ſervice, in all a wiſh to avoid it, ſeemed at firſt to ſtrike an unuſual damp into the ſoldiers. Beſides, the provincials had thrown ſome men into the houſes of Charles Town, which covered their right flank; ſo that general Pigot, who commanded the left wing of the Britiſh troops, and to whoſe activity, bravery, and firmneſs, the higheſt praiſe is due, was at once engaged with the enemy's lines, and with the ambuſcade in the houſes. In this conflict Charles Town, (whether by bombs thrown from the ſhips, or by the troops is uncertain) was unfortunately ſet on fire, and burnt to the ground. The provincials ſtood a powerful and continued diſcharge of ſmall arms and artillery, with a reſolution and perſeverance that would have done no diſcredit to regular troops. They did not exchange a ſhot until the Britiſh forces had approached almoſt to the works, when a moſt dreadful fire took place, and a number of our braveſt men, but eſpecially officers, fell *. Under ſo heavy and deſtructive a covered fire, it is little wonder that the troops were thrown into ſome diſorder. General Howe was left for a few moments almoſt entirely alone, moſt of the officers near his perſon being either killed or wounded. But though his fortitude and preſence of mind, on this occaſion, cannot be too much extolled,

* The provincials have changed the field of battle, from a theatre of general oppoſition, into a ſcene of deliberate murder. They have in every engagement a certain number of markſmen, who, armed with rifled pieces, ſingle out the principal officers, and devote them to deſtruction. This was particularly the caſe at Bunker's Hill. The practice is worthy of the ſavage Indians, from whom it ſeems to be borrowed.

the

the ſucceſs of the day was ſtill doubtful, when general Clinton, who had arrived from Boſton during the engagement, rallied the troops inſtantaneouſly, by an happy manœuvre, and brought them back to the charge. Their native intrepidity returned, and produced its uſual effects: they attacked the entrenchments with fixed bayonets, and forced them in every quarter. Their valour was irreſiſtible: the provincials were driven from their works, and chaſed out of the peninſula.

Such was the hot and bloody battle of Bunker's Hill, in which a greater number of the Britiſh troops fell, in proportion to the number engaged, than is common in the ſharpeſt European actions. The whole loſs in killed and wounded amounted to about one thouſand, of whom upwards of two hundred were killed on the ſpot; and of theſe, nineteen were commiſſioned officers, including a lieutenant-colonel, two majors, and ſeven captains. Seventy other officers were wounded. The loſs on the ſide of the provincials is not certainly known; but according to their own account, it was comparatively ſmall, not exceeding five hundred killed and wounded. The detachment is ſaid to have amounted to between five and ſix thouſand. Both parties claimed much honour from this action. The regulars, from having beaten near three times their number out of a ſtrongly fortified poſt, and combated various other diſadvantages. On the oppoſite ſide the provincials, who were by no means diſpirited by the event, repreſented their number as inferior to that of the regulars, ſupported by floating batteries, ſhips of war, and a formidable train of artillery. Though they had loſt a poſt, they had acquired, they ſaid, almoſt all the beneficial conſequences of the moſt complete victory; as they had entirely put a ſtop to the offenſive operations of a large army ſent to ſubdue them, and which they continued to blockade in a narrow town.

This was in ſome meaſure true; for although the king's troops kept poſſeſſion of the peninſula on which Charles Town had ſtood, and fortified Bunker's Hill and the entrance, the provincials immediately threw up works upon another hill oppoſite to it, on the land ſide: ſo that the troops were as cloſely inveſted in that peninſula, as they had been in Boſton. The provincials were alſo indefatigable in ſecuring the moſt expoſed poſts of their lines with ſtrong redoubts covered with artillery, and advanced their works cloſe to the fortifications on Boſton-neck; where with equal boldneſs and addreſs, they burnt an advanced guard-houſe belonging to our people. As the latter were abundantly furniſhed with all manner of artillery and military ſtores, they were not ſparing in throwing ſhells, and maintaining a great cannonade upon the works of the provincials. That image of war, however, appears to have had little other effect, than to inure them to real ſervice, and to wear off the dread of thoſe noiſy meſſengers of fate, at firſt ſo terrible to raw troops.

CHAP. IV.

The Military Operations in North America, *and the Meaſures adopted in Regard to them, from the Declaration of War by the Congreſs, to the Taking of* New York, *and the Reduction of* Rhode Iſland, *by the* Britiſh *Troops.*

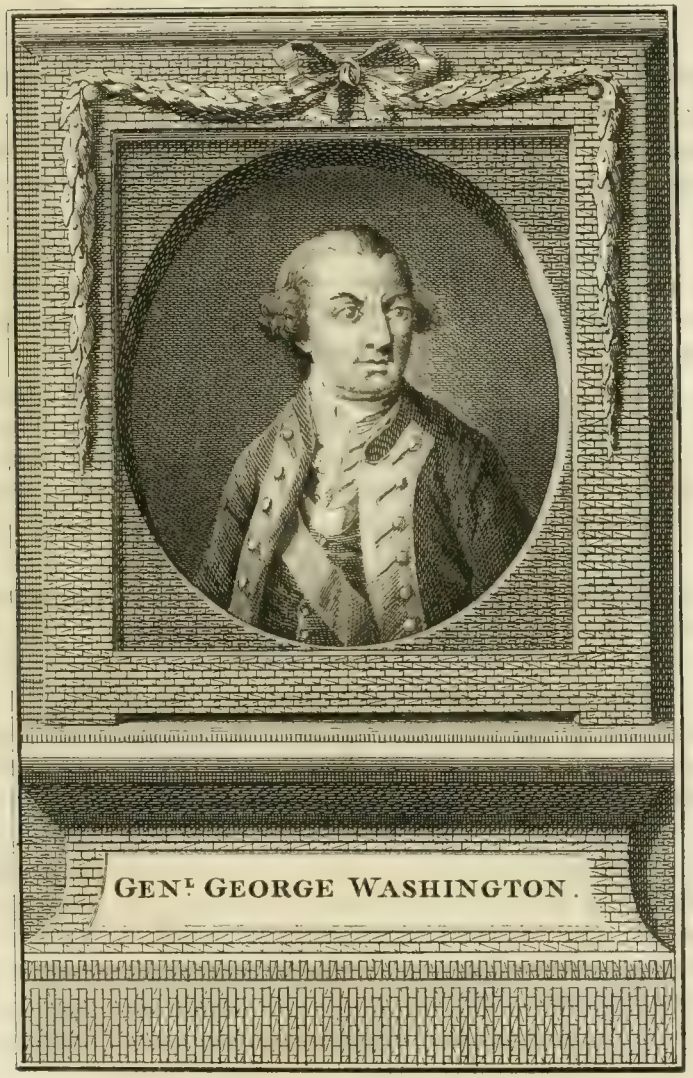
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GENERAL Gage's late proclamation, the battle of Bunker's Hill, and the burning of Charles Town, increaſed the animoſity, rage, and indignation, already ſo prevalent in North America, and drew from the General Congreſs a declaration, in the form of thoſe public appeals to mankind and to Heaven, which uſually accompany a denunciation of war, ſetting forth the neceſſity of their taking up arms. Among the long liſt of thoſe ſuppoſed neceſſities, beſides the recent hoſtilities, they ſtate the endeavours uſed to inſtigate the Canadians and Indians to attack them; and in ſtating their reſources, they compute upon foreign aſſiſtance as undoubtedly attainable. They diſclaim, however, any immediate view to a foreign alliance; and declare, that they fight not for glory or for conqueſt,—but for the preſervation of their liberties, in defence of which they are reſolved to die.—This declaration was read with great ſolemnity to the different bodies of the provincial army encamped in the neighbourhood of Boſton, and was received by them with loud ſhouts of approbation.

July 6.

The Congreſs now took formally into conſideration lord North's conciliatory propoſition; which had been communicated to them, if not by the direction, at leaſt by the permiſſion of that miniſter, in the hand writing of Sir Grey Cowper, one of the principal ſecretaries of the Treaſury. In the courſe of a long and argumentative diſcuſſion, they condemn it as unreaſonable and inſidious: as unreaſonable, becauſe if they declare that they will accede to it, they declare, inconditionally, That they will purchaſe the favour of parliament, without knowing at what price it will chuſe to eſtimate its favour; and as inſidious, becauſe it has a tendency to detach individual colonies from the general confederacy, and leaves the miniſter, at laſt, a power of receiving or rejecting ſuch as he ſhall think proper. On the whole, they concluded, That the propoſition was held up to the world, to deceive it into a belief, that there was nothing in diſpute but the *mode* of levying taxes; and that parliament having now been ſo kind as to give up that, the colonies muſt be unreaſonable in the higheſt degree, if not perfectly ſatisfied: they therefore unanimouſly agreed in rejecting it.

About this time the colony of Georgia joined the general confederacy, which henceforth took the name of the "*Thirteen* UNITED COLONIES;" and the Congreſs, in compliance with the wiſhes of the body of the people, and at the particular application of the New England provinces, appointed George Waſhington, eſq; a gentleman of affluent fortune in Virginia, and whom we have had occaſion to mention as a provincial officer of ſome reputation early in the late war, to be General and Commander in Chief of all their forces. They alſo appointed



GEN.L GEORGE WASHINGTON.

pointed Artemus Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Iſrael Putnam, eſqrs. to be major-generals, and Horatio Gates, eſq; to be adjutant-general. Of theſe commanders, Lee and Gates were Engliſh officers, who had ſerved in the laſt war with diſtinction, but who from diſguſt or other cauſes had been led to join the rebels. The Congreſs, at the ſame time that they made theſe appointments, alſo fixed and aſſigned the pay of both officers and ſoldiers; the latter of whom, as in all civil diſputes, were much better provided for than thoſe on any regular eſtabliſhment.

The generals Waſhington and Lee arrived at the camp before Boſton in the month of July. They were treated with the higheſt honours in every place through which they paſſed: they were eſcorted by large detachments of volunteers, compoſed of gentlemen, in the different provinces; and they received public addreſſes from the provincial congreſſes of New York and Maſſachuſets Bay. The military ſpirit was now high; and ſo general, that war and its preparations occupied the hands and heads of all orders of men throughout the continent of North America. Perſons of fortune and family, who were not appointed officers, entered chearfully into the ranks, and ſerved as private men. Even ſome of the younger quakers forgot their paſſive principles, of forbearance and non-reſiſtance, and taking up arms, formed themſelves into companies at Philadelphia, where they applied with the greateſt ardour and aſſiduity to acquire a proficiency in military exerciſe and diſcipline. This ſpirit, however, was by no means univerſal among that inoffenſive ſet of people; who, in general, diſapproved of the violent oppoſition to the mother-country, whatever might be their temper in other reſpects. But the number of men, who were differently diſpoſed, was ſufficient to inſpire the Congreſs with the moſt ſanguine hopes: no leſs than two hundred thouſand are ſaid to have been under arms, and in training, within the limits of the United Colonies.

As the blockade of Boſton was continued with little variation throughout the remainder of this year, and during a conſiderable part of the next, we muſt now turn our views to another quarter. The ſucceſs which had attended the expedition to the Lakes, with the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, in the beginning of the ſummer, and which in a manner threw open the gates of Canada, encouraged the Congreſs to a meaſure, which it is to be preſumed they would not otherwiſe have ventured upon. This was no leſs than the ſending of an army for the invaſion and reduction of that extenſive country. A ſtep of ſo extraordinary a nature demanded the moſt ſerious conſideration: the commencement of an offenſive war with the ſovereign, was a new and perilous undertaking; and it ſeemed totally to change the ground, on which the colonies ſtood in the preſent diſpute. Oppoſition to government had hitherto been conducted with the apparent deſign, and on the avowed principle only, of ſupporting and defending certain rights and immunities of the people, which were ſuppoſed, or pretended to be, unjuſtly invaded: oppoſition, or even reſiſtance, in ſuch a caſe, allowing the premiſes to be fairly ſtated, was thought by many to be conſiſtent with the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, and to be countenanced by precedents; but

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but to render themſelves at once the aggreſſors, and not contented with vindicating their own real or pretended rights, to fly wantonly in the face of the ſovereign, carry war into his dominions, and invade a province to which they could lay no claim, or pretend any right, was ſuch an outrage, as not only to overthrow every plea of juſtifiable reſiſtance, but as would militate with the eſtabliſhed opinions, principles, and feelings of mankind at large. On the other hand, the danger was preſſing and great. The extraordinary powers granted to general Carleton, governor of Canada and commander in chief of the troops in that province, together with the ſpirit of enterpriſe and military talents of that able and reſolute officer, left them every thing to fear from the force which he might be able to aſſemble. They therefore determined to prevent thoſe evils which they had ſo much occaſion to dread, by keeping danger at a diſtance.

Beſides the Congreſs was ſenſible, that they had already proceeded to ſuch lengths as could only be juſtified by force: the ſword was already drawn, and the appeal made: it was now too late to look back; and to waver, would be certain deſtruction. If ſucceſs did not afford a ſanction to their reſiſtance, and diſpoſe the court of Great Britain to an accommodation upon lenient terms, all hope of preſerving thoſe immunities, for which they at preſent contended, muſt not only be given up, but they muſt lie at the mercy of a jealous and irritated government. In ſuch a ſtate moderation appeared criminal; eſpecially where it might interfere with the great object for which they had taken arms. Nor were circumſtances wanting to encourage them in this bold enterpriſe, from the ſituation of the country which they were going to invade. They knew that not only the Britiſh ſettlers, but the French inhabitants of Canada, the nobleſſe and clergy excepted, were in general much diſcontented at the introduction of the new ſyſtem of government. It ſeemed therefore probable that this diſcontent, cooperating with the rooted averſion which the Canadians bore againſt their ancient oppreſſors, the proud and tyrannical nobleſſe, or lords of the manors, and the mortal dread which they entertained of being again reduced to their former ſtate of feudal and military vaſſalage, would induce them to conſider the invaders rather as deliverers than as enemies; and that they would conſequently embrace ſo favourable an opportunity of obtaining a ſhare in that freedom for which the provincials were contending. Though they were but imperfectly acquainted with the nature of the particular controverſy, and little intereſted in it, it was preſumed to be for freedom—for American freedom; and the name could not fail to captivate: it was in favour of colonies,—and Canada was a colony.

In this manner did the Congreſs reaſon; and theſe reaſonings determined them to ſeize the preſent favourable opportunity, while the Britiſh forces were weak and cooped up in Boſton, for attempting the reduction of that important province, an event which would infallibly put them in poſſeſſion of all North America. The generals Schulyer and Montgomery, with two regiments of New York militia, a body of New England men, and ſome parties from the other provinces, amounting in the whole to about three thouſand, were accordingly appointed to this ſervice; and a number of bateaux, or flat

boats, were built at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, in order to convey the forces along Lake Champlain to the river Sorel, which forms the entrance into Canada. It is compoſed of the ſurplus waters of the lakes, which it diſcharges into the river St. Laurence, and would afford a happy communication between both, were it not for ſome currents, which obſtruct the navigation from the latter. Not above half the troops were arrived, when Montgomery, who was at Crown Point, received intelligence which made him apprehenſive, that a ſchooner of conſiderable force, with ſome other armed veſſels, which lay at Fort St. John's, on the river Sorel, were preparing to enter the lake, and thereby effectually obſtruct the expedition. In order to prevent this danger, he proceeded with what force he had to Iſle Aux Noix, which lies in the entrance of the river, and took the neceſſary meaſures to guard againſt the paſſage of thoſe veſſels into the Lake. Auguſt.

General Schuyler, who at that time commanded in chief, having alſo arrived from Albany, they publiſhed a declaration to encourage the Canadians to join them; and with the ſame hope or deſign, they puſhed on to Fort St. John's, which lies only about twelve miles from Iſle Aux Noix. The fire from the fort, as well as the ſtrong appearances of force and reſiſtance which they obſerved, determined them to land at a conſiderable diſtance from it; in a country compoſed of thick woods, deep ſwamps, and interſected with waters of different kinds. In this ſituation they were vigorouſly attacked by a conſiderable body of Indians, who did not neglect the advantages which the country afforded: they alſo found that the fort was well garriſoned and provided, and therefore judged it neceſſary to return next day to their former ſtation on the iſland, and to defer the ſiege until the arrival of the artillery and reinforcements which they expected. On this retreat Schuyler returned to Albany, in order to conclude a treaty, which he had been for ſome time negociating with the Indians in that quarter; and he afterwards found himſelf ſo much occupied by buſineſs, or incapacited by illneſs, that he was not able to join his aſſociate: ſo that the whole weight and danger of the Canada expedition fell upon Montgomery, who proved himſelf not unworthy of ſuch a command. His firſt ſtep was to detach from the Britiſh intereſt thoſe Indians who were diſpoſed to act offenſively againſt him; and being ſtrengthened by the arrival of his reinforcements and artillery, he prepared to lay ſiege to the fort of St. John. This fort was garriſoned by the greater part of the ſeventh and twenty-ſixth regiments, being nearly all the regular troops then in Canada, and was well provided with all things neceſſary for defence. Sept. 6.

Meantime the provincial parties were ſpread over the adjacent country, and every where received with open arms by the Canadians; who, beſides joining them in conſiderable numbers, gave them all poſſible aſſiſtance; whether in carrying on the ſiege, removing their artillery, or in ſupplying them with proviſions and other neceſſaries. Encouraged by this favourable ſtate of things, the fortunate adventurer, Ethan Allen, who as we have already had occaſion to obſerve, without any commiſſion from the Congreſs, had a principal ſhare in the taking of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and who ſince, under the title of colonel,

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ſeems to have acted as a rebel officer, but without obſerving any regular ſubordination, formed the bold reſolution of attempting to make himſelf maſter of Montreal by ſurpriſe. This daring enterpriſe he undertook without the knowledge of the commander in chief, at the head of a ſmall body of Engliſh provincials and ſome Canadians. His former extraordinary ſucceſs made him think nothing impoſſible to him. The event, however, convinced him of his miſtake; and is a ſtriking example of the very different degree of conſideration that is paid to fortunate, and unſucceſsful temerity. Being met at ſome diſtance from the town, by the militia, under the command of Engliſh officers, and ſupported by the few regulars who were in the place, he was defeated and taken priſoner, with near forty of his followers, and the reſt were happy to make their eſcape to the woods.

Sept. 25.

Montgomery was a man of a very different character. He was indefatigable in proſecuting the ſiege of fort St. John. It was however retarded for a time by the want of ammunition. This deficiency he ſupplied by the taking of Chamble, a ſmall fort in the neighbouring country, where he found an hundred and twenty barrels of powder; and the garriſon of St. John's, conſiſting of about five hundred regulars and two hundred Canadian volunteers, under the command of major Preſton, endured with unabated courage and conſtancy the hardſhips of a long ſiege, augmented by a ſcarcity of proviſions. In the meanwhile general Carleton was indefatigable in his endeavours to raiſe a force ſufficient for its relief. Attempts had been made for ſome time by colonel M'Lean, for raiſing a Scotch regiment, under the name of the Royal Highland Emigrants, to be compoſed of natives of that country who had lately arrived in America, and whom the troubles had prevented from obtaining ſettlements. With theſe and ſome Canadians, to the amount of about three or four hundred men, the colonel was poſted near the influx of the Sorel to the river St. Laurence. The general was at Montreal, where with the greateſt difficulty, he had got together near a thouſand men; compoſed principally of Canadians, with a few regulars, and ſome Engliſh officers and volunteers. He intended to effect a junction with M'Lean, and then to march directly to the relief of fort St. John; but on his attempting to paſs over from the iſland of Montreal, he was encountered at Longueil by a body of the provincials, who eaſily repulſed the Canadians, and put a ſtop to the whole deſign. Another party had driven colonel M'Lean towards the mouth of the Sorel, where the Canadians under his command having received advice of the governor's repulſe, immediately diſperſed, and he was obliged to make the beſt of his way to Quebec with the emigrants.

Montgomery now puſhed on the ſiege of St. John's with the utmoſt vigour: he had advanced his works very near to the body of the fort, and was making preparations for a general aſſault. Nor was there leſs activity or courage ſhewn in the defence of the place, the ſpirit as well as the fire of the garriſon being equally ſupported to the laſt. During this ſtate of things, an account of the ſucceſs at Longueil, accompanied by the priſoners who were taken, arrived at the provincial camp. On that intelligence Montgomery ſent a flag of truce, and

and a letter by one of the prisoners to major Preston, hoping that as all means of relief were now cut off by the governor's repulse, he would by a timely surrender of the fort, prevent the farther effusion of blood which a fruitless and obstinate defence must necessarily occasion. The major, in hopes that he might yet be relieved, endeavoured to obtain a few days to consider of the proposal; but this demand was refused, on account of the lateness and severity of the season. He also endeavoured, in settling the terms of capitulation, to obtain liberty for the garrison to depart for Great Britain, a request which was also denied: they were therefore obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war, on condition of being allowed its empty honours; which were willingly granted them by Montgomery, on account of their gallant defence *. They were also allowed their baggage and other effects, and the officers were permitted to wear their swords. The prisoners were sent up the Lakes, by the way of Ticonderoga, to those interior parts of the colonies which were best able to provide for their reception and security; and the provincials, having found a considerable quantity of artillery and military stores in St. John's, proceeded on their enterprise with the fairest prospect of success.

Nov. 3.

On the retreat of colonel M'Lean to Quebec, the party which had reduced him to that necessity, immediately erected batteries on a point of land at the junction of the Sorel with the river St. Laurence, in order to prevent the escape down the latter of a number of armed vessels, which general Carleton had collected at Montreal. Armed rafts and floating batteries were also constructed for the same purpose. These measures effectually prevented the passage of general Carleton's armament to Quebec; so that as general Montgomery approached Montreal immediately after the surrender of fort St. John, the governor's situation, whether in the town or on board the vessels, became equally critical. This danger was increased by the pusillanimity of the inhabitants, who proposed a capitulation as soon as Montgomery appeared. Even that was refused them; but the provincial general declared, in a written answer, That having come for the express purpose of giving liberty and security, the inhabitants should be maintained in the peaceable possession of their property, and in the free exercise of their religion; that he hoped the civil and religious rights of all the Canadians would be established on the most permanent footing by a provincial congress; and he promised, that courts of justice should be speedily erected upon the most liberal plan, conformable to the British constitution. This voluntary security being given to the inhabitants, the provincial army took possession of the town.

Nov. 12.

Nothing now could afford the slightest hope of the preservation of any part of Canada, but the lateness of the season: even that appeared an ineffectual obstruction, as there was only a handful of regular troops in the province, and the taking of general Carleton, which seemed almost certain, must determine its fate. For-

* In all transactions with our people, Montgomery writ, spoke, and behaved with that attention and politeness, to both officers and private men, which might be expected from a man of worth and honour, who found himself involved in an unhappy quarrel with his friends and fellow subjects.

tune,

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tune, however, directed things otherwiſe. At the very time that the practicability of the armed veſſels being able to get down the river was given up, and when Montgomery was preparing bateaux with light artillery at Montreal, in order to attack them on that ſide, and force them down upon the batteries, means were ſucceſsfully taken for conveying the governor, in a dark night, paſt the enemy's guards and works, in a boat with muffled paddles; and he arrived ſafely at Quebec, which he found environed with danger from an unexpected quarter. Meantime general Preſcot, to whom was left the care of the armament at Montreal, finding it impoſſible to ſave the ſhips, was obliged to enter into a capitulation with the provincials; in conſequence of which, the whole naval force of the upper part of the river, conſiſting of eleven armed veſſels, was ſurrendered into their hands, and the general himſelf, with ſeveral other officers, ſome gentlemen in the civil department, a party of Canadian volunteers, and about one hundred and twenty Engliſh ſoldiers, became priſoners of war.

While Montgomery was thus carrying on the war in Upper Canada, from the New York ſide, by the old courſe of the Lakes, an expedition was undertaken directly againſt the lower part of the province and the city of Quebec, from the New England ſide, by a route hitherto untried, and deemed impracticable. This expedition was conducted by colonel Arnold, who about the middle of September marched from the camp near Boſton, at the head of fifteen hundred men, to Newbury Port, at the mouth of the river Merrymack, where veſſels were in readineſs to convey them by ſea to the mouth of the river Quenebec, in New Hampſhire. They proceeded up that river with incredible difficulty, in two hundred bateaux, which they were frequently obliged to carry on their ſhoulders, as well as their proviſions and ſtores, for ſeveral miles, through thick woods, deep ſwamps, and difficult paſſes. When they arrived at the head of the river, they ſent back their ſick, which were pretty numerous, and one of the colonels took that opportunity of returning with his diviſion, under pretence of ſcarcity of proviſions. By this deſertion, and the diminution occaſioned by the return of the ſick, Arnold's detachment was reduced to about eight or nine hundred men. With theſe he croſſed the heights that divide Canada from New England, and at length reached the head of the river Chaudiere, which falls into the river St. Laurence near Quebec. Their difficulties were now partly over. On the third of November they entered the inhabited parts of Canada, and found the people diſpoſed to receive them with the ſame kindneſs that Montgomery's army had experienced in the neighbourhood of Montreal: they ſupplied them liberally with proviſions, and rendered them every other ſervice in their power. Arnold did not fail to improve this friendly diſpoſition: he publiſhed an addreſs to the people of the province, ſigned by general Waſhington, in which they were invited to join with the other colonies; to range themſelves under the ſtandard of general liberty; and informed, that the armament was not ſent into the colony to plunder it, but to protect and animate them in the cauſe of freedom. They were therefore requeſted not to deſert their habitations, nor to fly from their friends, but to provide them with ſuch ſupplies as the country afforded;

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and assured that, in so doing, they might depend not only upon safety and security, but an ample compensation.

The city of Quebec was at that time in a very defenceless condition, as well as in a state of internal discontent and disorder. The British merchants and settlers were much disgusted at the late act for the government of the province; nor did it appear that much reliance could be placed in the French inhabitants. Many of them were at least wavering, and some worse. In other respects that capital was in a manner defenceless. There were no troops of any sort within the walls, until colonel M'Lean's handful of new raised emigrants arrived from the Sorel. Some marines, which the governor had requested from the fleet before Boston, were refused by a naval council of war, on account of the danger of the navigation at so late a season. The militia, however, had been embodied by the lieutenant governor.—Such was the state of this important place, when Arnold and his army appeared at Point Levi, opposite to the town. Fortunately the river was between them, and the boats secured, otherwise it is hard to say what might have been the consequence of the first surprise and confusion. The want of boats was indeed remedied in a few days by the Canadians, who supplied the provincials with canoes, in which they effected their passage during the night, notwithstanding the vigilance of the frigates and other armed vessels in the river: but the critical moment was now passed. The dissatisfied inhabitants, both English and Canadians, as soon as danger pressed, united for their common defence: they became seriously alarmed for the immense property which Quebec contained; they desired to be, and were embodied and armed. The sailors had landed, and were at the batteries ready to serve the guns: the defendants were considerably superior in number to the assailants, and Arnold had no artillery. In these circumstances, his only hope must have been the defection of the inhabitants; and being disappointed in that, nothing remained practicable for him, but to intercept the roads, and cut off the provisions, until the arrival of Montgomery. He tried, however, to tempt or to intimidate the defendants, by parading the heights for some days, and sending two flags to summon them to surrender: but these being fired at, and no message admitted, he at length drew off his army into quarters of refreshment. Nov. 9.

About that time general Carleton arrived at Quebec, and immediately took such measures for its defence, as were suitable to his military reputation and experience. His first step was to oblige all those to quit the town with their families, who refused to take up arms in its defence. After this the garrison, including all orders who did duty, consisted of about fifteen hundred men; a number insufficient, supposing them even the best troops, to the defence of such extensive works. But of these it could hardly be said that any were regulars; colonel M'Lean's emigrants being newly raised, and the only company of the seventh regiment which had escaped being taken consisting principally of recruits. The rest were composed of the British and French militia, a few marines, and about four hundred and fifty seamen, belonging partly to the king's frigates, and partly to the merchant ships that wintered in the harbour. The sailors, in a word,

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habituated to the management of great guns, and to prompt manœuvres, were the real ſtrength of the garriſon.

In the meantime Montgomery, having left ſome troops in Montreal, where he new cloathed his army, and ſent detachments into different parts of the province, in order to encourage the Canadians, as well as to forward ſupplies of proviſions and neceſſaries, puſhed on with as many men as he could ſpare from theſe neceſſary ſervices, and ſuch artillery as he could procure, to join Arnold. His march was in the beginning of winter, through bad roads, in a ſevere climate, and beneath the fall of the firſt ſnows, therefore attended with great hardſhips. Theſe, however, the provincials encountered with unſhaken reſolution, and ar-

Dec. 5. rived with incredible celerity at Quebec. On their appearance before the town, Montgomery wrote a letter to general Carleton, magnifying his own ſtrength, ſtating the weakneſs of the garriſon, ſhewing the impoſſibility of relief, and recommending an immediate ſurrender, to avoid the dreadful conſequences which muſt attend an aſſault, irritated as his victorious troops were, he ſaid, at the injurious and cruel treatment which they had, in various particulars, received through the general's means. Though the flag that conveyed this letter, as well as every other, was fired at, and all communication abſolutely forbidden by the reſolute governor, Montgomery found other means to convey a letter to the ſame purport; but neither the number of the enemy, their cruel threats, nor his own defenceleſs ſituation, could make any impreſſion upon the ſoul of Carleton.

Montgomery's forces, after his junction with Arnold, though much ſuperior to thoſe within the town, were by no means ſufficient to inveſt ſuch a place: his only proſpect of ſucceſs ſeemed, therefore, to be founded upon the effect which the parade of his preparations, and the violence of his attacks might have upon the motley garriſon; or if thoſe failed, to weary them out by continual watchings, and falſe alarms. He accordingly commenced a bombardment, which continued for ſome days, and might have been ſuppoſed to anſwer the former of thoſe purpoſes, by throwing the garriſon into diſorder; but the intrepidity of the governor, ſeconded by the bravery, indefatigable induſtry and perſeverance of the chief officers, as well as the activity of the ſeamen and marines, prevented the expected conſequences; and it is no more than juſtice alſo to obſerve, that the garriſon in general gallantly followed the example, and ſupported the valour of their commanders, at the ſame time that they endured the inconveniencies, wants, and diſtreſſes incident to ſo long a ſiege, joined to a grevioufly ſevere and unremitted duty, with wonderful conſtancy and reſolution.

The bombardment thus proving ineffectual, Montgomery opened a ſix-gun battery, at about ſeven hundred yards diſtance from the walls; but his metal was too light to make any conſiderable impreſſion. Meanwhile the ſnow lay deep upon the ground, and the ſeverity of the climate was ſuch, that human nature ſeemed incapable of withſtanding its force in the field. The hardſhips and fatigues which the provincials underwent, both from the ſeaſon and the ſmallneſs of their number, were therefore incredible, and could only have been endured by men under the enthuſiaſtic influence of a public cauſe, and warmly attached to

their leader. Montgomery was however ſenſible, that their conſtancy muſt at length bend, if theſe evils were increaſed, or too long continued; and conſequently, that ſomething deciſive muſt be immediately done, otherwiſe the benefit of his paſt ſucceſſes would be loſt, and the luſtre of his now ſplendid reputation tarniſhed. He knew that the United Colonies would conſider Quebec as their own, from the moment that he appeared before it; and that the higher their expectations were raiſed, the more grievous the diſappointment would be in caſe of a failure. Their confidence of ſucceſs was founded upon the high opinion which they held of his courage and ability: to forfeit that opinion was the worſt of all poſſible conſequences; yet to endeavour to take the city by ſtorm, with a force ſo inadequate to ſuch an effort, whether the great natural ſtrength of the Upper town, or the number of the garriſon was conſidered, ſeemed a meaſure truly deſperate. But where the object is great, great hazards muſt be run; Montgomery therefore determined to carry the place by aſſault, or to periſh in the attempt.

The provincial general, whoſe courage appears to have been of the moſt daring kind, accordingly proceeded to the execution of this arduous enterpriſe early in the morning, and under the cover of a violent ſtorm of ſnow. He had diſpoſed his little army in four diviſions, two of which carried on falſe attacks againſt the Upper town, while Arnold and himſelf conducted two real ones, againſt different parts of the Lower town. By theſe means the alarm was general in both towns, and might have diſconcerted the moſt regular garriſon. From the ſide of the river St. Laurence, along the fortified front, and round to the baſon, every part ſeemed equally threatened, if not equally in danger. About five o'clock Montgomery, at the head of the New York troops, advanced againſt the Lower town, at Aunce de Mere, under Cape Diamond; but from ſome difficulties which retarded his approach, the garriſon had been alarmed, and the ſignal for engaging given, before he could reach the place. He preſſed on, however, in a narrow file, upon a ſcanty path, with a precipice towards the river, on one ſide, and an hanging rock over him. Having ſeized and paſſed the firſt barrier, accompanied by a few of his braveſt officers and men, he marched boldly at the head of his detachment to the attack of the ſecond. This barrier was much ſtronger than the former: ſeveral cannon were here planted, loaded with grape ſhot; and by theſe, together with a fire of muſketry, equally well directed and ſupported, an end was at once put to the hopes of this enterpriſing officer and to the fortune of the provincials in Canada. Montgomery himſelf, with his aid-de-camp, ſome other officers, and moſt of thoſe brave men who were near his perſon, fell in the firſt aſſault, and the detachment retired without any farther effort. Dec. 31.

During this conflict Arnold, with a body of thoſe troops, who had ſignalized themſelves under his command by the memorable march immediately from New England, ſupported by ſome New York artillery, made an attempt on that part of the town called the Saut de Matelot; and having penetrated through St. Roques, they attacked a ſmall but well defended battery, which they carried with conſiderable loſs, after an hour's ſharp engagement. But they had

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the misfortune, on this occasion, also to be left without a commander; for Arnold's leg being shattered by a shot, he was under the necessity of submitting to be carried off to the camp. His place was, however, well supplied by the ability of the other officers, seconded by the resolution of the men. Being yet ignorant of Montgomery's disaster, they were so far from being dispirited by their own, that they pushed on with great vigour, and made themselves masters of another barrier: but the garrison, having now recovered from their surprise, and being disengaged in all other quarters, had leisure to attend to the situation of this division, and to perceive the opportunity that was presented of cutting them off; as in attempting a retreat, they must pass, for a considerable way, within fifty yards of the walls, exposed to the whole fire from the ramparts. In order to render their fate inevitable, a considerable detachment, with several field pieces, issued through a gate which commanded their route, and attacked them furiously in the rear, whilst they were already fully occupied in every other quarter, by the troops that now poured upon them from different parts. Thus circumstanced, without a possibility of escape, attacked on all sides, and seeing no hope of relief, the provincial detachment surrendered.

The prisoners, amounting to about five hundred, were treated with the greatest humanity by general Carleton; and all enmity to Montgomery expiring with his life, respect to his private character prevailed over every other consideration. His body was interred with all the military honours due to a brave soldier *. By comparing circumstances, previous and subsequent to this engagement, it appears that the provincials, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, did not lose less than half their number. The governor and officers acquired great and deserved honour by their defence, and the behaviour of the raw garrison was worthy of veteran troops. The besiegers immediately quitted their camp, and retired about three miles from the city, where they strengthened their quarters in the best manner they were able, being apprehensive of a pursuit and attack from the garrison. General Carleton, however, satisfied with the unexpected advantage he had gained, and the security which it produced, did not chuse to hazard the fate of Canada, and perhaps of North America, in a rash enterprise. The capital was now entirely out of danger, and the succours that were expected could not fail to relieve the whole province.

Meantime the command of the rebel army, in consequence of the death of Montgomery, devolved upon Arnold whose wound rendered him at present unequal to so arduous a task. The perseverance of the provincials, all things considered, was

* Richard Montgomery was a gentleman of good family in the kingdom of Ireland, and had served with reputation in the last war. The excellency of his accomplishments and disposition had procured him an uncommon share of private affection, as his abilities had of public esteem. He is represented as a real and zealous lover of liberty; and having married a lady, and purchased an estate in the province of New York, he was from these circumstances induced to consider himself as an American. He had undoubtedly considerable, and probably great military talents; and it remains to be lamented, that a man who appears to have been so well qualified to support the interest and glory of his country against her natural enemies, should have perished in an unnatural as well as unhappy civil conflict.

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however aſtoniſhing. They had loſt beſides their general, the beſt of their officers, and the braveſt of their fellow ſoldiers, with part of their ſmall artillery. The hope of aſſiſtance was diſtant and doubtful, and the arrival of ſuccours muſt at any rate be ſlow. The ſeverity of a Canadian winter was alſo beyond any thing that they were acquainted with, and the ſnow lay about four feet deep on a level. In ſuch circumſtances, it required no ſmall ſhare of activity and addreſs to keep even brave men together; and Arnold, who had acquired ſo much reputation by his late march, diſcovered on this occaſion the utmoſt vigour of mind, as well as a genius full of reſources. Defeated and wounded as he was, he put his troops into ſuch a ſituation as to make them ſtill formidable; and he ſent an expreſs to general Wooſter, who commanded at Montreal, to bring ſuccours, and take direction of the army. But as this could not be done immediately, he bore up manfully with the force he had againſt the difficulties with which he was ſurrounded. The ſiege of Quebec was converted into a blockade; and Arnold found means, for ſome months, effectually to obſtruct the conveyance of any ſupplies of proviſions or other neceſſaries into the town.

During theſe tranſactions in Canada, a long courſe of jealouſy, diſtruſt, ſuſpicion, and altercation, between the governor and the greater part of the inhabitants, in the province of Virginia, finally terminated in open hoſtility, and a ruinous inteſtine and predatory war. The people of that colony, as formerly noticed, had been at leaſt as forward as thoſe of any other, in taking meaſures for oppoſing the demands of the mother-country. They were among the firſt in expreſſing their reſolutions, and the readieſt in ſhewing their determination, to ſupport, at all hazards, what they termed the rights of America: but in other reſpects, the greateſt order and tranquillity was preſerved in the province; and notwithſtanding the uneaſineſs excited by the prorogation or diſſolution of their aſſemblies, and the conſequent expiration of their militia laws, which, in a country where the ſlaves are ſo much ſuperior to the number of free inhabitants, was an alarming circumſtance, they ſeemed to pay a more than common degree of reſpect, attention, and even perſonal regard to the earl of Dunmore, their governor. However, as the want of a legal aſſembly ſeemed to give ſome ſanction to the holding of a convention, a Provincial Congreſs was aſſembled in March 1775, which immediately took meaſures for arraying the militia, under cover of an old law paſſed in the year 1738; and that convention alſo recommended to each county to raiſe a volunteer-company, for the better defence and protection of the province.

Alarmed at this interference with reſpect to the militia, the governor ſoon after employed the captain of an armed veſſel, which lay at a few miles diſtance from James River, to convey with a detachment of marines, by night, the powder in the public magazine of the colony at Williamſburg, the capital of the province, on board the man of war. Though that meaſure was conducted with great privacy, it was by ſome means diſcovered the enſuing morning; when the apparent ſecrecy, and ſeeming myſterioufneſs of the act, increaſed the conſternation and alarm among the inhabitants, who immediately aſſembled with ſuch

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arms as they could procure, with an intention of demanding reſtitution of the gun-powder. They were prevented, however, from proceeding to extremities by the mayor and corporation; who preſented, at the ſame time, an addreſs to the governor, ſtating the injury, reclaiming the powder as a matter of right, and ſhewing the dangers to which they were peculiarly liable from the inſurrection of their ſlaves. Lord Dunmore acknowledged, that the gun-powder had been removed by his orders. Having heard, he ſaid, of a tumult in a neighbouring county, and not thinking it ſafe in the magazine, he had conveyed it to a place of perfect ſecurity: but he pledged his word, that whenever an inſurrection rendered it neceſſary, it ſhould be immediately returned. It had been removed in the night, he added, to prevent giving an alarm: he expreſſed great ſurpriſe at the people's aſſembling in arms; and obſerved, that he could not think it prudent to put powder into their hands in ſuch a ſituation.

However little ſatisfaction this anſwer might afford to the magiſtrates, they prevailed on the people to depart quietly to their houſes; but a report being ſpread in the evening, that detachments from the men of war were upon their march to the town, the inhabitants again flew to arms, and continued all night upon the watch, as if in expectation of the approach of an enemy. They alſo from this time forward increaſed their nightly patroles, and ſhewed an evident reſolution of protecting the magazine from all farther attempts. The governor, whoſe temper was naturally violent, ſeems to have been exceedingly irritated at the behaviour of the people in theſe commotions; and perhaps reſented too highly, for ſuch times, their aſſembling in arms, though not only without, but with an evident intention to oppoſe his authority. During this warmth of paſſion ſome threats were thrown out, which cool reaſon will ever condemn; namely, to ſet up the royal ſtandard, to enfranchiſe the negroes, and arm them againſt their maſters. Theſe meaſures, if carried immediately into execution, might have proved a violent remedy for the diſorders in the province; but as threatened, they ſerved only to ſpread a general alarm, and to excite an incurable ſuſpicion of the deſigns of government.

Meanwhile ſeveral public meetings were held in different counties, in all of which the meaſure of ſeizing and removing the powder, as well as the governor's threats, were reprobated in the ſtrongeſt terms; and ſome of the gentlemen of Hanover, and other neighbouring counties, not ſatisfied with ſimple declarations, aſſembled in arms under the conduct of Mr. Henry, one of the Virginia delegates to the general congreſs, and marched towards Williamſburg, with an avowed deſign not only of obtaining reſtitution of the gun-powder, but to take ſuch effectual meaſures for ſecuring the public money, as ſhould prevent it from experiencing a ſimilar fate with the magazine. A negociation was, however, entered into with the magiſtrates, when the inſurgents had arrived within a few miles of the city; in which it was finally ſettled, that the ſecurity of the receiver general of the colony, for paying the value of the gun-powder, ſhould be accepted as a reſtitution; and that upon the inhabitants engaging for the future, effectually

effectually to guard both the treaſury and magazine, the inſurgents ſhould diſperſe, and return to their ſeveral homes.

The alarm of this affair induced lady Dunmore, with the reſt of the governor's family, to retire on board the Fowey man of war in James River; whilſt his lordſhip, with the aſſiſtance of a detachment of marines, converted his palace into a little garriſon, fortified it in the beſt manner poſſible, and ſurrounded it with artillery *. A proclamation from the governor and council, in which Henry and his followers were charged with rebellious practices, in extorting the value of the powder from the receiver-general, and in which the different commotions were attributed to diſaffection in the people, and a deſire of changing the eſtabliſhed form of government, ſerved only to afford more room for altercation, and to increaſe the reigning diſcontents. Several county meetings were heſd, at which Henry's conduct was vindicated and applauded, and reſolutions were paſſed, that at the riſk of every thing dear, he and his followers ſhould be indemnified from all ſuffering, loſs, and injury on that account. The charge of diſaffection was denied, and that of intending to change the form of government retorted.

While things were in this ſtate of tumult and diſorder, the general aſſembly was ſuddenly and unexpectedly convened by the governor, in conſequence of ſome diſpatches from England. The grand motive for ſuch a meaſure was to gain their approbation, and if poſſible their acceptance of lord North's conciliatory propoſition. The earl of Dunmore accordingly, in his ſpeech, uſed his utmoſt addreſs to carry that favourite point. He ſtated the favourable diſpoſition of parliament, as well as of adminiſtration, towards the colonies; the moderation, equity, and tenderneſs which induced the preſent advances towards a happy reconciliation; while he dwelt upon the juſtice of their contributing to the common defence, and bearing an equitable proportion of the public burdens of the empire. As no ſpecific ſum was demanded, he obſerved, that they had an opportunity of giving a free ſcope to their juſtice and liberality, and that whatever they voted would be a free gift in the fulleſt ſenſe of the word; that they would thus ſhew their reverence for parliament, and manifeſt their duty and attachment to their ſovereign; and he took pains to convince them, from the proceedings and reſolutions of parliament, that a full redreſs of all their real grievances would be the immediate conſequence of their compliance. June 1.

The firſt act of the aſſembly, was the appointment of a committee to inquire into the cauſes of the late diſturbances, and particularly to examine the ſtate of the magazine, that neceſſary meaſures might be taken for its repleniſhment. But although the magazine was the property of the colony, it was in the cuſtody of the governor, who appointed a keeper, ſo that an application to him for admittance

* His lordſhip's conduct on this occaſion, as well as in afterwards retiring on board the man of war himſelf, while he pretended to retain his civil character, appears altogether inexcuſable. A ſupreme civil magiſtrate ſhould calmly look danger in the face, and continue in the juſt exerciſe of his authority, as if unconſcious that any harm could reach him, till he finds it neceſſary either to relinquiſh the authority, or aſſert it effectually by force. A contrary conduct leads to the moſt ungenerous conſtructions, and dark ſuſpicions, on the part of the people ſo governed.

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was neceſſary; and during an altercation which aroſe upon this ſubject, and before an order for admittance was obtained, ſome people of the town and neighbourhood broke into the magazine, and carried off part of the arms. Several members of the Houſe of Burgeſſes, however, uſed their perſonal intereſt and authority in getting as many of them as poſſible reſtored; but the governor was ſo much ſtruck, it would appear, with the outrage, that while the propoſitions recommended in his ſpeech were yet under the conſideration of the aſſembly, and

June 8. before their addreſs was determined upon, he quitted the palace privately and ſuddenly, by night, and retired on board the Fowey man of war, which had formerly been the refuge of his family. He left a meſſage for the Houſe of Burgeſſes, acquainting them, that he thought it prudent to retire to a place of ſafety, as he was fully perſuaded that both himſelf and family were in conſtant danger of falling ſacrifices to the blind and ungovernable fury of the people; that ſo far from wiſhing to interrupt their ſitting, he hoped they would ſucceſsfully proceed in the great buſineſs before them; that he would render the communication between him and the houſe as eaſy and ſafe as poſſible; and he aſſured them that he ſhould attend as formerly to the duties of his office, and uſe every endeavour to reſtore that harmony which had been ſo unhappily interrupted.

This meſſage produced a joint addreſs from the Council and Houſe of Burgeſſes, declaring their diſbelief that any perſon in that province could meditate ſo atrocious a crime as his lordſhip apprehended, and lamenting that he had not acquainted them with the ground of his uneaſineſs before he had adopted ſuch a meaſure, as they would have uſed all poſſible means to have removed every cauſe of his diſquietude. They feared that his removal from the ſeat of government, they ſaid, would have a tendency to increaſe the diſſentions which unhappily prevailed among them; and they declared, that they would chearfully concur in any meaſure which he ſhould propoſe for the ſecurity of himſelf and his family; obſerving how impracticable it would be to carry on the buſineſs of the ſeſſion with any degree of propriety and diſpatch, whilſt he remained at ſuch a diſtance *, and ſo inconveniently ſituated. They therefore concluded with entreating his return, as well as that of his lady and family, to the palace, as a meaſure that would afford much public ſatisfaction, and be the likelieſt means of quieting the minds of the people.

Lord Dunmore returned a written anſwer, in which he juſtified his apprehenſions of danger from the public notoriety of commotions among the people, as well as from the threats and menaces with which they were attended. Beſides complaints of the general conduct and diſpoſition of the Houſe of Burgeſſes, he ſpecified ſeveral charges againſt that body; namely, That they had countenanced the violent and diſorderly proceedings of the people, particularly in regard to the magazine, which was forced and rifled in the preſence of ſeveral of their members; that inſtead of the commitment of the perſons who had been guilty of ſo daring and heinous an offence, they had only endeavoured to procure a reſtitution of the

* The Fowey man of war was then in York River.

arms;

arms; and that the houſe or its committee had ventured upon a ſtep fraught with the moſt alarming conſequences, in appointing guards, without his approbation or conſent, under pretence of protecting the magazine, ſhewing thereby a deſign of uſurping the executive power, and of ſubverting the conſtitution. No means, he obſerved, could be effectual for affording the ſecurity which they propoſed to concur in, but by reinſtating him in the full powers of his office, opening the courts of juſtice, and reſtoring the energy of the laws; by diſarming all independent companies, or other bodies of men, raiſed and acting in defiance of legal authority; by obliging the immediate reſtoration of the king's arms and ſtores; and by what was no leſs eſſential than any other matter, their own example, and their endeavours to remove that general deluſion, which kept the minds of the people in a continual ferment, and thereby to aboliſh that malice and ſpirit of perſecution, which now operated ſo dangerouſly againſt all thoſe who, from duty and affection to their king and country, oppoſed the preſent meaſures, and who from principle and conviction differed from the multitude in political opinion. Theſe, he added, were the only means to afford the ſecurity requiſite for all parties; and that for the accompliſhment of thoſe ends, together with the great object and neceſſary buſineſs of the ſeſſion, he ſhould have no objection to their adjourning to the town of York, where he would meet them, and remain till the buſineſs was finiſhed.—He concluded with repreſenting, That unleſs they had a ſincere and hearty deſire of ſeizing the opportunity which was now offered by parliament, of eſtabliſhing the freedom of their country upon a fixed and known foundation, and of uniting themſelves with their fellow-ſubjects of Great Britain in one common bond of intereſt and mutual aſſiſtance—unleſs ſuch was their reſolution, his return to Williamſburgh would be as fruitleſs to the people, as it might poſſibly be dangerous to himſelf: but if their proceedings manifeſted this happy diſpoſition, that he would return with the greateſt joy, and conſider it as the moſt fortunate event of his life, to have an opportunity of promoting their happineſs, and of being a ſucceſsful mediator between the colony and the mother-country.

The mollifying terms in the concluſion were by no means ſufficient to remove the ill humour excited by the ſeveral charges and implications contained in the foregoing part of this long meſſage. It therefore produced a reply of an uncommon length, under the form of an addreſs, fraught with all the bitterneſs of recrimination, as well as with defenſive arguments, and an examination of facts *.—The Houſe of Burgeſſes alſo preſented an addreſs in anſwer to the governor's ſpeech, in which they entered into a long diſcuſſion of the propoſition contained in the parliamentary reſolution, founded upon lord North's conciliatory motion. This they combated upon the ſame grounds, and with a variety of arguments of the ſame nature with thoſe which we have formerly had occaſion to ſtate on the part of the people of other colonies; and they ultimately declared, that as it only

June 14.

* They endeavoured, particularly, to ſhew the general tranquillity that prevailed in the colony, previous to the late affair of the powder, and the governor's declarations relative to the ſlaves; the latter of which, in ſo far as it was believed, having irritated the people beyond all bounds,

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changed the form of oppreſſion, without leſſening its burden, they could not cloſe with the terms. They obſerved, however, that theſe were only offered as the ſentiments of a particular colony, and that for a final determination, they referred the matter to the General Congreſs, before whom they would lay the papers.

This anſwer was ſurely ſufficient to make his lordſhip ſenſible, that all hopes of reconciliation between the colony and the mother-country were at an end, until force ſhould teach the one or the other to bend. A conſtant intercourſe was, however, kept up for ſome time, by addreſſes, meſſages, and anſwers, between the Houſe of Burgeſſes and the governor on board the Fowey. That was a ſingular ſituation; an attempt to govern, without chuſing, or thinking it ſafe, to ſet a foot on ſhore in the country to be governed. At length the neceſſary bills having paſſed the aſſembly, and the advanced ſeaſon requiring their attendance in their ſeveral counties, the council and burgeſſes jointly entreated the governor's preſence, to give his aſſent to them, and finiſh the ſeſſion; and they obſerved, That though they ſubmitted to the inconvenience of repeatedly ſending their members twelve miles to attend his excellency on board a ſhip of war, they could not but think it highly improper, and too great a departure from the conſtitutional and accuſtomed mode of tranſacting their buſineſs, to preſent the bills to him in any other place than the capital. They therefore entreated that he would meet them the enſuing day at Williamſburgh, to paſs the bills that were ready, and expreſſed their hopes that he could not ſtill entertain any groundleſs fears of perſonal danger; but if it was poſſible that he yet remained under ſo ſtrange a deluſion, they declared that they were ready to pledge their honour, and every thing ſacred, for his ſecurity.

Lord Dunmore inſiſted on his right of calling them to any place in the colony, where the exigence of affairs might render their attendance neceſſary. Beſides, he affirmed, that the well-grounded cauſe which he had for believing his perſon not ſafe at Williamſburgh had increaſed daily; that he could not, therefore, meet them, as they required, at the capital, but would be ready to receive the houſe at his preſent reſidence, for the purpoſe of giving his aſſent to ſuch acts as he ſhould approve of. This anſwer put an end to all public correſpondence and buſineſs between the governor and the colony. The transferring the legiſlative council and houſe of repreſentatives of an extenſive country on board a man of war, was evidently not to be expected; for, all other objections apart, their danger in ſuch a ſituation would at leaſt be as great, if hoſtile deſigns were apprehended, as the governor's could be on land. Of this they were fully ſenſible, and the burgeſſes paſſed reſolutions on receiving the foregoing anſwer, in which they declared, That the meſſage requiring them to attend the governor on board a ſhip of war, was a high breach of their rights and privileges; that the unreaſonable delays thrown into their proceedings, and the evaſive anſwers to their ſincere and decent addreſſes, gave them reaſon to fear that a dangerous attack was meditated againſt the unhappy people of that colony: it was therefore their opinion, that they ought to prepare for the preſervation of their property, and their ineſtimable rights and liberties. Thus, taking ſtrides towards rebellion and independency, but ſtrongly pro-

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profeſſing loyalty to the king, and amity to the mother-country, they broke up their ſeſſion.

July 18.

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An end being in this manner put to the Engliſh government in the colony of Virginia, a convention of delegates was ſoon appointed to ſupply the place of the aſſembly; and theſe having an unlimited confidence repoſed in them by the people, became of courſe poſſeſſed of an unlimited power in all public affairs. They immediately took the moſt effectual means of raiſing and embodying an armed force, as well as of providing for its ſupport, and purſued every other meaſure which could tend to place the colony in a ſtate of defence. Whether lord Dunmore expected that any extraordinary advantages might be derived from an inſurrection of the ſlaves, or imagined there was a much greater number of people in the colony ſatisfied with the preſent ſyſtem of government, than were really ſo, he determined, though his authority was no longer regarded, not to abandon his hopes, nor entirely to loſe ſight of the country which he had governed. Accordingly being joined by thoſe friends of government, who had rendered themſelves too obnoxious to the people to continue in ſafety in the colony, as well as by a number of runaway negroes, and being ſupported by the king's frigates upon the Virginia ſtation, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh ſuch a marine force, as would enable him, by means of thoſe noble rivers, which render the moſt valuable parts of that rich province acceſſible by water, to be always ready to profit by any favourable occaſion, in order to recover poſſeſſion of it. The force, however, thus put together was calculated only for depredation, and never became equal to any eſſential ſervice. The former, in part, was indeed matter of neceſſity; for as the people on ſhore would not ſupply thoſe on board the fleet with proviſions or neceſſaries, but ſent detachments of the new raiſed forces to protect the coaſts, they muſt either ſtarve or procure them by violence. How terrible muſt that condition have been, where every bit of bread, and every drop of water, was to be purchaſed at the price or the riſk of blood!

During this ſtate of inglorious hoſtility, the governor procured a few ſoldiers from different parts, with whoſe aſſiſtance an attempt was made to pillage, deſtroy, or get poſſeſſion of a port town called Hampton. It appears that the inhabitants had ſome previous intimation of the deſign; for they had ſunk boats in the entrance of the harbour, and thrown ſuch other obſtacles in the way, as rendered the approach of the ſhips, and conſequently the landing of the troops impracticable, on the day deſtined for the attack. The ſhips cut a paſſage through the boats in the following night, and began to cannonade the town furiouſly in the morning; but at this critical ſeaſon, they were relieved from their danger and apprehenſions, by the arrival of a detachment of rifle and minute men, from Williamſburgh. Theſe, united with the inhabitants, attacked the ſhips ſo vigorouſly with their ſmall arms, that they were obliged to quit their ſtation, and deſiſt from the enterpriſe.

October 2.

In conſequence of this repulſe, a proclamation was iſſued by the governor declaring, That as the civil law was at preſent inſufficient to prevent and puniſh treaſon and traitors, martial law ſhould take place, and be executed throughout the

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the colony; and requiring all perſons capable of bearing arms to repair to his majeſty's ſtandard, or they would be conſidered as traitors. He alſo declared all indented ſervants, negroes, or others appertaining to rebels, who were able and willing to bear arms, and who ſhould join his majeſty's forces, to be free. This meaſure, which has been generally condemned, as tending to looſen the bands of ſociety, to deſtroy domeſtic ſecurity, and ſubvert the political ſyſtem of ſlavery, ſo neceſſary to the proſperity of every European power that poſſeſſes dominions in the New World, was attended with leſs important conſequences in exciting the deſired inſurrection, from its being ſo long threatened and apprehended, than if it had been more immediate and unexpected. The proclamation, however, had ſome preſent effect in the town of Norfolk and the adjoining country, where many of the people were well diſpoſed to government. Lord Dunmore was accordingly joined by ſeveral hundreds both of blacks and whites, and many others who did not chuſe to puſh matters to extremity, publicly abjured the Congreſs, with all its acts, and all conventions and committees whatſoever.

It is probable that the governor now hoped, that the facility and good diſpoſition which he experienced at this place, would have been ſo general, as to enable him to raiſe a conſiderable army; and thus perhaps, without any foreign aſſiſtance, to have the glory of reducing one part of the province by means of the other: but this pleaſing proſpect was ſoon interrupted by intelligence, that a party of the rebels was marching towards him, with great expedition. In order to obſtruct their deſigns, and protect the well affected, he took poſſeſſion of a poſt called Great Bridge, which lay at ſome miles diſtance from Norfolk, and was a paſs of infinite importance, as it commanded the only road by which the rebels could approach that town. Here he conſtructed a fort, on the Norfolk ſide of the bridge, which he furniſhed well with artillery, and rendered as defencible as the time would admit. Notwithſtanding the loyalty of the people in this quarter, which included two ſmall counties, it does not however appear that lord Dunmore's force was by any means conſiderable, either in regard to number or quality. He had indeed about two hundred regulars, including the grenadiers of the fourteenth regiment, and a ſmall body called the Norfolk volunteers; but the reſt were a motley mixture of blacks and whites, without either bulk or ſkill to render them formidable.

The rebels, under the command of a colonel Woodford, alſo fortified themſelves within cannon ſhot of the Great Bridge. They had a narrow cauſeway in their front, which muſt be paſſed, in order to come at their works; ſo that each party was pretty well ſecured againſt ſurpriſe. In this ſtate, both ſides continued quiet for ſome days. At length a deſign was formed of driving the rebels from their entrenchments. This was undertaken before day-break. Captain Fordyce, at the head of the grenadiers, amounting to about ſixty, led the attack. They boldly paſſed the cauſeway, and marched up to the entrenchments with fixed bayonets; and with a coolneſs and intrepidity which, at the time, excited the aſtoniſhment, and afterwards the praiſe of their enemies: for they were not only expoſed naked to the fire in front, but to the croſs fire of another part of the works.

works. The brave captain, with ſeveral of his men fell: the lieutenant, with others, were taken; and what was truly remarkable, all the ſurvivors of the grenadier company, whether priſoners or not, were wounded. The fire of the artillery from the fort prevented purſuit; ſo that farther loſs was avoided, and an opportunity afforded of carrying off the dead.

The night after this repulſe, the king's forces retired from their poſt at the Great Bridge; and as all hopes in that quarter were now at an end, Lord Dunmore thought it neceſſary to abandon the town and neighbourhood of Norfolk, and retire again with his forces on board the ſhips. Many of the loyaliſts, or well affected inhabitants, alſo thought it prudent to ſeek the ſame aſylum, carrying along with them their families and moſt valuable effects. The rebels took poſſeſſion of Norfolk; and the fleet, which was now conſiderable for the number of veſſels and tonage, though without adequate force, removed to a greater diſtance.

During theſe tranſactions, a ſcheme had been in agitation for raiſing a body of troops in the back ſettlements of Virginia and the two Carolinas, where it was known the people were in general well affected to government. It was further hoped, that ſome of the Indian nations might be induced to become parties in this deſign; and that thus united, they would not only make ſuch a diverſion as muſt greatly alarm and diſtreſs the rebels, but that they might even be able to penetrate ſo far towards the coaſts, as to form a junction with the governor. One Conelly, a native of Penſylvania, and an active enterpriſing man, who ſeems to have been well calculated for ſuch an undertaking, was the framer of that plan; and his idea being approved by lord Dunmore, he with great difficulty and danger carried on a negociation with the Ohio Indians, and his friends among the back ſettlers upon the ſubject. This having ſucceeded to his ſatisfaction, he returned to lord Dunmore, who ſent him with the neceſſary credentials to Boſton, where he received a commiſſion from general Gage to act as colonel commandant, with aſſurances of aſſiſtance at the time and in the manner appointed.—It was intended that the Britiſh garriſons in the Detroit and ſome other of the back forts, with their artillery and ammunition ſhould be ſubſervient to this project; and the adventurer expected to draw ſome aſſiſtance, at leaſt in volunteers and officers, from the neareſt parts of Canada. He was to grant all commiſſions to the officers, and to have the ſupreme direction in every thing, not only of the enterpriſe, but of the new forces; and as ſoon as they were in a condition fit for ſuch an attempt, he was to penetrate through Virginia, ſo as to meet lord Dunmore, at a given time in the month of April 1776, in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, on the river Potowmac; to which place his lordſhip was to bring ſuch a naval force, and other aſſiſtance as was deemed neceſſary for the purpoſe. It was alſo a part, and not the leaſt comprehenſive of this plan, to cut off the communication between the northern and ſouthern colonies.

So far things ſeemed to look proſperous with the enterpriſing Conelly, as well as favourable to the intereſts of Great Britain; but on his road through Maryland, to the ſcene of action, and when he was ſo far advanced that he thought it in his

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power to ſet fortune at defiance, the vigilance or ſuſpicious temper of one of the committees, if not ſome baſe informer, blaſted all his hopes. Being taken up on ſuſpicion, with two of his aſſociates who travelled with him in diſguiſe, his papers betrayed every thing. Among theſe was the general ſcheme of the enterpriſe, and a letter from lord Dunmore to one of the Indian chiefs, with ſuch other authentic vouchers as made the whole undertaking evident. The papers were publiſhed by the Congreſs, and the adventurers were committed to priſon.

Meanwhile Virginia was a ſcene of the greateſt diſorder and diſtreſs. As the loyaliſts during their ſhort ſuperiority in the country adjoining to Norfolk, had not been remarkably lenient to thoſe who differed from them in political opinions, the greateſt cruelties were now practiſed on the inhabitants, in order to gratify private pique and natural malignity, under pretence of retaliation. At the ſame time the people on board the fleet were diſtreſſed for proviſions and neceſſaries of every ſort, and cut off from every ſuccour from the ſhore. This neceſſitous condition occaſioned conſtant bickerings between the armed veſſels and the forces ſtationed on the coaſt. At length, on the arrival of the Liverpool man of war from England, a flag was ſent on ſhore at Norfolk, to put the queſtion, Whether the inſurgents would ſupply, or permit his majeſty's ſhips to be ſupplied with proviſions. An anſwer was returned in the negative; and the ſhips in the harbour being continually annoyed by the fire of the rebels, from that part of the town which lay next the water, it was determined to diſlodge them by deſtroying it. Previous notice being accordingly given to the inhabitants, that they might remove from the danger, the firſt day of the year 1776 was ſignalized by the attack; when a violent cannonade from the Liverpool frigate, two ſloops of war, and the governor's armed ſhip, the Dunmore, ſeconded by parties of ſailors and marines, who landed and ſet fire to the neareſt houſes, ſoon produced the deſired effect. The rebels were diſlodged, and that part of the town which they occupied deſtroyed: but they were not willing that deſtruction ſhould ſtop here; and therefore ſet fire to the back and remote ſtreets, which would otherwiſe have eſcaped the fury of the flames, as the wind was in their favour. In conſequence of this diabolical act, the whole town was reduced to aſhes*; and as if that had not been enough, the rebels immediately after, partly to cut off every reſource from the ſhips, and partly to puniſh the loyaliſts, burnt and deſtroyed all the houſes and plantations within reach of the water, and obliged the people to remove with their cattle, proviſions, and portable effects, farther into the country.

Nor was the ſituation of ſome of the Britiſh governors in North America, much more eligible than that of lord Dunmore. In South Carolina, lord William Campbell having, as was alledged, entered into a negociation with the Indians, for coming in to the ſupport of government in that province; and having

* Norfolk was the moſt conſiderable town in Virginia for commerce, and ſo growing and flouriſhing before theſe unhappy troubles, that in the two years preceding its deſtruction, the rents of the houſes increaſed from eight to ten thouſand pounds per annum. The whole loſs is eſtimated at above three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

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alſo ſucceeded in engaging a number of thoſe back ſettlers, who were diſtinguiſhed in the Carolinas by the name of *Regulators*, to eſpouſe the ſame cauſe; the diſcovery of theſe meaſures, before they were ripe for execution, occaſioned ſuch a ferment among the people, that he thought it neceſſary to retire from Charles Town on board a ſhip of war, and afterwards to abandon his government. In the meantime Mr. Drayton, judge of the ſuperior court, and one of the leading men in the colony, marched with a ſtrong armed force to the back ſettlements, where a treaty was concluded between him and the heads of the Regulators; in which the differences between them were attributed to miſinformation, a miſunderſtanding of each others views and deſigns, and a tenderneſs of conſcience on the ſide of the latter, which prevented their ſigning the aſſociations, or purſuing any meaſures againſt government. But as they now engaged, neither by word nor act to impede or obſtruct ſuch proceedings as ſhould be purſued by the province in general; nor to give any information, aid, or aſſiſtance, to ſuch Britiſh troops as ſhould at any time arrive in it; ſo they were to be entirely free in their conduct otherwiſe, to enjoy a ſafe neutrality, and to ſuffer no moleſtation for their not taking an active part in the preſent troubles.—The government of the province was ledged in a council of ſafety, conſiſting of thirteen perſons, with the occaſional aſſiſtance of a committe of ninety-nine; and as they had intelligence that an army was preparing in England, which was particularly intended againſt South Carolina, no means were left untried for its defence,—in training the militia, procuring arms and gun-powder, and particularly in fortifying Charles Town.

Similar meaſures were purſued in North Carolina; with this difference only, that governor Martin was more active and vigorous in his proceedings, though they were not attended with more ſucceſs. The Provincial Congreſs, their committees, and the governor were in a continual ſtate of warfare. Upon a number of charges, but eſpecially of fomenting a civil war, and exciting an inſurrection among the negroes, he was declared an enemy to America in general, and to that colony in particular; and all perſons were forbidden from holding any communication with him. Theſe accuſations he anſwered by a proclamation of uncommon length, which the Provincial Congreſs reſolved to be, "a falſe, ſcandalous, ſcurrilous, malicious, and ſeditious libel," and ordered it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

Theſe expreſſions ſufficiently ſhew the temper of the people, and their proceedings were anſwerable to their language. As the governor expected by means of the back ſettlers, as well as of the Scotch inhabitants and Higland emigrants, who were numerous in the province, and generally well affected to government, to be able to raiſe a conſiderable force, he took pains to fortify and arm his palace, at Newburn, that it might anſwer the double purpoſe of a garriſon and magazine. But before this could be effected the moving of ſome cannon excited ſuch a commotion among the people, that he found it neceſſary to abandon his palace, and retire on board a ſloop of war in Cape Fear river. The people, after his departure, diſcovered powder, ſhot, ball, and various military ſtor[illegible] and

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implements, buried in the palace-yard. Though this, in ſuch circumſtances, was perhaps a neceſſary precaution, it ſerved to inflame the minds of the populace to an extraordinary degree; every man ſeeming to conſider it as a plot againſt himſelf in particular. In other reſpects, the province followed the example of South Carolina, by eſtabliſhing a council of ſafety, training the militia, and vigorouſly providing for defence.

During theſe tranſactions in the ſouthern colonies, ſome events not unworthy of notice, though nothing deciſive, had happened in the northern part of the province of Maſſachuſets Bay. As general Gage had returned to England in the beginning of October, the command in chief of the army at Boſton devolved upon general Howe, who ſoon after iſſued a proclamation, condemning to military execution ſuch of the inhabitants as ſhould attempt to quit the town without leave, if detected and taken; and if they eſcaped ordering them to be proceeded againſt as traitors, by the forfeiture of their effects. He alſo enjoined the ſigning and entering into an aſſociation, by which the remaining inhabitants offered their effects for the defence of the town; and ſuch of them as he approved of were to be armed, formed into companies, and inſtructed in military exerciſes and diſcipline, the remainder being obliged to pay their quotas in money towards the common defence.

Nor were the Provincials leſs vigorous in their meaſures. As the limited term for which the ſoldiers in the army before Boſton had enliſted was nearly expired, a committee from the General Congreſs, conſiſting of ſeveral of its moſt reſpectable members, was ſent thither, to take the neceſſary meaſures in conjunction with Waſhington, for keeping it from diſbanding. This, however, does not appear to have been a work of any difficulty, as the whole army enliſted for a year certain to come. Among all the obſtacles which the Provincials met with, in their attempts to eſtabliſh a military force, nothing affected them ſo grievouſly, or was found ſo difficult to be ſurmounted, as the want of gun-powder: for although they uſed their utmoſt diligence in the collecting and preparing of nitre, and in all other parts of the manufacture, the product of their induſtry was very inadequate to the growing demand; and they had not yet opened that commerce, nor entered into thoſe meaſures with foreign ſtates, which have ſince procured a ſupply of military ſtores. But they left nothing undone to ſupply this defect; and among other temporary expedients, they had contrived to purchaſe, without notice or ſuſpicion, all the powder upon the coaſt of Africa, and plundered the magazine in the iſland of Bermuda of above an hundred barrels.

In the courſe of thoſe depredations, threats, and hoſtilities, which continually occurred on the coaſts, the town of Falmouth was doomed particularly to ſuffer. Some violences relative to the lading of a ſhip with maſts for the royal navy, drew the indignation of the admiral upon that place, and occaſioned an order for its deſtruction. The officer who commanded the ſhips appointed for this purpoſe, gave too hours previous notice to the inhabitants to provide for their ſafety; and that time was farther enlarged till next morning, under cover of a negociation for delivering up their artillery and ſmall arms, as the price of ſaving

ing the town. This, however, they at length refuſed; having made uſe of the delay procured by ſuch a pretext, for carrying off their moſt valuable effects. About nine o'clock in the morning a cannonade was begun, and continued with little intermiſſion throughout the day; in conſequence of which, and the bombs thrown into the town, the greater part of it was deſtroyed. A. D. 1775.

The chaſtiſement of Falmouth probably accelerated that daring meaſure in the Provincial Congreſs of Maſſachuſets Bay, where, under pretence of protecting their coaſts, an act was paſſed for granting letters of marque and repriſal, and the eſtabliſhment of courts of admiralty, for the trial and condemnation of Britiſh ſhips. Certain acts of the General Congreſs likewiſe led to this bold ſtep. In the courſe of the ſummer, they had drawn up articles of confederation and perpetual union between the ſeveral colonies that were already aſſociated, with liberty of admiſſion to thoſe which yet adhered to government; but the people were not yet ripe for ſuch a total and violent ſeparation from the mother country. A reſolution was alſo paſſed in the General Congreſs on the approach of autumn, That as America was bleſt with a moſt plentiful harveſt, and would have a great ſuperfluity to ſpare for other nations, if the late reſtraining laws were not repealed within ſix months from the 20th of July 1775, the cuſtom-houſes ſhould be every where ſhut up, and all their ports be thenceforth open to every ſtate in Europe, (which would admit and protect their commerce) free of all duties, and for every kind of commodity, excepting only teas, and the merchandiſe of Great Britain and her dependencies:—and the more to encourage foreigners to engage in trade with them, they paſſed a reſolution, that they would, to the utmoſt of their power, maintain and ſupport ſuch freedom of commerce for two years certain after its commencement, notwithſtanding any reconciliation with Great Britain, and as much longer as the preſent obnoxious laws ſhould continue. They at the ſame time immediately ſuſpended the non-importation agreement in favour of all ſhips that ſhould bring gun-powder, nitre, ſulphur, good muſkets fitted with bayonets, or braſs field-pieces; ſuch ſhips being to be loaded, in return, with the full value of their cargoes. Nov. 13.

Towards the cloſe of the year, the General Congreſs carried their audacity yet farther. In a declaration, in anſwer to the royal proclamation "for ſuppreſſing rebellion and ſedition," they not only denied the charges of forgetting their allegiance, but concluded with a reſolution, in the name of the people of the United Colonies, That whatever puniſhment ſhould be inflicted upon any perſons in the power of their *enemies*, for favouring, aiding or abetting the cauſe of America, ſhould be retaliated in the ſame kind and the ſame degree, upon thoſe in their power, who have favoured, aided, or abetted, or who ſhall favour, aid, or abet the ſyſtem of miniſterial oppreſſion. Dec. 6.

An oppoſition ſo vigorous, and a revolt ſo univerſal, were ſufficient to ſhake the firmeſt adminiſtration. Lord North, however, on the meeting of parliament, came boldly forth to face the ſtorm, which was ſcarcely leſs terrible in the Houſe of Commons, than in Boſton and its rebellious neighbourhood. This ſtorm was particularly rouſed by the ſpeech from the throne: yet, on a candid examina- October 26, A. D. 1775.

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tion, it will perhaps be difficult to diſcover, what could render that ſpeech obnoxious; unleſs to unfold important truths, and cloath ſound reaſoning in elegant language can be a crime. But the reader who has purſued our impartial narration, which neither diſguiſes the views nor conceals the violences of either party, will be able to judge for himſelf. "Thoſe," ſays his majeſty, "who have long too ſucceſsfully laboured to inflame my people in America by groſs miſrepreſentations, and to infuſe into their minds a ſyſtem of opinions repugnant to the true conſtitution of the colonies, and to their ſubordinate relation to Great Britain, now openly avow their revolt, hoſtility, and rebellion. They have raiſed troops, and are collecting a naval force: they have ſeized the public revenue, and aſſumed to themſelves legiſlative, executive, and judicial powers, which they already exerciſe, in the moſt arbitrary manner, over the perſons and properties of their fellow ſubjects; and although many of theſe unhappy people may ſtill retain their loyalty, and may be too wiſe not to ſee the fatal conſequence of this uſurpation, and wiſh to reſiſt it, yet the torrent of violence has been ſtrong enough to compel their acquieſcence, until a ſufficient force ſhall appear to ſupport them.

"The authors and promoters of this deſperate conſpiracy have, in the conduct of it, derived great advantage from the difference of our intentions and theirs. They meant only to amuſe, by vague expreſſions of attachment to the parent ſtate, and the ſtrongeſt proteſtations of loyalty to me, whilſt they were preparing for a general revolt*. On our part, though it was declared in your laſt ſeſſion, that a rebellion exiſted in the province of Maſſachuſets Bay, yet even in that province we wiſhed rather to reclaim than to ſubdue. The reſolutions of parliament breathed a ſpirit of moderation and forbearance: conciliatory propoſitions accompanied the meaſures taken to enforce authority; and the coercive acts were adapted to caſes of criminal combinations among ſubjects not then in arms. I have acted with the ſame temper: anxious to prevent, if it had been poſſible, the effuſion of the blood of my ſubjects, and the calamities which are inſeparable from a ſtate of war; ſtill hoping that my people in America

* His majeſty here probably alludes more particularly to the ſecond petition from the General Congreſs, in which they declare, that they are ready and willing, as they have ever been, with their "lives and fortunes, to aſſert and maintain the rights and intereſts of his *majeſty*, and of their *mother-country*," at the ſame time that they were levying troops to enable them to ſhake off their dependence on the one, their allegiance to the other, and iſſuing a declaration of war againſt both. Many people have lamented that this petition, which was preſented to Lord Dartmouth by Mr. Penn, late governor and chief proprietor of Penſylvania, ſhould have been conſigned to neglect; but thoſe who will allow themſelves impartially to examine circumſtances, cannot fail to perceive that it had no other object than to gain time. This indeed ſufficiently appears from the petition itſelf, which requeſts, that during the negociation propoſed for a permanent reconciliation, "meaſures may be taken for preventing the further deſtruction of the lives of your majeſty's ſubjects." They were ſenſible that the provincial army was in no condition to reſiſt the Britiſh forces in Boſton, having few artillery, and almoſt neither powder nor ſhot. They could not divine, that the victors at Bunker's Hill would not only ceaſe to purſue their advantage, but allow themſelves to be cooped up within the walls of a town, and to periſh by want and diſeaſe, rather than face the vanquiſhed in the field!

would

would have diſcerned the traitorous views of their leaders, and have been convinced, That to be a ſubject of Great Britain, with all its conſequences, is to be the freeſt member of any civil ſociety in the known world.

" The rebellious war now levied is become more general, and is manifeſtly carried on for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing an independent empire. I need not dwell on the fatal effects of the ſucceſs of ſuch a plan. The object is too important, the ſpirit of the Britiſh nation too high, the reſources with which God has bleſt her too numerous, to give up ſo many colonies which ſhe has planted with great induſtry, nurſed with great tenderneſs, encouraged with many commercial advantages, and protected and defended at much expence of blood and treaſure." His majeſty next proceeded to inform the parliament, that he had found it neceſſary to augment both his ſea and land forces; that he had ſent to the garriſons of Gibraltar and Port Mahon a part of his electoral troops, in order that a greater number of the eſtabliſhed forces of this kingdom might be applied to the maintenance of its authority; that he had received the moſt friendly offers of foreign aſſiſtance, and if he ſhould make any treaties in conſequence thereof, they ſhould be laid before the houſe; that as ſoon as the coloniſts ſhould be ſenſible of their error, he would be ready to receive the miſled with tenderneſs and mercy; and, in order to prevent the inconveniences which might ariſe from the great diſtance of their ſituation, and to remove as ſoon as poſſible the calamities to which they were expoſed, that he would appoint commiſſioners on the ſpot to grant general and particular pardons and indemnities, and to receive the ſubmiſſion of any province or colony, as well as to reſtore it, on ſuch ſubmiſſion, to the free exercile of its trade and commerce, and to " the ſame protection and ſecurity as if ſuch province or colony had never revolted."

This ſpeech was ſaid to be compoſed of a mixture of aſſumed and falſe facts, with ſome general undefined and undiſputed axioms, which nobody would attempt to controvert. Among the former, that of charging the colonies with aiming at independency, was ſeverely reprehended, as well as that of their making profeſſions of duty, and propoſals of reconciliation, only for the inſidious purpoſe of amuſing and deceiving. Thoſe ſhameful accuſations, it was affirmed, were only deſigned to cover the wretched conduct, and if poſſible to hide or excuſe the diſgrace and failure that had attended all the meaſures of adminiſtration. On the other ſide, the veracity of the ſpeech in all its parts was warmly contended for; and in particular, the charge againſt the Americans of ſeeking independency, was moſt ſtrenuouſly ſupported. In proof, it was aſked, whether the Congreſs had not ſeized all the powers of government; whether they had not raiſed armies, and taken meaſures for paying, cloathing, and ſubſiſting them? " Have they not iſſued bills to a great amount upon a continental credit?" ſaid the ſame party. " Are they not creating a marine? are they not waging war, in all its forms, againſt their mother-country, at the very inſtant that they hypocritically pretend to owe a conſtitutional obedience to her? Can any one, acquainted with theſe things, pretend to call in queſtion the tendency of their views? The Congreſs have indeed declared, in general terms, that they do not aim at independency; but if we examine

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amine their particular claims, and compare them with their general aſſertions, we ſhall find, that the dependence which they would acknowledge, will virtually amount to little more than a nominal obedience to whoever ſits on the throne, and to very nearly a renunciation of the juriſdiction of the Britiſh legiſlature."

In regard to conciliation, every hope of that ſort was ſaid to be now at an end. Parliament had already tried every expedient, conſiſtent with its dignity, to reclaim the incorrigible diſpoſition of the Americans; but what had ſhe gained by this conduct? Her lenity, her reluctance to puniſh, was conſtrued into weakneſs and fear; and the time which ſhe ſacrificed to forbearance and moderation, was ſedulouſly employed by the Americans to preparation and war. We had offered to permit the Americans to tax themſelves; but what return have they made to this indulgence? They have given a new proof of their diſobedience and contempt; for although they knew any reaſonable ſum would be accepted, they would not gratify the mother-country ſo far as to contribute a ſingle ſhilling towards the common exigencies of the ſtate. In a word, it was inſiſted, that the queſtion was no longer confined to any particular exerciſe of the authority of Great Britain, but extended to the very being of the ſovereignty itſelf; that, in this ſtate, an accommodation was impracticable, and that any advance towards it on our ſide, except in the line laid down in the ſpeech, and accompanied with ſuch a military force as would command obedience, would be pernicious, as well as diſgraceful.

As to the expediency of adopting the meaſures propoſed in the ſpeech, it was urged, that it did not admit of a queſtion. We were now in a ſituation which did not afford a poſſibility of receding without ſhame, ruin, and diſgrace. The conteſt was for empire; and we muſt either ſupport and eſtabliſh our ſovereignty, or give up America for ever. "The eyes of all Europe are upon us," ſaid they; "and the future fate not only of the Britiſh monarchy, but of ages yet unborn, muſt depend upon our firmneſs or indeciſion." A ſtrong picture was drawn of the fatal effects that would follow the independency of America—the inevitable ruin of four Weſt India ſettlements, and her interference with us in our trade, and in our deareſt intereſts, in every quarter of the globe. It was at the ſame time acknowledged, that the reduction of America would be attended with great and numerous difficulties; that it was a conteſt of the moſt ſerious nature, and however ſucceſsful we might be, that the conſequences muſt be ſeverely felt by the community: but how awful ſoever the ſituation, it was the firſt duty of a great national aſſembly, not to deſpair of the reſources of the ſtate; and where the intereſts of a great people were at ſtake, difficulties muſt be encountered and overcome, not ſhrunk from. The difficulties were not greater, however, than we had often ſurmounted; than we had lately ſurmounted in protecting this very people againſt the moſt powerful and warlike nation on the European continent, when our armies gave law, and our fleets rode triumphant on every coaſt. "Shall we then be told," added they, "that a people of yeſterday, whoſe greatneſs is the work of our own hands, can reſiſt the combined efforts of the Britiſh empire?" This language was well calculated to rouſe the ſpirit of

the country gentlemen, who have all along ſupported the coercive meaſures of adminiſtration in regard to America *. An amicable addreſs to the throne, in anſwer to the ſpeech, was accordingly voted, by a majority of two hundred and ſeventy againſt one hundred and eight, who contended for an amendment, which would have rendered it an inſult.

The debates upon the addreſs were no leſs warm in the Houſe of Lords, than in that of the Commons, and nearly the ſame arguments were employed on both ſides. But what rendered them remarkable was, the ſudden and unexpected defection of the duke of Grafton; who, ever ſince his reſignation, had been uniform in ſupporting the meaſures of government in regard to America, and was at this time high in office. He now condemned theſe meaſures with the greateſt aſperity, and declared that he had been deceived and miſled; that nothing leſs than a total repeal of all the American laws, which had been paſſed ſince the year 1763, could reſtore peace and happineſs, or prevent the moſt deſtructive and fatal conſequences—conſequences which he could not think of without feeling the utmoſt degree of grief and horror! A right reverend prelate of great eloquence and ability, who in the preceding ſeſſion had both ſpoken and voted for coercive meaſures, took the ſame part, and accounted for the change in his ſentiments and conduct, upon nearly the ſame principles; namely, miſinformation, deception—a total failure of the promiſes, and diſappointment in all the hopes held out by adminiſtration; but above all the ruinous conſequences of the conteſt, and the now evident impracticability of coercion.

No body could yet tell, or even gueſs, where the defection might end. It was, however, attended with little effect. On the reſignation of the duke of Grafton,

* Theſe gentlemen, who call themſelves *independent*, and who had been diſtinguiſhed during the two late reigns for the ſteadineſs of their oppoſition to court meaſures, as much as in the preſent by a contrary conduct, eſpecially with reſpect to the colonies, were however alarmed at the report upon the addreſs from the committee, and the debates were renewed with freſh warmth, on a ſubject that had before eſcaped obſervation; namely, the ſending of Hanoverian troops to Gibraltar and Minorca without the conſent of parliament. The averſion of the country-party to continental connexions, with ſomething bordering on antipathy, to the employing of foreign troops in any caſe whatſoever, is well known. Many of them who approved of all the other parts of the ſpeech, were therefore highly diſſatisfied with this, and vigorouſly oppoſed that part of the addreſs which recognized it as a favour: they inſiſted that the meaſure was illegal and unconſtitutional, and would eſtabliſh a precedent of a moſt alarming and dangerous tendency, by acknowledging a right in the crown to introduce foreign troops into the Britiſh dominions. In order to appeaſe them, the miniſter found it neceſſary to promiſe to bring it before the houſe in a parliamentary way, and to crave an act of indemnity, if the meaſure ſhould then be judged illegal. This conceſſion put all things to rights. The country gentlemen being now ſatisfied, returned to their natural temper and diſpoſition, and the oppoſition was again reduced to what is properly ſo called—Among the peculiar circumſtances which attended the debates on the addreſs, was the total defection of General Conway from adminiſtration. He reprobated every idea of conquering America, on the different grounds of juſtice, expediency, and practicability: he alſo declared, in the moſt free terms, againſt the right of taxation; and ſaid that he wiſhed to ſee the Declaratory Act repealed, though it had been paſſed under his own auſpices when in adminiſtration, and though on abſtract legal principles he thought it right, and at the time of paſſing it proper and neceſſary.

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the earl of Dartmouth received the privy ſeal, and was ſucceeded in the American ſecretaryſhip by lord George Sackville Germaine, whoſe political principles or connexion with Mr. Grenville had led him to ſupport the higheſt claims of parliamentary authority over the colonies, and who had taken a full and decided part in all the late coercive meaſures in regard to them.—During theſe changes, a motion was made from the Admiralty in the committee of ſupply, that twenty-eight thouſand ſeamen, including ſix thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſixty five marines, ſhould be voted for the ſervice of the enſuing year. This was accompanied with a general outline of the ſervice to which the navy would be applied; particularly, that the fleet on the North American ſtation would amount to ſeventy-eight ſail. The eſtimates of the land ſervice for the enſuing year were alſo laid before the committee of ſupply. From theſe eſtimates, and the illuſtrations with which they were accompanied, it appeared, that the whole force appointed for the land ſervice, abroad and at home, would amount to about fifty-five thouſand men, of which number upwards of twenty-five thouſand would be employed in America.

Nov. 8. After long debates, the reſolutions on the eſtimates were carried, by the uſual majority of near three to one.

The Houſe of Lords now took into conſideration the ſecond petition from the Congreſs to his majeſty, which had been preſented by Mr. Penn, and was laid before that houſe among other papers. On the motion of the duke of Richmond, Mr. Penn was examined at the bar. From his evidence it appeared, that the colony of Penſylvania contained about ſixty thouſand men able to bear arms, and that of thoſe twenty thouſand had voluntarily enrolled themſelves to ſerve without pay, before his departure; that an additional body of four thouſand five hundred minute men had ſince been raiſed in the province, who were to be paid when called out on ſervice; that the ſpirit of reſiſtance was general; that he believed the colonies were notwithſtanding inclined to acknowledge the imperial authority of the parent-ſtate, but not in taxation, and that they thought themſelves able to defend their liberties againſt the arms of Great Britain.

After the examination was finiſhed, the duke of Richmond, its propoſer, made a motion, That the petition from the continental Congreſs to the king, was "ground for a reconciliation of the unhappy differences at preſent ſubſiſting between Great Britain and America." The motion was ably ſupported by that nobleman and his friends, who ſtated the neceſſity of an immediate reconciliation in every point of view; whether with reſpect to ourſelves, the colonies, or our ſituation in regard to foreign powers. They repreſented the inſurmountable obſtacles which would occur, if an abſolute conqueſt of North America was intended; the natural ſtrength of that continent, every where interſected with great rivers, and compoſed alternately of ſtrong incloſures, thick foreſts, and deep ſwamps; the inexpreſſible difficulty and vaſt expence, if not the utter impracticability of ſupplying with ſubſiſtence from England, ſuch an army as would be adequate to the purpoſe; the advantages which the provincials would derive from their being at home, and from having their ſubſiſtence at hand, as well as from their perfect knowledge of the country: that the overrunning of a province, the ſeizing, plundering,

or deſtroying of a town, though ruinous to them, would afford no eſſential advantage to us, even ſuppoſing conqueſt to be the immediate object of the war; for that the inſtant we marched to ſubdue another province, that which we had quitted would become as hoſtile as the one we had entered. To this ſtrong picture of difficulties, dangers, and diſgrace, they contraſted the invaluable bleſſings of peace, and ſhewed the happy opportunity which the petition afforded of averting the numerous and even fatal evils of civil war. "It expreſsly declares," added they, "that the colonies deſire no conceſſion derogatory to the honour of the mother-country: the delegates of the people of America beſeech his majeſty to recall his troops, which can only be conſidered as a prayer for a ſuſpenſion of arms; and all they deſire as a preliminary, is the repeal of certain acts, in themſelves unjuſt and oppreſſive."

On the other ſide, it was urged, that it was impoſſible to recognize the petition on which the preſent motion was founded, without relinquiſhing in that act the ſovereignty of the Britiſh parliament; that treating with an unlawful aſſembly, who at the very inſtant declared themſelves to be in a ſtate of open reſiſtance and hoſtility, would be to all intents and purpoſes, legalizing their proceedings, and acknowledging them the conſtitutional repreſentatives of an independent ſovereign ſtate. If they were ſubjects, they could not aſſemble or deliberate, but in the mode and for the purpoſes preſcribed by the conſtitution: if they were not, it would be in the higheſt degree ridiculous to treat with them in a capacity which they diſclaimed. "The Americans," added the friends of adminiſtration, "deny the right of controul in the moſt effectual manner; for they deny the exerciſe of it in every inſtance wherein it militates with their intereſt, or with their traiterous views and rebellious deſigns. They refuſe obedience to the declaratory act, the act for quartering ſoldiers, and the law for eſtabliſhing vice-admiralty courts; in a word, to every law which they do not like, and then tell us with a conſummate effrontery, that they acknowledged our undoubted right of legiſlative controul, but will not permit us to exerciſe that right!"—It was even inſiſted by ſome lords, that the petition was an inſidious and traitorous attempt to impoſe on the king and parliament; that while the authors made uſe of ſmooth language, and held out falſe profeſſions for that purpoſe, they were at the very inſtant, in their appeals to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, abuſing the parliament, denying its authority, and endeavouring to involve the whole empire in rebellion and bloodſhed, by inviting their fellow-ſubjects in theſe kingdoms to make one common cauſe with them, in oppoſition to law and government; that no alternative therefore remained, in regard to thoſe worſt of rebels, who not content with the enjoyment of their own crimes, wanted to render them general, but the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures for their ſubjugation and puniſhment. The queſtion at length being put, the motion was rejected on a diviſion, by a majority of eighty-ſix to thirty-three.

About the ſame time, the miniſter in the Houſe of Commons, after ſhewing the neceſſity of reducing America to obedience, or of finally giving it up, and exhibiting the great expence that muſt unavoidably attend the former meaſure, took an opportunity of convincing the landed gentlemen of the propriety, as well as neceſſity

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neceſſity of applying to them on ſo important a national occaſion—at a time when the other reſources of the ſtate, he acknowledged, were incompetent to the purpoſe. He accordingly moved, that the land-tax for the year 1776 be four ſhillings in the pound. This motion occaſioned a variety of debates and converſations; and ſome members in oppoſition congratulated the country gentlemen on the additional ſhilling in the pound, after ſo ſhort a reſpite, as the happy and enviable conſequence of their darling coercive meaſures in regard to America; at the ſame time that they endeavoured to ſhew, by calculations on the ſtate of the funds and expenditure, that it would be a perpetual mortgage on the eſtates of thoſe gentlemen, which no change of circumſtances, or even favourable turn of fortune could ever wear off, as nothing leſs than a land-tax at the rate propoſed would be ſufficient for our future peace eſtabliſhment. The country gentlemen, though ſtill ſomewhat out of humour on account of the employment of foreign troops without the conſent of parliament, ſupported the motion *; which was carried by a majority of an hundred and eighty-two, to forty-ſeven.

In the midſt of theſe hoſtile meaſures, Mr. Burke moved for leave to bring in a bill "for compoſing the preſent troubles, and for quieting the minds of his majeſty's ſubjects in America." Its object was to procure reconciliation and peace by conceſſion; and the propoſer obſerved, that as taxation had been the origin of the preſent differences, an arrangement of that queſtion, either by enforcement or conceſſion, was a preliminary indiſpenſably neceſſary to peace. He entered largely into that queſtion: he conſidered it under both heads; and after obſerving, that the impracticability of the former was now acknowledged by the miniſters themſelves, he added, That parliament is not the repreſentative, but the ſovereign of America; that ſovereignty is not in its nature an idea of abſtract unity, but is capable of great complexity and infinite modifications, according to the temper of thoſe who are to be governed, and to the circumſtances of things; which being infinitely diverſified, government ought to be adapted to them, and to conform itſelf to their nature, inſtead of vainly endeavouring to force that to a contrary bias; that though taxation is inherent in the ſupreme power of ſociety, taken as an aggregate, it does not follow that it muſt reſide in any particular power in that ſociety. This obſcure doctrine he endeavoured to illuſtrate by the Engliſh government, in which the king is ſovereign, but obliged to depend upon the commons for ſupplies. He concluded with preſſing the neceſſity of giving up the point of taxation to the utmoſt, though he at the ſame time expreſſed his regret at our being obliged to ſurrender any part of the legiſlative authority: but this, he obſerved, was the natural, and inevitable conſequence of injudicious exertions of power; for that people who quarrel unreaſonably among themſelves, and will not reconcile their differences in due ſeaſon, muſt ſubmit to the conſequences incident to the ſituation in which ſuch differences have involved them.

The principal objection made to this bill was, that it granted too much for us, yet not nearly enough to ſatisfy the Americans; as their claims reached not only

* This ſupport, however, was not yielded, till the miniſter had given them farther aſſurance of bringing in the indemnity bill, acknowledging the meaſure relative to the Hanoverian troops to be illegal, nor till he had declared that taxation was the object of the war in America.

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to the Declaratory Act, and to all the others paſſed ſince 1763, but included in their ſweep all the revenue laws, from the act of navigation, down to the preſent time. They complain of all laws laying duties for the expreſs purpoſe of revenue, yet the bill goes no farther back than the year 1767; but to render the remedy real and efficient, it ſhould be carried back to the year 1672. Many members alſo contended, that as a plan of accommodation had been chalked out in the ſpeech from the throne, it would be diſreſpectful to his majeſty to adopt any other conciliatory ſcheme, until that was either tried, or adminiſtration had declined the undertaking. Nor were a few of opinion, that nothing leſs than coercion in its full extent could anſwer any good purpoſe; and that the ſtronger diſpoſition Great Britain ſhewed towards conciliation, the more obſtinate, rebellious, and inſolent America would become. The bill was accordingly rejected by a majority of two to one; the numbers being two hundred and ten againſt the motion, to one hundred and five who ſupported it.

A few days after, the miniſter brought into the Houſe of Commons the famous prohibitory bill, totally interdicting all trade and intercourſe with the Thirteen United Colonies; and by which all property belonging to theſe colonies, whether of ſhips or goods, on the high ſeas or in harbour, are declared forfeited to the captors, being the officers and crew of his majeſty's ſhips of war. This bill, beſides its primary object, repealed the Boſton Port-bill, with the fiſhery and reſtraining acts; their proviſions, in ſome inſtances, being deemed inſufficient in the preſent ſtate of warfare, and their operation, in others, liable to interfere with that of the intended law. It alſo enabled the crown to appoint commiſſioners, who beſides the power of ſimply granting pardons to individuals, were authoriſed to enquire into general and particular grievances, and empowered to determine, whether any part or the whole of a colony, was returned to that ſtate of obedience, which might entitle them to be received within the king's peace and protection; in which caſe, upon a declaration from the commiſſioners, the reſtrictions in the preſent bill were to ceaſe in their favour. Nov. 20.

The fire of oppoſition was rekindled by this bill, and it was encountered with great vigour in both houſes. They ſaid, that it was cutting off at the root all hopes of future accommodation; that it drove England and America to the fatal extremity of abſolute conqueſt on the one ſide, or abſolute independency on the other; that it would precipitate the Americans head-long into the arms of ſome foreign power, and compel them from motives of ſelf-defence, to convert their merchant ſhips into privateers, whereby our Weſt India iſlands would be totally ruined, and our foreign commerce in general ſuffer greater injuries, than during any war in which we had ever been engaged. On the other ſide it was argued, that the Americans were already in a ſtate of open warfare with us, and while that war continued, it muſt neceſſarily be carried on by ſea and land*, and conducted in every reſpect as

* Had the miniſtry been acquainted with what was tranſacting in America, they might have added, that the Americans themſelves, ſenſible of this, had already iſſued letters of marque and repriſal; that they had not waited to be compelled to ſuch a meaſure, but had taken the lead in naval hoſtilities.

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it would have been againſt alien enemies; that the ſtronger, the more urgent and immediate the coercion was, the fewer would be the miſchiefs, the leſs the expence, and the ſooner would peace and order be reſtored; that an ill judged lenity would be the extreme of cruelty, and prove equally ruinous to England and to America. It was farther urged, that whatever real or apparent hardſhips were included in the bill, it was in the power of the Americans, either collectively or individually to avoid all ſuch; that the commiſſioners went out with the ſword in one hand, and terms of conciliation in the other: America had therefore the choice, every colony had it in its power, to take the benefit of the latter. It had only to acknowledge the legiſlative ſupremacy of Great Britain, or if unwilling to accede to ſo general a declaration, to contribute of its own accord towards the ſupport of government; and thereby, as one of the parts of the Britiſh empire, entitle itſelf to the protection of the whole, and to all the privileges which it formerly enjoyed. As to the loſſes which our merchants and the Weſt India iſlands might ſuſtain, it was added, that thoſe, if real, could only be lamented among the many other evils incident to war: but happily they were merely imaginary, and only held out to diſtreſs government, and impede its operations, by alarming the trading part of the nation, and exciting a domeſtic ferment; for who would pretend to affirm, that the naval force of Great Britain was not ſufficient to protect our commerce, and our Weſt India iſlands from inſult?—Theſe arguments appeared ſo ſatisfactory, that the bill paſſed by a majority of one hundred and twelve to ſixteen only, in the Houſe of Commons, and in the Houſe of Lords without a diviſion.

It now only remained, on this ſubject, to lay before the parliament the treaties entered into between his majeſty, the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, the duke of Brunſwick, and the hereditary prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, for hiring different bodies of their troops for the American ſervice, amounting in the whole to about ſeventeen thouſand men, and to obtain the ſupplies neceſſary for the ſupport of ſuch an additional force. The debates on theſe treaties were long and warm in both houſes, and many ſevere remarks were made on the bad terms on which the forces were obtained, as well as on the meaſure of hiring them. It was ſtrongly urged in particular, that as the Americans had hitherto abſtained from applying for aſſiſtance to foreign powers, and had ventured to commit themſelves ſingly in this arduous conteſt, rather than have recourſe to ſo odious and dangerous a refuge, it was the height of political folly and madneſs in us to induce them to depart from that temperate ground, by ſetting them an example of ſo fatal a tendency. The miniſter's motion for committing the treaties to the committee of ſupply, was however carried by the uſual majority; and the ſeſſion was concluded by a

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ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty expreſſed a hope, that his rebellious ſubjects would yet be awakened to a ſenſe of their errors, and by a voluntary return to their duty, juſtify him in gratifying the favourite wiſh of his heart, the reſtoration of harmony, and the re eſtabliſhment of order and happineſs in every part of his dominions. But if a due ſubmiſſion ſhould not be obtained from

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ſuch motives and diſpoſitions on their part, his majeſty hoped it would be effected by the force with which he was intruſted by parliament.

In the meantime things wore a very inauſpicious appearance in America. The delays and misfortunes which the tranſports from England and Ireland had experienced, reduced the Britiſh forces at Boſton to great diſtreſs. The loſs of moſt of the coal ſhips was particularly felt, as fuel could not be procured, and the climate rendered that article indiſpenſable. It was even feared that the military ſtores would fail, and ſalt proviſions at length become ſcarce. The troops at Bunker's Hill, in particular, underwent great hardſhips; being obliged to lie in tents all the winter, under the driving ſnows, and expoſed to the almoſt intolerably cutting winds of the climate in that ſeaſon; which, with the ſtrict and conſtant duty occaſioned by the ſtrength and vicinity of the enemy, rendered that ſervice exceedingly ſevere, both to the private men and officers.

During this ſtate of things on our ſide, the provincials before Boſton were well covered, and alſo well ſupplied in their lines. They were diſappointed, however, in their hope of recovering the town and burning the ſhipping, when the froſt ſhould ſet in, as the harbour was never frozen. But though the winter was not ſo ſevere as to anſwer all the purpoſes of the rebels, the climate prevailed ſo far as to render both parties fond of their quarters; to check the ſpirit of enterpriſe, and prevent the effuſion of blood; ſo that during two or three months, an almoſt total tranquillity prevailed. This tranquillity was unexpectedly interrupted, about the beginning of March, by ſome ſudden movements on the ſide of the provincials. A battery was opened in the night near the water ſide, at the place called Phipps' Farm, whence a ſevere cannonade and bombardment was carried on againſt the town. Whilſt the attention of the army was occupied by the firing of houſes and other miſchiefs incident to this new attack, they beheld with inexpreſſible ſurpriſe ſome conſiderable works, as if raiſed by enchantment, appear upon Dorcheſter Point, on the other ſide of the town. March 2.

The ſituation of the Britiſh forces was now extremely critical. On the new works, a twenty-four pound, and a bomb-battery, were immediately opened by the provincials; and other works, it was foreſeen, would ſpeedily be conſtructed on ſome of the neighbouring hills; would command the town, a conſiderable part of the harbour, and render the communication between the works at Boſton Neck and the main body, difficult and dangerous. In ſuch circumſtances, no alternative remained but to abandon the town, or to diſlodge the enemy, and deſtroy the new works. General Howe adopted the latter, and took the neceſſary meaſures for the embarkation of five regiments, with the light infantry and grenadiers; but this deſign was fruſtrated by the intervention of a dreadful ſtorm, which rendered the embarkation impracticable. It was however reſumed, the day after the tempeſt, when a new obſtacle made it be laid entirely aſide. On a nearer inſpection, (how keen ſighted is irreſolution in diſcerning difficulties!) it was diſcovered, that another new work had been thrown up, which was ſtronger than any of the former; and that the whole were now ſo completely fortified that all hope of forcing them was at an end. It was alſo perceived by the ſame ſlow

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wiſdom, (ever more happy at inventing apologies for inaction, than in diſcovering the motives to enterpriſe) that Boſton was not a ſituation very happily choſen for the improvement of any advantage which might be obtained, towards the reduction of the colonies. Nothing, therefore, now remained, but to abandon the town, and to convey the troops, artillery, and ſtores on board the ſhips.

General Howe's ſituation was now truly pitiable; more eſpecially if we can ſuppoſe him to be poſſeſſed of thoſe fine feelings, and that high ſenſe of military honour, which has been repreſented, with all the force of rhetoric, as peculiar to his family. He commanded an army, which he knew had been conſidered in this country as ſufficient to look into nothing all reſiſtance in America; and which in reality, with regard to the number of regiments, if not of men, the excellency of the troops, the character of the officers, and the powerful artillery with which they were furniſhed, would have been deemed reſpectable in any country, and formidable to any enemy. With ſuch a force, to give up that town which had been the original cauſe of the war, and the conſtant object of contention ſince its commencement, to a raw and deſpiſed militia *, ſeemed, excluſive of all other circumſtances, a diſgrace not to be borne. Nor was even that ignominious meaſure by any means free from difficulty and danger. The rebels, however, continued quiet in their works, and made not the ſmalleſt attempt to obſtruct the embarkation, or even to harraſs the rear of the army †.

Notwithſtanding this favourable circumſtance, the embarkation could not be regulated in ſuch a manner (though ten days were ſpent in carrying it into execution) as to prevent ſome degree of diſorder, precipitation, and loſs. It reſembled more the emigration of a people, than the breaking up of a camp. Fifteen hundred of the inhabitants, who had rendered themſelves peculiarly obnoxious to their countrymen, by their attachment to the royal cauſe, encumbered the tranſports with their families and effects. The officers had laid out their money in furniture, and ſuch other conveniencies as were neceſſary to render their condition tolerable: no purchaſers could be procured for theſe effects; and it would have been cruelty in the extreme to many of them, to have been under the neceſſity of leaving their whole ſubſtance behind. Almoſt every one had ſome private concern, which was ſufficient to occupy his time and thoughts; and the proſpect of public affairs was dark and diſcouraging. The intended voyage to Hallifax,

* No circumſtance has thrown ſo much diſcredit on the Britiſh arms, in the preſent unhappy conteſt, as the exaggerated repreſentations of the natural puſillanimity of the provincials. The perſons who made theſe repreſentations, though ſome of them ſoldiers, and others men high in office, were no philoſophers: they did not know that courage is confined to no latitude, to no peculiar race of men; that it is chiefly, if not entirely, governed by moral cauſes; and that roufed by the love of liberty, it could transform into heroes the ſluggiſh inhabitants of Maſſachuſets Bay, as well as the half-animated Hollanders.

† It is ſaid, and ſeems to be generally believed, that ſome kind of convention was eſtabliſhed between the commanders in chief on each ſide; and that the abſtaining from hoſtility on the one ſide, was the condition of ſaving the town on the other. In proof of this it is affirmed, That combuſtibles were ready laid for firing the town, and that the ſelect men were permitted to go out and hold a conference with general Waſhington on the ſubject.

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(for thither it was reſolved to tranſport the army) was ſubject to circumſtances of a very alarming nature; the coaſt, at all times dangerous, was dreadful at this tempeſtuous equinoctial ſeaſon; the multitude of ſhips, which amounted to about an hundred an fifty, increaſed the difficulty and apprehenſion; and to render matters ſtill more irkſome, they were going to a comparatively ſteril country, which was incapable of affording thoſe reliefs ſo neceſſary to men in their condition. Nor could it eſcape the obſervation, or ceaſe to fill the military with uneaſineſs, that all this dangerous voyage, if compleated, was directly ſo much out of their way; that they were going to the northern extremity of the continent, when their buſineſs lay in the ſouthern provinces, or at leaſt about the centre.

The reſolution, however, was taken: the ſuppoſed neceſſity of their ſituation left no choice of meaſures, and regret was unavailing. They accordingly went on board; and as the rear embarked, general Waſhington marched into the town with drums beating and colours flying, in all the triumph of victory. He was received by the remaining inhabitants, and acknowledged by thoſe who had taken refuge in his camp, and who now recovered their former poſſeſſions, with every mark of reſpect and gratitude that could be ſhown to a deliverer. Nor was this his only ſatisfaction. The king's forces were under the neceſſity of leaving a conſiderable quantity of artillery, and ſome ſtores behind. The cannon upon Bunker's Hill, and at Boſton Neck, could not be carried off. Attempts were made to render them unſerviceable; but the hurry which then prevailed, prevented theſe from having any great effect. Thus was the long-conteſted town of Boſton at length given up, and the colony of Maſſachuſets Bay freed from the alarms of war, and left at liberty to adopt every meaſure which could tend to its future ſtrength and ſecurity. March 17.

It was above a week before the weather permitted the fleet to get entirely clear of the harbour and road; but the paſſage made ample amends for this delay, the voyage to Hallifax being ſhorter and happier than could have been expected. Some ſhips of war were left behind to protect the veſſels which ſhould arrive from England. In this, however, they were not perfectly ſucceſsful; the great extent of the Bay, with its numerous iſlands and creeks, and the number of ſmall ports that ſurround it, affording ſuch opportunities to the provincial armed boats and ſmall privateers, that they took a number of theſe ſhips, which were ſtill in ignorance that the town had changed maſters *. As ſeveral movements made by the rebels, and particularly their taking ſtations on the neighbouring iſlands, indicated a deſign of attacking Caſtle William, the poſſeſſion of which would be the means of confining the ſhips of war in the harbour, and of ren-

* Among the prizes taken by the provincials was an ordnance ſhip from Woolwich, containing, beſides a mortar on a new conſtruction, ſeveral pieces of fine braſs cannon, a large quantity of ſmall arms and ammunition, with all manner of tools, utenſils, and machines neceſſary for camps. The loſs of this ſhip was ſeverely reſented in England, and occaſioned ſome very ſevere and juſt animadverſions on the negligence of the admiralty, in truſting a cargo of ſuch value and importance in a veſſel of no force. She was taken by a ſmall privateer.

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dering all future attempts upon the town by ſea impracticable, general Howe thought it adviſable to blow up and demoliſh the fortifications of that place before his departure.

Meanwhile general Waſhington being ignorant of the deſtination of the fleet, and apprehenſive of an attack upon New York, detached ſeveral regiments for the defence of that city. Nor did he neglect ſuch means as might render his conqueſt perpetual. Thoſe inhabitants who had ventured to ſtay behind, though openly attached to the royal cauſe, were brought to trial, as enemies and betrayers of their country; and the eſtates of ſuch as were found guilty, for which little evidence was neceſſary, were confiſcated, and the produce applied to the public ſervice. But nothing occupied ſo much at preſent the minds of the people of Boſton, or had ſo much attention paid to it by the province in general, as the putting of that capital in ſuch a ſtate of defence, as might prevent a repetition of thoſe evils which it had lately experienced. For this purpoſe, the greateſt diligence was uſed in fortifying the town and harbour: ſome foreign engineers were procured to ſuperintend the works; and every inhabitant dedicated two days in the week to their conſtruction.

During theſe tranſactions at Boſton, the blockade of Quebec was continued under great difficulties by Arnold. Reinforcements arrived ſlowly, and the Canadians, by no means remarkable for conſtancy, were ſeen to waver. Beſides, the ſuccours that were ſent ſuffered incredible hardſhips in their march, and the vigilance of general Carleton baffled every effort of fraud, force, or ſurpriſe. But as all ſupplies from the country were cut off, the garriſon and inhabitants experienced many diſtreſſes; and as the ſeaſon approached, when ſupplies from England were confidently expected, the Americans grew more active in their operations. They again renewed the ſiege, erected batteries, and made ſeveral attempts by bombs and fire-ſhips to burn the veſſels in the harbour. Though theſe attempts failed, they were boldly conducted; and the provincials were once drawn up, with ſcaling ladders, and every thing neceſſary for an aſſault, in order to take advantage of the confuſion which they hoped the fire would produce. They were even ſo fortunate as to burn great part of the ſuburbs, and

March 25. to diſperſe a party of Canadians, aſſembled by Mr. Beaujeu, in order to relieve the town. Theſe ſlight ſucceſſes, however, did not advance the main enterpriſe: the city itſelf continued impregnable; and as all hopes of taking it, either by ſtorm or regular ſiege, daily decreaſed, the ſpirits of the provincials began to fail.

While things were in this ſituation, the unexpected ſight of ſome ſhips of war, which had forced their way through the ice before the paſſage was deemed practicable, with ſuccours for the garriſon from England, threw the beſiegers into the utmoſt conſternation; and that conſternation was increaſed, by the ſhips cutting off all communication between the provincial forces on the different ſides of the river. General Carleton was too active, and too well verſed in military affairs, to loſe any time in improving the favourable opportunity which fortune had af-

May 6. forded him. He immediately marched out at the head of the garriſon, ſupported

ported by the marines, and a ſmall detachment of land forces which had arrived in the ſhips of war, to the attack of the rebel camp. There he found every thing in the utmoſt confuſion: they had not even covered themſelves with an entrenchment; and having already begun a retreat, they fled on all ſides, abandoning their artillery, military ſtores, ſcaling ladders, and every other encumbrance. The flight was, indeed, ſo precipitate as ſcarcely to admit of any execution. Thus was the mixed ſiege and blockade of Quebec raiſed, after a continuance of about five months; and thus was Canada preſerved by a fortitude and conſtancy in the governor and garriſon, which will ever be remembered with ſincere applauſe.

The governor ſhewed himſelf worthy of his ſucceſs, by an act which immediately ſucceeded it, and which does great honour to his humanity. A number of the ſick and wounded provincials lay ſcattered about, and hid in the neighbouring woods and villages, where they were in the greateſt danger of periſhing under the complicated preſſure of want, fear, and diſeaſe. In order to prevent this melancholy conſequence, he iſſued a proclamation, commanding the proper officers to find out thoſe unhappy perſons, and to afford them all neceſſary relief and aſſiſtance at the public expence; whilſt, to render the benefit complete, and to prevent obſtinacy or apprehenſion from marring its effect, he aſſured them, that as ſoon as they were recovered, they ſhould have free liberty to return to their reſpective provinces.

The force in Canada was ſoon increaſed. Towards the end of May ſeveral regiments from Ireland, one from England, another from general Howe, together with the Brunſwick troops, arrived ſucceſſively at Quebec; ſo that the army in that province, when completed, was eſtimated at about thirteen thouſand men. The general rendezvous was at Trois Rivieres; which, as we have frequently had occaſion to obſerve, lies half way between Quebec and Montreal, and at the computed diſtance of about ninety miles from each. Meantime the provincials continued their retreat till they reached the banks of the river Sorel, where they joined ſome of the reinforcements which had not been able to proceed farther to their aſſiſtance. But their ſpirit was now broken and debilitated; and to complete their misfortunes, the ſmall pox, that ſcourge of the New World, had ſpread through all their quarters. Theſe diſcouraging circumſtances, however, were not ſufficient to damp the ardour of their leaders. A daring, and not ill-laid plan was formed for the ſurpriſe of the royal army; and which needed only to be crowned with ſucceſs, to be ranked among the moſt heroic military enterpriſes.

The Britiſh and Brunſwick forces were at this time much ſeparated. A conſiderable body was ſtationed at Trois Rivieres, under the command of brigadier-general Frazer; another, under the command of brigadier Heſbit, lay near them on board the tranſports; and a greater than either, along with the generals Carleton, Burgoyne, Philips, and the German general Reideſel, were in ſeveral diviſions by land and water, on the way from Quebec. The diſtance from the Sorel to Trois Rivieres is about fifty miles; and ſeveral armed veſſels and tranſports full

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full of troops, which had got up higher than that place, lay directly in the way. In the face of all theſe difficulties, a body of about two thouſand five hundred men, under the command of a major-general Thompſon, embarked at the influx of the Sorel in fifty boats; and coaſting the ſouth-ſide of what is called the Lake of St. Peter, where the St. Lawrence ſpreads to a great extent, arrived at Nicolet; whence they fell down the river by night, and ſtood to the other ſide, with an intention of ſurpriſing the forces under general Frazer. But though they paſſed the armed veſſels without obſervation, they miſſed their time by about an hour; a circumſtance which occaſioned their being diſcovered, and the alarm given at their landing. They afterwards got into bad grounds, and were involved in many other difficulties, which threw them into confuſion. In this ſtate of diſor-

June 8. der, they found general Frazer's detachment ready to receive them; and while thus engaged in front, brigadier Nteſbit, whoſe tranſports lay higher up the river, landed his troops, full in their back. No hopes of ſafety were left, except in a retreat, the accompliſhment of which was very hazardous. This however they attempted, and were driven for ſome miles through a deep ſwamp, which they traverſed with inconceivable toil, expoſed to conſtant danger, and enduring every degree of diſtreſs. At length the Britiſh troops grew tired of the purſuit, and the woods afforded a deſirable ſhelter to the provincials. The firſt and ſecond in command, with about two hundred others, were taken priſoners.

This was the laſt appearance of vigour ſhewn by the provincials in Canada. The whole royal army having united at Trois Rivieres, puſhed forward by land

June 14. and water with great expedition. When they arrived at the Sorel, they found the enemy had abandoned that place only a few hours before; that they had diſmantled the batteries erected to defend the entrance into the river, and carried off their artillery and ſtores. A ſtrong column was there landed under the command of general Burgoyne, with orders to advance along the Sorel to St. John's, while the remainder of the fleet and army ſailed up the St. Laurence to Longueil; the place of paſſage from the iſland of Montreal to La Prairie, on the continent. Here they diſcovered, that the rebels had abandoned the city and iſland of Montreal on the preceding evening. The army was immediately landed on the continent; and marching by La Prairie, croſſed the peninſula formed by the St. Lawrence and the Sorel, in order to join general Burgoyne at St. John's, where it was expected the provincials would make a vigorous ſtand.

Meantime that general purſued his march along the Sorel without intermiſſion, but with the caution neceſſary in a country recently occupied by the enemy, and where their laſt, and moſt deſperate efforts were likely to be made. This caution, how-

June 18. ever, proved to be unneceſſary. When general Burgoyne arrived at St John's, he found the buildings in flames, and nearly every thing deſtroyed that could not be carried away. The provincials acted in the ſame manner at Chamblee, and burnt ſuch veſſels as they were not able to drag up the currents, in their way to Lake Champlain, where they immediately embarked for Crown Point. Thus was an end happily put to the war in Canada: but the pleaſure which that ſucceſs afford-

ed was considerably abated, by the restraint which was laid upon the farther operation of our forces in that quarter, till such time as we could acquire the command of the Lakes; and the operations in other quarters left no room for triumph.

The necessity under which we have seen governor Martin reduced, of taking refuge on board a ship of war in Cape Fear river, did not damp his ardour in the public service, nor restrain his attempts to reduce the province of North Carolina to obedience. His endeavours were farther animated by a confidence of success, in consequence of the information he had, that a squadron of men of war and transports with seven regiments under the command of Sir Peter Parker and lord Cornwallis, were to depart from Ireland, on an expedition to the southern provinces, in the beginning of the year; and that North Carolina was their first, if not principal object. He likewise knew that general Clinton, with a small detachment, was on his way from Boston to meet them at Cape Fear. Besides, the connection he had formed with the back settlers and Highland emigrants, who were chiefly attached to the royal cause, seemed to insure the reduction of the insurgents, even independent of the expected force. The Highlanders were considered as naturally warlike, and the back-settlers as much bolder, hardier, and better accustomed to arms, than those who had been bred to more regular habits of industry, and who lived in less exposed parts of the country.

Governor Martin sent several commissions to these people for the raising and commanding of regiments, and impowered a gentleman of the name of M'Donald, to act as their general. He also sent them a proclamation, commanding all persons, on their allegiance, to repair to the royal standard, which was erected by M'Donald about the middle of February. On the first advice of their assembling at a place called Cross Creek, a brigadier general Moore instantly marched at the head of the provincial regiment which he commanded, together with such a body of the militia as he could suddenly collect, and some field pieces, within a few miles of them. He took possession of an important post called Rock-fish Bridge; and, as he was much inferior in strength to the loyalists, he immediately fortified it. Before Moore had been many days in this station, and while he was hourly expecting succours, M'Donald approached at the head of his army; sent a letter to him inclosing the governor's proclamation, and recommending to him and his party to join the king's standard by a given hour next day, otherwise they must expect to be considered as enemies, and treated accordingly. This was an embarrassing summons; but as Moore knew that the provincial forces were marching to his assistance from all quarters, he artfully protracted the negociation, in hopes not only of saving his party, but that the loyalists might be surrounded, and obliged to lay down their arms. Feb. 15.

M'Donald at length perceived his danger of being inclosed, as well as the snare that had been laid for him, and abruptly quitting his ground, endeavoured with much dexterity, by forced marches, the unexpected passing of rivers, and the greatest celerity of movement, to disengage himself. The provincial parties were, however, so close in the pursuit, and so alert in cutting the country and

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ſeizing the paſſes, that he found himſelf under the neceſſity of engaging a colonel Caſſwell, who with a body of militia and minute men, had taken poſſeſſion of a place called Moore's Creek Bridge, where they had thrown up an entrenchment. The emigrants began the attack with great fury; but M'Cleod, the ſecond in command being killed at the firſt onſet, with ſeveral more of their braveſt officers and men, they ſuddenly loſt all heart, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation. M'Donald, and almoſt all their leaders, were taken priſoners, and the party was totally broken and diſperſed.

This victory was matter of great exultation and triumph to the provincials, and an irreparable misfortune to the royal cauſe. It appears that the grand object of the loyaliſts was, to bring governor Martin, with lord William Campbell, and general Clinton, who had by this time joined them, into the interior country; which they judged would be the means of uniting all the back ſettlers of the ſouthern colonies in the ſupport of government; of bringing forward the Indians, and of encouraging the well affected to ſhew themſelves in all places: and if the zeal of thoſe people could have been kept dormant, till the arrival of the troops from Ireland, it ſeems more than probable that the ſouthern colonies would have felt conſiderably the impreſſion of this party. But now their force and ſpirit were ſo entirely broken, their principal leaders being ſent to different priſons, and the reſt ſtripped of their arms, and watched with all the vigilance of jealouſy, that no future effort could be reaſonably expected from them.

Meanwhile lord Dunmore, with his fleet of fugitives, continued on the coaſts or in the rivers of Virginia; and as every place was now ſtrictly guarded, thoſe unhappy people, who had put themſelves under his protection, endured great hardſhips. The heat of the weather, the badneſs and ſcarcity of water and proviſions, with the cloſeneſs of the ſmall veſſels in which they were crowded, produced by degrees that malignant and infectious diſtemper, known by the name of the Gaol Fever. This dreadful diſorder made prodigious havoc among them, but was particularly fatal to the negroes, moſt of whom it ſwept away; and after various adventures, in which the ſurvivors were chaſed from place to place, and from iſland to iſland, by the Virginian rebels, ſeveral of the veſſels were driven on ſhore in a gale of wind, and many of the wretched fugitives became captives to their own countrymen. At length, every place being ſhut againſt, and hoſtile to the remainder, and neither water nor proviſions to be obtained, even at the expence of blood, it was found neceſſary, towards the beginning of Auguſt, to burn the ſmaller and leſs valuable veſſels, and to ſend the reſt, amounting to between forty and fifty ſail, with the miſerable exiles, to ſeek ſhelter and retreat in Florida, Bermudas, and the Weſt Indies.

Nor were the attempts of government more ſucceſsful in any of the ſouthern provinces. Sir Peter Parker's ſquadron, from an unexpected delay in Ireland, and bad weather afterwards, did not arrive before the beginning of May at Cape Fear; where it was detained, by various cauſes, till the end of the month. There the commodore and lord Cornwallis found general Clinton, who had already been at New York; who had thence proceeded to Virginia, where he had

ſeen lord Dunmore; and finding nothing could be effected at either place, with his ſmall force, had come thither to wait for them. The ſeaſon of the year was now much againſt the operations of the troops in the ſouthern colonies. The exceſſive heat had rendered them ſickly even at Cape Fear, notwithſtanding the plenty of refreſhments which they procured, and the little fatigue they had there to ſuſtain: but ſomething muſt be attempted; and as Charles Town, the capital of South Carolina, was within the line of Sir Peter Parker and lord Cornwallis's inſtructions, it was determined to attempt the reduction of that place.

The fleet accordingly anchored in the beginning of June, off Charles Town bar, where they where joined, before they proceeded to action, by the Experiment man of war. The naval force then conſiſted of two fifty gun ſhips, three frigates of twenty eight guns each, one of twenty, a hired armed ſhip of twenty-two, a ſmall ſloop of war, an armed ſchooner, and the Thunder bomb ketch. The land forces were commanded by general Clinton, lord Cornwallis, and brigadier general Vaughan. The firſt object of the armament after paſſing the bar, in which the two fifty gun ſhips, the Briſtol and Experiment, found ſome difficulty, was the attack of a fort lately erected upon the ſouthern point of Sullivan's Iſland. This fort commanded the paſſage to Charles Town, which lies about ſix miles farther Weſt; and notwithſtanding its late conſtruction, was juſtly conſidered as the key of that harbour.

The troops were landed on Long Iſland, which lies nearer the bar, and to the eaſtward of Sullivan's Iſland; from which it is ſeparated only by ſome ſhoals, and a creek called the Breach, deemed paſſable at low water. The rebels had poſted ſome forces, with a few pieces of cannon towards the north-eaſtern extremity of Sullivan's Iſland, at the diſtance of about two miles from the fort, where they threw up works, to prevent the paſſage of the royal army over the Breach. General Lee was encamped with a conſiderable army on the continent, at the back and to the northward of the iſland, with which he held a communication open by a bridge of boats *; and could by that means, at any time, march the whole or any part of his army, to ſupport that body which was oppoſed to the paſſage of the Britiſh forces from Long Iſland. The ſoil of the latter is a naked burning ſand, where the troops ſuffered greatly from their expoſure to the intenſe heat of the ſun; and both the fleet and army were much diſtreſſed through the badneſs of the water, which is every where found brackiſh on the ſea-coaſts of South Caro-

* It was truly remarkable, that at the time general Clinton ſailed from Boſton, general Lee, at the head of a ſtrong detachment from the army before that place, immediately ſet out to ſecure New York againſt the attempt which it was ſuppoſed the Britiſh general would make upon it. Having ſucceeded in that point, he repaired to Virginia, where general Clinton on his arrival could not fail to be ſurpriſed at finding Lee in poſſeſſion of the country, and in the ſame ſtate of preparation he had left him at New York. On general Clinton's departure for Cape Fear, Lee once more traverſed the continent with the utmoſt expedition to ſecure North Carolina; and at length, on the further progreſs of the fleet and army to the ſouthward, Lee again proceeded with equal celerity to the defence of Charles Town.

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lina. Nor were they in a much better condition, with reſpect either to the quantity or the quality of their proviſions.

Notwithſtanding the diſpatch which theſe inconveniences rendered neceſſary, ſuch delays occurred in carrying the projected enterprize into execution, that it was near the end of June before the attack upon Sullivan's iſland was made; ſo that the enemy had full three weeks to prepare for their defence, after the armament appeared. That interval they ſpent in completing their works, at which they laboured with incredible aſſiduity. The event was, that our ſhips failed to make any conſiderable impreſſion upon the fort*, and were obliged to withdraw, after a
June 28. hot and bloody attack of near ten hours. This failure was partly occaſioned by the ſtrange unſkilfulneſs of the pilot, who entangled three of the frigates in the ſhoals called the Middle Grounds, where they all ſtuck faſt; and though two of them were afterwards got off, they were then in no condition, and too late to execute the intended ſervice. That ſervice was to enfilade the works of the fort, and to cut off, if poſſible, the communication between the iſland and the continent. In conſequence of this misfortune, the garriſon was not only frequently reinforced, but the whole fire of the fort fell upon the two fifty-gun ſhips, and the two frigates that lay before it. They ſuffered accordingly: they were torn almoſt to pieces, and the ſlaughter was dreadful†. Never did Britiſh valour ſhine more conſpicuous, nor did our marine ever ſuſtain a more rude encounter in any engagement of the ſame nature‡.

During this obſtinate conflict, the ſeamen looked frequently and impatiently to the eaſtward, ſtill expecting to ſee the land forces advance from Long Iſland, drive the rebels from their entrenchments, and march up to ſecond the attack upon the fort. In theſe hopes, however, they were grievouſly diſappointed: the army never moved. Various cauſes have been aſſigned for this inaction ||; but the truth ſeems to be, that the poſt which the rebels occupied at the end of Sullivan's Iſland, was in ſo ſtrong a ſtate of defence, the approaches on our ſide ſo diſadvantageous, and Lee's force ſo great, and in ſuch readineſs to engage, that general Clinton

* The fortifications were compoſed of palm-trees and earth: the merlons were of an unuſual thickneſs, and their lowneſs preſerved them in a great degree from the weight of our ſhot.

† The Briſtol, the commodore's ſhip, had an hundred and eleven, and the Experiment ſeventy nine men killed and wounded. The two frigates engaged, the Active and the Solbay, though no leſs emulous in the diſcharge of their duty, ſuffered leſs in proportion.

‡ It is ſaid, that the quarter-deck of the Briſtol was at one time cleared of every perſon but the commodore, who ſtood alone, a ſpectacle of firmneſs and intrepidity which have ſeldom been equalled, never exceeded. The others on that deck were either killed or carried down to have their wounds dreſſed. Nor did captain Scott of the Experiment miſs his ſhare of danger or glory; who beſides the loſs of his arm, received a variety of other wounds: nor the gallant captain Morris, who with a noble obſtinacy diſdained to quit his ſtation, after he was dangerouſly wounded, till he received the fatal ſhot.

|| The Gazette ſays, that the king's forces were ſtopt by an impracticable depth of water, where they expected to have paſſed nearly dry-ſhod; but to ſuppoſe that the generals, and the officers under their command, ſhould have been nineteen days in that ſmall iſland, without ever examining, until the very moment of action, the nature of the only paſſage by which they could fulfil the purpoſe of their landing, or anſwer the ends for which they were embarked in the expedition,

Clinton would have run the moſt manifeſt and inexcuſable riſk of the loſs of his army, if he had ventured upon the attack; or at leaſt, that the danger was too great for prudence to hazard. The action continued, until the darkneſs of night compelled that ceſſation, which the eagerneſs of the aſſailants, worn out as they were with fatigue, and weakened with loſs, was ſtill unwilling to accept. Then Sir Peter Parker, after every effort of which a brave man is capable, finding that all hope of ſucceſs was at an end, and the tide of ebb nearly ſpent, between nine and ten in the evening, withdrew his ſhattered veſſels from the ſcene of action. Colonel Moultrie, who commanded in the fort, received great and deſerved applauſe from his countrymen, for that courage and conduct which were ſo conſpicuous in his gallant defence of it. The garriſon alſo received their ſhare of praiſe, and a ſerjeant was publicly diſtinguiſhed by the preſent of a ſword from the preſident of the colony, in conſideration of his ſingular bravery. APPEND. A. D. 1776.

During theſe tranſactions, the Congreſs took an opportunity of gathering the general ſenſe of the people, and of preparing their minds for that declaration of independency, which had been the primary object of the principal delegates, and which was now ſoon to be avowed, by a kind of circular manifeſto to the ſeveral colonies, ſtating the cauſes which rendered it neceſſary, that all authority under the ſovereign ſhould be totally ſuppreſſed, and all the powers of government taken into their own hands. In ſupport of this poſition, they inſtanced the Prohibitory Act, by which they were excluded from the protection of the crown; the rejection of their petition for redreſs of grievances and reconciliation; and the intended exertion of all the powers of Great Britain, aided by foreign mercenaries, for their deſtruction.

Penſylvania and Maryland were the only colonies, that formally oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of a new government, and the declaration of independency. A majority in the aſſembly of the former, though eager for a redreſs of grievances, regarded with horror every idea of a total ſeparation from the parent-ſtate. But although they knew that great numbers in the province held ſimilar ſentiments, they were alſo ſenſible, that the more violent party formed a very numerous and powerful body; that they had already taken fire at their heſitation, and conſidered them rather as ſecret enemies than lukewarm friends. Their ſituation was beſides expoſed to many difficulties. If they broke the union of the colonies, and thereby forfeited the aſſiſtance and protection of the other provinces, they had no certainty of obtaining a redreſs of thoſe ſuppoſed grievances, which had made them join the aſſociation; yet they were not willing to give up all hope, nor to break off all poſſibility of accommodation.

dition, would imply a want of prudence and military circumſpection, of which their character leaves no room to accuſe them. It muſt however be acknowledged, that the account which we have given is by no means free from difficulties: for in the ſame ſpace of time, the generals might alſo be ſuppoſed to have acquired a competent knowledge of the ſtrength of the enemy; and if convinced of their ſuperior force, the ſhips ought not to have been allowed, much leſs commanded to attack the fort, as even the deſtruction of that could ſerve little purpoſe, unleſs a ſuperiority could be maintained on land, and could ſcarcely be hoped for without a co-operation, without the united efforts of the army and navy.

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Thus critically circumſtanced, the majority of the aſſembly of Penſylvania declared, that the queſtion of independency was a matter of too great importance for them to decide finally upon; and that they would therefore refer it to their conſtituents, together with the arguments which had been uſed on both ſides of the queſtion. It was manifeſtly a ſtep from which it would not be eaſy to retreat. On one hand the ſeparation from Great Britain, even if it could be finally accompliſhed, muſt be attended with many inconveniences. The protection of the great parent-ſtate, and the utility of the power of a common ſovereign, to balance ſo many ſeparate and perhaps diſcordant commonwealths, beſides the many political and commercial advantages derived from the old union, muſt be evident to every ſober and diſcerning perſon. On the other hand, it was inſiſted, that their liberty was their firſt good, and without which all the other advantages would be of no value: that liberty, it was alſo ſaid, had been violated by many late acts; and as the appeal was now made to the people, ever tremblingly alive to preſent inconveniences, and blind to diſtant conſequences, the majority of the people reſolved, That the delegates ſhould agree to the determination of the Congreſs. This deciſion, however, occaſioned much diſſention in the province, where a very conſiderable party ſtill retain their attachment to the Britiſh government.

In Maryland, the delegates were inſtructed by a majority of ſeven counties to four, to oppoſe the queſtion of independency in the Congreſs. This they accordingly did; and having given their votes, withdrew totally from that aſſembly: but the horror of being ſecluded and abandoned, together with the reproaches of the other colonies, and perhaps the dread of their reſentment, ſoon gave a new turn to the conduct, if not to the ſentiments of the province. The delegates were again inſtructed to return to the Congreſs, and to act there as they thought beſt for the intereſt of their country. This completed the union of the colonies in the fatal meaſure of independency; which was accordingly declared on the fourth day of July, in words to the following effect: "We the repreſentatives of the *United States of America*, (the name which the confederacy now took) in General Congreſs aſſembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the name, and by the authority of the good people of theſe Colonies ſolemnly publiſh and declare, That theſe United Colonies are, and ought to be *free* and *independent States*, and that they are abſolved from all *allegiance* to the *Britiſh crown*, and that all *political connection* between them and the *States of Great Britain* is, and ought to be totally diſſolved; and that, as *free* and *independent States*, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, eſtabliſh commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent ſtates may of right do: and for the ſupport of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our ſacred honour *."

* This declaration was introduced by a long liſt of injuries, and ſuppoſed uſurpations, in a moſt intemperate ſtile, and without any adequate mixture of reaſoning.

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While the Americans were adopting this bold and desperate measure, government was concerting the means of their entire subjugation, if they should decline to accept of the terms offered by parliament. For this purpose it was determined to carry the war into New York and the neighbouring provinces, as being the most convenient in many respects for such operations; and with a view, that if general Clinton could penetrate to Hudson's or the great North river, the royal army might thereby be enabled to cut off all communication between the northern and southern colonies, and in a short time, it was hoped, finally to terminate the contest. The attainment of these important objects, and the conduct of the grand armament necessary to that end, were committed to admiral lord Howe and his brother the general; men who stood high in the public favour, and who besides being commanders in chief by sea and land, were appointed commissioners under the late act of parliament, for restoring peace, and for granting pardon to such, either colonies or individuals, as should deserve the royal mercy. The force with which they were furnished was answerable to the greatness of the enterprise, and such as no part of the New World had ever seen before. Nay the army was perhaps never exceeded by any in Europe of an equal number, whether considered with respect to the excellency of the troops, the abundant stock of all kind of military stores and warlike materials, or the goodness and quantity of artillery of every sort with which it was provided: nor was the number itself inadequate to the greatest efforts. It consisted of above twenty thousand British troops, and thirteen thousand Hessians and Waldeckers, supported by a large fleet, particularly well adapted to the nature of the service.

As the situation of the army at Hallifax was by no means commodious, general Howe, without waiting for his brother or the expected reinforcements, left that place with admiral Shuldham and the fleet and army, about the 10th of June, and arrived towards the end of the month at Sandy Hook; a point of land that stands at the entrance into that confluence of sounds, roads, creeks, and bays, which are formed by New York island, Staten, and Long Island, the continent on each side, with the Rariton, and Hudson's river. The general found every accessible part of the island of New York strongly fortified, defended by a numerous artillery, and guarded by little less than an army. The extent of Long Island did not admit of its being so strongly fortified or so well guarded: it was however in a powerful state of defence, as it well deserved, being in itself almost equivalent to the maintenance of an army. An encampment of considerable force was formed on the end next New York, and several works were thrown up on the most accessible parts of the coast, as well as at the strongest internal passes. Staten Island, being of less value, was less attended to. There general Howe landed without opposition, to the great joy of the inhabitants, who had been persecuted on account of their loyalty; and the troops being cantoned in the villages, received plenty of those refreshments of which they stood so much in need. July 3.

At this place the general was met by governor Tryon, of New York, with several well affected gentlemen, who had taken refuge together on board

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board a ſhip at Sandy Hook, and who gave him a full account of the ſtate and diſpoſition of the province, as well as of the ſtrength of the enemy. He had alſo the ſatisfaction of being joined by about ſixty perſons from New Jerſey, who came to take arms in the royal cauſe, and about two hundred of the militia of the iſland were embodied for the ſame purpoſe; which afforded the pleaſing proſpect, that when the army was in force to march into the country and protect the loyaliſts, ſuch numbers would join the royal ſtandard, as would contribute not a little to bring the unhappy conteſt to a ſpeedy concluſion.

July 14. During this favourable aſpect of things, lord Howe arrived at Staten Iſland, having reached Halifax about a fortnight after his brother's departure. His firſt act was to ſend on ſhore, by a flag, a circular letter to the ſeveral late governors of the colonies, deſiring that they would publiſh as generally as poſſible, a declaration which accompanied the letter. In that piece, he informed the people of the powers with which his brother and he were endowed under the late act of parliament, of granting general or particular pardons to all thoſe, who in the tumult and diſaſter of the times, might have deviated from their juſt allegiance, and who were willing, by a ſpeedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour; as well as of declaring any colony, province, county, town, port, diſtrict, or place to be at peace with his majeſty, and to reſtore them to their former privileges. It alſo added, that a due regard would be had to the ſervices of thoſe who ſhould contribute to the reſtoration of public tranquillity.—Theſe writings being immediately forwarded by general Waſhington to the Congreſs, were publiſhed by that body in the news-papers, with a preface or comment of their own, in the form of a reſolution; ſetting forth, that the people of the United States would now perceive with what terms the court of Great Britain had endeavoured to amuſe and diſarm them; and that the moſt moderate minded could not fail to be convinced, from the evidence before them, that the valour of America alone could ſave its liberties.

About the ſame time, different flags were ſent aſhore by lord Howe, accompanied by ſome of his officers, with a letter directed to George Waſhington, eſq; which that commander refuſed to receive, as not being addreſſed with the title, and in the form due to the rank which he held under the United States. This conduct was highly applauded by the Congreſs, in a public reſolution paſſed for that purpoſe, and in which they directed, That for the future, none of their commanders ſhould receive any letter or meſſage from the enemy, but ſuch as ſhould be directed to them in the characters which they reſpectively ſuſtained. At length adjutant-general Paterſon was ſent to New York, by general Howe, with a letter addreſſed to George Waſhington, &c. &c. &c. The provincial general received him with great politeneſs, but abſolutely refuſed to take notice of any letter directed to him as a private perſon, when it related to his public ſtation; and very ſenſibly obſerved, that a letter directed to a perſon in a public character ſhould have ſome deſcription or indication of it. The *et ceteras*, he owned "implied every thing," as was inſiſted by the Britiſh officer, but they alſo implied any thing. A long conference enſued on the ſubject of priſoners; but

but when the adjutant obſerved, that the commiſſioners were armed with great powers, and that he himſelf was happy in making the firſt advance towards an accommodation, Waſhington replied, that from what appeared their powers were only to grant pardons, and that thoſe who had committed no crime needed no pardon.

The people of North America, however, were by no means of one mind in regard to the oppoſition to government, even after the declaration of independency. A ſhort time before the arrival of the fleet, plots in favour of the royal cauſe were diſcovered both in New York and Albany, which were productive of much trouble. Several executions took place; great numbers were confined; and many abandoning their houſes under the operations of their fears, were purſued as outlaws, and enemies to their country; while the eſtates of thoſe againſt whom the ſlighteſt proof was found, were confiſcated *. In the meantime, new forms of government were eſtabliſhed in all thoſe colonies, which deemed the former inſufficient for their preſent ſituation, and the others made the neceſſary alterations, in order to adapt their old forms to the new ſyſtem. This confidence and boldneſs in the midſt of ſo dangerous a ſtruggle, and at the eve of ſo formidable an invaſion, ſhewed either great preſumption, a knowledge of great internal ſtrength, or a certainty of foreign ſupport. But that ſupport could not be yielded immediately; and as all hopes of accommodation ſeemed to be now at an end, and all the forces were arrived, except about one half of the Heſſians, who were on their way, it was determined to make an attack upon Long Iſland; as being more practicable, and therefore better fitted for the firſt eſſay, than New York; as affording a greater ſcope for the diſplay of military ſkill and experience, and as abounding with thoſe ſupplies which ſo great a body of men as were now aſſembled, by ſea and land, neceſſarily demanded.

Proper meaſures being taken by the fleet for covering the deſcent, the army was accordingly landed, without oppoſition, near Utrecht and Graveſend on the ſouth-weſt end of the iſland, and not far from the Narrows, where it approaches cloſe to Staten Iſland. General Putnam was then encamped with a ſtrong force at Brookland, or Brooklyn, a few miles diſtant from the place of landing, on the north coaſt, where his works covered the breadth of a ſmall peninſula; having what is called the Eaſt River, which ſeparated him from New York, on his left; and a marſh, which extends to Gowan's Cove, on his right, with the Bay and Governor's Iſland to his back. The armies were ſeparated by a range of hills covered with wood, which interſects the country from Eaſt to Weſt, and are in that part called the Heights of Guana. The direct road to the rebel camp, lay through a village named Flat Buſh, where the hills commence, and near which was one of the moſt important paſſes. General Putnam had detached a conſiderable part of his army to occupy the woody hills and defend the paſſes; and if the officers upon this ſervice had been ſkilful and vigilant, they could not have been eaſily forced.

August 22.

* Nothing exhibits ſo ſtrong a contraſt, or is in the end ſo likely to produce a ſincere reconciliation between the colonies and the mother country, as the lenity of the Britiſh government, and the ſeverity of the Congreſs, during the preſent conteſt.

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Meantime lord Cornwallis puſhed on with the reſerve, and ſome other troops to Flat Buſh; where finding the enemy in poſſeſſion of the paſs, he complied with his orders in making no attempt upon it. When the whole army was landed, the Heſſians, under general Heiſter, compoſed the center at Flat Buſh; major general Grant commanded the left wing, which extended to the coaſt; and the principal diviſion, containing by much the greater part of the Britiſh forces, under the command of general Clinton, lord Percy, and lord Cornwallis, turned ſhort to the right, and approached the oppoſite coaſt at Flat Land. Every thing being thus prepared for forcing the hills and paſſes, and advancing towards the enemy's lines, general Clinton, at the head of the van of the army, ſupported by lord Cornwallis, began to move from Flat-Land, on the evening of the 26th, as ſoon as it was dark; and paſſing through that part of the country called New Lots towards Bedford, ſeized upon a paſs of the utmoſt importance, which had been left unguarded. The main body of the army, under lord Percy, followed the van at a moderate diſtance; and the way being thus happily open, the whole army paſſed the hills without noiſe or impediment, and deſcended, by the town of Bedford, into the level country which lay between them and Putnam's lines. The
Auguſt 27. engagement was begun early in the morning by the Heſſians at Flat Buſh, and by general Grant on the coaſt; and a warm cannonade, with a briſk fire of ſmall arms, was firmly ſupported on both ſides for ſome hours. At the ſame time, the ſhips made ſeveral motions on the left, and attacked a battery on Red Hook; not only to diſtract the right of the enemy, who were engaged with general Grant, but to call off their attention totally from the left and rear, where all their danger lay. Thoſe who oppoſed the Heſſians in the left and centre, were firſt appriſed of the march of the Britiſh army, and of the ruin with which they were threatened. They accordingly retreated in large bodies, and in tolerable order, in hopes of recovering their camp; but they ſoon found themſelves intercepted by the king's troops, who furiouſly attacked them, and drove them back to the woods. There they again met with the Heſſians, and were alternately chaſed and intercepted by the light infantry and dragoons. In theſe deſperate circumſtances, ſome of the Provincial regiments forced their way to the lines, through all the difficulties and dangers that oppoſed and encompaſſed them; others, perhaps no leſs brave, periſhed in the attempt; ſome kept the woods, and eſcaped, and ſome fled to them without finding ſhelter: while ſuch as did not ſeek that refuge, and by much the greater number, were obliged to throw themſelves into the marſh at Gowan's Cove, where many were drowned, and many periſhed miſerably in the mud. In a word, the victory was complete, and the ſlaughter very conſiderable, as well as the deſtruction by other means beſides the weapons of war.

The loſs of the Provincials is ſaid to have exceeded three thouſand men, including a thouſand that were taken priſoners: almoſt a whole regiment from Maryland, conſiſting entirely of young men of the beſt families in the province, was cut to pieces. But the loſs even of ſo many brave men, was by no means their greateſt misfortune: this defeat broke their ſpirit, and deprived them of that confidence in their own prowеſs, which is ſo eſſential to victory. New ſol-

diers in the height of health, and in all the pride of bodily ſtrength, but imperfectly acquainted with danger, and ſtrangers to the pain and vexation of wounds, are often more daring and adventurous than veterans; and if ſkilfully conducted to action in that temper, ſo as not to perceive their inferiority in diſcipline, before they are hotly engaged, will often perform wonders. But if, as in the preſent inſtance, they find courage and ſtrength ſo much overbalanced by ſkill as to be totally uſeleſs, and all their moſt vigorous efforts thrown away, they are induced to aſcribe to diſcipline an irreſiſtible power which it does not poſſeſs, and to abandon all confidence in themſelves, becauſe they have been vanquiſhed by means which they cannot comprehend. Little doubt can therefore be entertained, that if the Britiſh troops, whoſe valour ſhone remarkably on this occaſion, and with whom the Heſſians ſeemed emulouſly to contend for the palm of glory, had been inſtantly led, as their beating hearts eagerly demanded, to the attack of the rebel camp, that during the firſt impreſſions of terror, they would have carried it ſword in hand, and in one day have decided the conteſt between the colonies and the mother-country. Their ardour was, however, repreſſed by the caution of general Howe; whoſe courage has never been called in queſtion, and whoſe military talents are allowed to be conſiderable; but who in this, as in every other engagement in America, ſeems to have been diffident of his force, to have wanted confidence in his own generalſhip, and to have been filled with too awful apprehenſions of the enemy's power of reſiſtance, or to have been induced by an unaccountable lenity to check the career of victory, and put a ſtop to the effuſion of blood.

The loſs of Britiſh and Heſſian troops was too trifling, it was thought, to inſpire ſuch exceſſive caution, not above ſixty men being killed in the action; while, beſides the enemy's great loſs in officers and private men ſlain, three of their commanders, namely, major general Sullivan, with the brigadiers Stirling and Udell, and ten other field officers, were among the priſoners. Nor was the general's ſubſequent conduct, or at leaſt the events which he was ſuppoſed to govern, calculated to efface the diſſatisfaction of men of more ardent tempers; for although the victorious army encamped in the front of the enemy's works on the evening of the battle, and broke ground next night at the diſtance of only ſix hundred yards from a redoubt on their left, the rebels made their retreat undiſcovered the night following, by an aſtoniſhing movement, or an extraordinary inſtance of negligence on our part, or both, without the loſs of a man, and with the greater part of their artillery, and all their ſtores.

Auguſt 28.

Auguſt 29.

This maſterly retreat was conducted by general Waſhington; who having paſſed over from New York during the engagement, but when it was too late to give a new turn to affairs, ſet his invention at work to preſerve the remainder of the provincial army on Long Iſland. He knew that the ſuperior power of the royal artillery would ſoon ſilence their batteries; and if their lines were forced, which in their comparatively weak and dejected ſtate there was little hope of preventing, ſhould ſuch an attempt be made, they muſt all be killed or taken. If he endeavoured to ſtrengthen them by reinforcements from New York, he hazarded the

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the loſs of that iſland and capital, which were already menaced on every ſide, and kept in continual alarm by the fleet. A danger no leſs imminent than either of the former was ſtill behind: the ſhips of war waited only for a fair wind to enter and take poſſeſſion of the EaſtRiver, which would totally cut off all communication between New York and Long Iſland. In ſuch circumſtances, no hope remained to the Provincials but in a retreat; and even that appeared a matter of no ſmall difficulty and danger, under the eye of ſo powerful an army, fluſhed with ſucceſs, and cloſe to their works. This delicate manœuvre was however undertaken, and carried into execution with great ability by general Waſhington, during the night of the twenty-ninth of Auguſt; when the troops were withdrawn from the camp and their different works, and with their baggage, ſtores, and part of their artillery, were conveyed to the water-ſide, embarked, and paſſed over a long ferry to New York, with ſuch wonderful ſilence and order, that the Britiſh army did not perceive the leaſt motion; and was ſurpriſed in the morning, at finding the lines abandoned, and ſeeing the laſt of the rear-guard, or as the Provincials ſay, a party that had returned to carry off ſome ſtores that were left behind, in their boats, and out of danger.

Thoſe ardent ſpirits who had blamed general Howe for not inſtantly attacking the rebel camp, and ſtill more for lying three days before it, without attempting to force it, though Waſhington and the whole provincial army muſt have been taken or deſtroyed in conſequence of ſuch a meaſure, now congratulated themſelves on their foreſight, and did not ſcruple to ſay, that the general was either ſhamefully diffident of the force with which he was furniſhed, of his own ability to conduct it, or was unwilling to finiſh the war by violent means *. In this opinion they were confirmed, by the negociation entered into between the commiſſioners and the Congreſs, through the agency of the captive general Sullivan; which came to nothing, as might have been foreſeen by the moſt ordinary capacity †, and afforded the rebels fifteen days to recover themſelves from their fright.

* General Howe has alſo been blamed by another ſet of men, who carry their views farther back, and affirm that, inſtead of attacking Long Iſland, he ought to have gone up the North River, and landed above New York; by which means Waſhington would have been obliged to fight him on very unequal terms, or to have precipitately abandoned that city, with the loſs of all the ſtores of the rebel army, while the fleet might have effectually cut off the communication with the forces on Long Iſland, which muſt have ſurrendered of courſe.

† The Congreſs had already iſſued their declaration of independency: if they had ſuffered a recent loſs, they had alſo eſcaped a great danger; and it could not be expected that they would ſubmit, that they would reverſe all their reſolutions, and abandon all their hopes, till their ſtrength was finally broken. They therefore replied by Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Dr Rutledge, who had been appointed as a committee to conſider of the propoſals of the commiſſioners, That it did not appear to them that lord and general Howe's commiſſion contained any authority of importance except what was contained in the act of parliament; for as to the power ſet forth by the commiſſioners of "inquiring into the ſtate of America," they did not even think any expectation from the effect of ſuch power would have been a ſufficient ground for negociation, had America ſtill continued in her ſtate of dependence.

All

CHAP. IV. A. D. 1776.

All this time the Britiſh army lay inactive in Long Iſland; but every hope or pretence for negociation being now at an end, it only remained to the commiſſioners to make amends for their failure in their civil character, by the vigour of their military operations. It was accordingly reſolved to make a deſcent upon the iſland of New York; and every thing being at length prepared for that purpoſe, ſeveral movements were made by the ſhips of war in the North River, Sept. 15. in order to draw the attention of the enemy to that ſide of the iſland. Other parts ſeemed equally threatened; and the taking of the iſland of Montreſor, and erecting a battery upon it, in order to ſilence one which the provincials had at Horen's Hook, commanding the paſſage of Hell Gate, appeared to indicate a deſign of landing in that part. While the rebels were held in this ſtate of apprehenſion and uncertainty, the firſt diviſion of the royal army, under the command of general Clinton, with lord Cornwallis, major-general Vaughan, brigadier-general Leſlie, and the Heſſian colonel Donop, embarked at the head of New Town Bay, which runs pretty deep into Long Iſland, and where they were entirely out of the enemy's view. Being covered, as ſoon as they entered the river or channel, by two forty-gun ſhips, and three frigates, under the command of commodore Hotham, they proceeded to Kepp's Bay, about three miles north of the city of New York. There a deſcent being little expected, the preparations for defence were not ſo great as at ſome other places. The fortifications, however, were not inconſiderable, nor deſtitute of troops; but the fire from the ſhips was ſo inceſſant, and ſo well directed, that the works were ſoon abandoned, and the army landed without oppoſition. The rebels inſtantly evacuated New York, with their other poſts in that part of the iſland, and retired towards the north end, where their principal ſtrength lay. They were obliged to leave their artillery behind, and their military ſtores; which, however, were no more than ſufficient for the immediate defence of the place.

A brigade of the royal army having taken poſſeſſion of the city of New York, the main body encamped in the evening towards the centre of the iſland, with the right to Horen's Hook, on the Eaſt River, and the left to the North River, near Bloomingdale*; the rebel army occupying the ground, with extenſive works, on both ſides of King's Bridge, by which their communication with the continent was kept open, and a redoubt with cannon upon the Heights of Harlem, within the iſland, on the ſide of the North River. In this ſituation, in which both armies continued for ſome time, frequent ſkirmiſhes happened; and though the advantage was generally in favour of the king's troops, the apprehenſions of the provincials, inſpired by their late diſaſter, began to wear away. Meantime an attempt was made by ſome rebel incendiaries, (who had probably ſtayed behind Sept. 20. for that purpoſe) to deſtroy New York by fire, in order to prevent its being of any ſervice to the conquerors. About one third of the city was reduced to aſhes; and nothing leſs than the courage and activity of the troops, as well as of the

* By this diſpoſition they occupied the whole extent of the iſland, between the rivers; for although about ſixteen miles in length, it is little more than one in breadth.

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sailors, who were dispatched from the fleet, could have preserved any part of it from the flames.

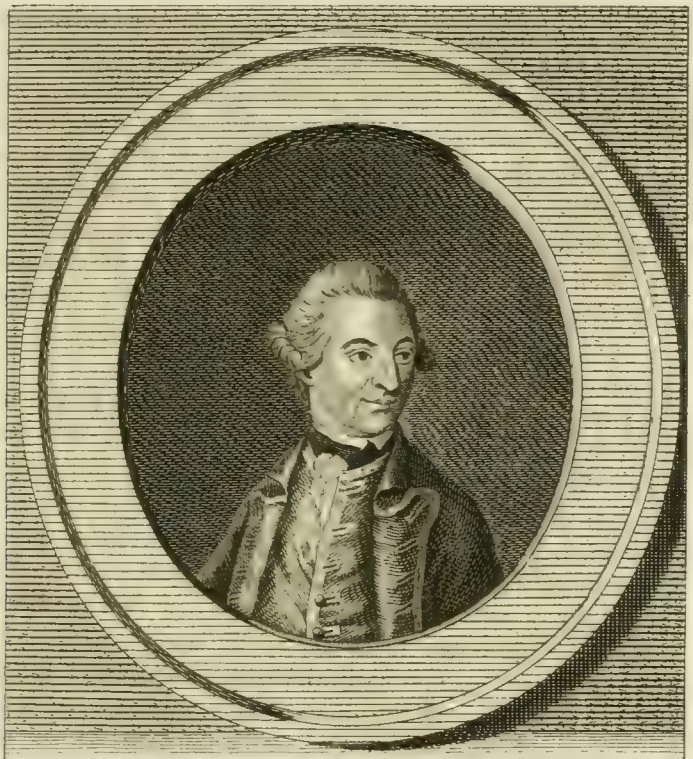
General Howe perceiving (after a deliberation and survey of upwards of three weeks) that no attempt could be made on the enemy on the side of New York, which would not be attended with great danger, without affording an equal prospect of success, determined at length upon a plan of operation, which would oblige them either to quit their strong post in the neighbourhood of King's Bridge, or render their perseverance in holding it extremely hazardous. With October 12. this view, the greater part of the army being embarked in flat boats, and other small craft proper for the service, passed successfully through the dangerous navigation of Hell Gate, (which forms a narrow and difficult communication between the East River and Long Island sound) and landed on Frog's Neck, near the town of West Chester, which lies in that part of the continent belonging to the province of New York, on the side of Connecticut; earl Percy, with two brigades of British troops, and one of Hessians, being left in the lines near Harlem to cover the city of New York *.

The troops were detained for some days at Frog's Neck, waiting for the arrival of the provisions and stores, and a reinforcement which was drawn from Staten Island. These being come, they proceeded through Pelham's Manor to New Rochelle, which lies on the coast of the sound or channel which separates the continent from Long Island. Here they were joined by the greater part of a regiment of light-horse from Ireland, and by the second division of Hessians, under general Knyphausen, together with a regiment of Waldeckers, which had arrived at New York, since the departure of the army. The immediate object of this formidable force was to cut off the communication between Washington and the eastern colonies; and if that measure did not induce him to hazard an engagement, to inclose him on all sides in his fastnesses on the north end of New York island.

The king's forces were now masters of the lower road to Connecticut and Boston: but in order to gain the upper, it was necessary to advance to the high grounds called the White Plains; a rough, stony, and mountainous tract of country, which is however only part of the ascent to a country still higher, rougher, and more difficult. On the departure of the army for the upper country it was deemed necessary to leave the second division of Hessians at New Rochelle; as well to preserve the communication, as to secure the supplies of provisions and necessaries that were to arrive at that port. In the meantime Washington was not inattentive to the danger of his situation: he saw, that if he kept his post, he would at length be compelled to commit the whole fortune of the war to the hazard of a general engagement; a decision of which he had every reason to apprehend the event, from the inferiority of his real force, and as, in case of a defeat, there would scarce be a possibility of retreat. A grand

* Though this movement was, in some respects, highly judicious, the division under lord Percy was certainly exposed to great danger from the superior force and consummate abilities of general Washington.

movement



HUGH, Earl PERCY.

movement was therefore made, by which the Provincial army was formed into a line of ſmall, detached, and entrenched camps, which occupied every height and ſtrong ground from Valentine's Hill, not far from King's Bridge, on the right, to the White Plains, and the upper road to Connecticut, on the left. Thus the rebels faced the whole line of march of the king's troops, at a moderate diſtance; the deep river Brunx covering their front, and the North River on their rear; while the open ground to the latter afforded a ſecure paſſage for their ſtores and baggage to the upper country. A garriſon was at the ſame time left for the protection of Fort Waſhington, as well as for the ſecurity of the works at Harlem and King's Bridge.

In conſequence of this unexpected piece of generalſhip, the Britiſh commander found it neceſſary to proceed with great circumſpection. The advance was ſlow, the march of the army cloſe, the encampments compact: in a word, the moſt ſoldier-like caution was preſerved by general Howe in his whole progreſs; but that did not prevent the enemy from ſending parties over the Brunx to impede his march, though without effect. The Provincials were routed in every ſkirmiſh. Not diſcouraged however by their loſſes, on the approach of general Howe to the White Plains, the enemy quitted their detached camps along the Brunx, and joining their left, took a ſtrong ground of encampment before the Britiſh forces, on the former. Every thing being now prepared for bringing the rebels to action, the royal army marched early in the morning in two columns towards the White Plains; the right commanded by general Clinton, and the left by general Heiſter. October 28.

Before noon all the enemy's advanced parties being driven back to their works by the light infantry and Heſſian chaſſeurs, the Britiſh army was formed; with the right upon the road from Mamoroneck, about a mile's diſtance from the centre, and the left to the Brunx, at about the ſame diſtance from the right flank of the Provincial entrenchments. A diſtinct body of the rebels poſſeſſed an advantageous ground which was ſeparated from their right flank by the Brunx, at the ſame time that the windings of that river covered the detachment in front from the left of the royal army; and as this poſt would have been of great conſequence in attacking that flank of their entrenchments, brigadier-general Leſlie, with the ſecond brigade of Britiſh troops, and the Heſſian grenadiers under colonel Donop, were ordered to diſlodge the enemy. Previous to their attack, colonel Ralle, who commanded a brigade of Heſſians on the left, had paſſed the Brunx, and gained a poſt, which enabled him to annoy the flank of the rebel diviſion, while it was engaged with the other detachment in front. Though the paſſage of the river was difficult, it was performed with the greateſt ſpirit; and the twenty-eighth and thirty-fifth regiments, being the firſt that paſſed, formed with the greateſt ſteadineſs under the enemy's cannon, on the oppoſite ſide. They then aſcended a ſteep hill, in defiance of all oppoſition; and ruſhing on the rebels, routed, and drove them from their works. Nor was leſs alacrity ſhewn by the reſt of the detachment, in ſupporting theſe two regiments.

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The gaining of this important poſt took up a conſiderable time; which was prolonged by the enemy's ſtill ſupporting a broken and ſcattered engagement, in defence of the adjoining walls and hedges. Towards evening the Heſſian grenadiers were ordered to advance upon the heights, within cannon ſhot of the Provincial entrenchments. The ſecond brigade of Britiſh troops formed in their rear, and the two Heſſian brigades upon the left of the Britiſh; but the right and centre of the army did not remove from the ground on which they had formed. In this poſition the king's troops lay upon their arms during the night, in full expectation of attacking the rebels next morning. It was then however diſcovered, that the enemy had drawn back their encampment, and greatly ſtrengthened their lines by additional works; ſo that general Howe judged it neceſſary to defer the attack, till the arrival of the fourth brigade, and two battalions of the ſixth, which had been left with lord Percy at New York, and were now ordered to join the army. On

Sept. 30. the ſame evening that the junction was formed, a diſpoſition was made for attacking the enemy the following day: but an extreme wet night and morning, as the general informs us, prevented this deſign from being carried into execution *; and the rebels prevented any future ſtep being taken for that purpoſe, by abandoning their camp during the ſucceeding night. Waſhington, to whom delay was a ſort of victory, and who had not the ſmalleſt intention of venturing an engagement, while there was a poſſibility of avoiding it, took higher ground towards the North Caſtle diſtrict; after having ſet fire to the town or village of White Plains, as well as to all the forage and houſes near the lines.

Nov. 2. The Britiſh army next day took poſſeſſion of the Provincial entrenchments; and general Howe ſeeing that the enemy could not be enticed to an engagement, and that the nature of the country did not admit of their being forced to it, determined not to loſe time in a fruitleſs purſuit, but to take this opportunity of driving them out of their ſtrong holds in New York Iſland, an operation which their army could not now poſſibly prevent. For this purpoſe, general Knyphauſen croſſed the country from New Rochelle; and having taken poſſeſſion of King's Bridge without oppoſition, entered New York Iſland, and took his ſtation to the north of Fort Waſhington, to which the enemy had retired on his approach. This fort lay on the eaſt ſide of the iſland, not far from King's Bridge, and almoſt facing Fort Lee, on the Jerſey ſide of the North River, which theſe two for-

* General Howe has been much blamed for not attacking the rebels on this occaſion; but from ſome late examinations, before a committee of the Houſe of Commons on that officer's conduct, it ſhould ſeem unjuſtly. Though lord Cornwallis, for *political reaſons*, thought himſelf bound to be ſilent on that head, he pledged his honour to colonel Barré, that if he ſhould aſſign the cauſe why the attack was not made, that gentleman would be fully ſatisfied. "Did not the Heſſian troops refuſe to attack?" ſaid the colonel. This queſtion was not anſwered; but the fact did not ſeem to be diſputed. It alſo appeared in the courſe of the examination, though not from direct evidence, that an attack was actually begun, and with ſucceſs, by the grenadiers; and that they were afterwards called off—but for what myſterious reaſon the general has not informed us, though he certainly ought to declare it in vindication of his character, be the *political* motives for ſecrecy what they may.

tifications

tifications entirely commanded. Though not of ſufficient ſtrength to ſuſtain a regular ſiege, its ſituation was extremely advantageous, and the approaches difficult.

General Howe having returned ſlowly with the main army, encamped on the heights of Fordham, at a ſmall diſtance from King's Bridge, with the North River on his right, and the Brunx on his left. Every thing was now prepared for the attack of Fort Waſhington; and colonel Magaw, the commander, refuſing a ſummons to ſurrender, and declaring that he would defend it to the laſt extremity, a general aſſault was reſolved upon, in order to ſave the time which muſt otherwiſe be loſt in regular approaches. The garriſon conſiſted of about three thouſand men, and the ſtrong grounds round the fort were covered with lines and works. Four attacks were made nearly at the ſame time. The firſt, on the north ſide, was conducted by general Knyphauſen, at the head of two columns of Heſſians and Waldeckers; the ſecond on the eaſt, was led by brigadier-general Matthew, at the head of the firſt and ſecond battalions of light infantry and two battalions of guards, ſupported by lord Cornwallis with the firſt and ſecond battalion of grenadiers, and the thirty-third regiment. Theſe troops croſſed the Eaſt River in flat boats; and as the enemy's works there extended the breadth of the iſland, redoubts and batteries were erected on the oppoſite ſhore, as well to cover the landing of the troops, as to annoy the rebels in thoſe works which were near the water. The third attack, which was chiefly intended as a feint to diſtract the attention of the enemy, was made by the forty-ſecond regiment under lieutenant colonel Stirling, who embarked in bateaux at a creek on the left of the enemy's lines towards the city of New York; and the fourth was conducted by lord Percy, who aſſaulted the right flank of the rebel entrenchments with the force under his command in New York Iſland. All theſe attacks were ſupported by a numerous, powerful, and well-ſerved artillery.

Nov. 13.

The Heſſians under general Knyphauſen moved forward about noon; but having a thick wood to paſs, in which the Provincials were very advantageouſly poſted, it was ſome time before they could make any progreſs. Under theſe difficulties the Heſſians behaved with great firmneſs and bravery, though expoſed to the fire of three pieces of cannon, beſides a hot diſcharge of muſquetry. Meantime the light infantry landed, beneath a heavy fire, both before and after they had quitted their boats, from a party of the rebels poſted behind rocks and trees. From this danger, however, they happily extricated themſelves, by clambering up a very ſteep and ragged mountain, with their uſual activity, and diſperſing the enemy. The guards, followed by the grenadiers and the thirty-third regiment, landed without any loſs.

During theſe tranſactions intelligence being received, that lord Percy had carried an advanced work on his ſide, colonel Stirling was ordered to attempt a landing with the forty-ſecond regiment; and two battalions of the ſecond brigade were ſent to ſupport him. This ſervice was performed by the colonel with great gallantry. He proceeded in his boats through a thick fire, with great firmneſs and perſeverance; and forcing his way up a ſteep height, which was well de-

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fended by a body of the rebels, gained the ſummit, in ſpite of all oppoſition; took an hundred and ſeventy priſoners; and penetrating acroſs the iſland, facilitated lord Percy's ſucceſs againſt the enemy's lines, which he forced. Meantime colonel Ralle, who had led the right column of general Knyphauſen's attack, having driven the rebels, after a vigorous reſiſtance, from their ſtrong holds in that quarter, puſhed forward to their advanced works, and lodged his column within an hundred yards of the fort. Being ſoon after joined by general Knyphauſen with the left column, which had at length overcome the impediments in the wood, the rebel garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war. The loſs, on either ſide, was not in any degree proportioned to the warmth, length, and variety of the engagement; nor were the ſtores in Fort Waſhington adequate even to the ſhorteſt defence.

Fort Lee being the next object for the entire command of the North River, lord Cornwallis paſſed over with a ſtrong body of forces, in order to reduce that place, as well as to make a farther impreſſion in the Jerſeys. In his attempt upon the fort he was aſſiſted by a party of ſeamen from the fleet, who were highly active in dragging the cannon up a rocky and difficult precipice; and had not the garriſon, conſiſting of two thouſand men, been accidentally informed of his approach, they muſt all have been made priſoners. As it was, they had a very narrow eſcape, leaving all their artillery, ſtores, proviſions, their tents ſtanding, and even the kettles upon the fire. The royal army afterwards over-ran great part of the Jerſeys without oppoſition, the enemy every where placing their ſafety in flight. At length the troops extended their winter cantonments from Brunſwick to the Delaware; and had they poſſeſſed any means of paſſing that river, on their firſt arrival in its neighbourhood, there remains little doubt, conſidering the conſternation and diſmay which then prevailed among the Provincials, but they might eaſily have made themſelves maſters of the city of Philadelphia. The rebels had, however, very prudently deſtroyed, or removed out of the way all the boats and veſſels of every kind.

Nov. 18.

During theſe ſucceſſes in the Jerſeys, general Clinton with two brigades of Britiſh, and two of Heſſian troops, with a ſquadron of ſhips of war under the command of Sir Peter Parker, were ſent to make an attempt upon Rhode Iſland. In this enterpriſe they ſucceeded beyond expectation: the rebels having abandoned the iſland on their approach, they took poſſeſſion of it without the loſs of a man; at the ſame time that they blocked up a fleet of privateers in the harbour of Providence on the adjoining continent *. The ſquadron and troops continued in Rhode Iſland during the winter, where they had better quarters than any other of the king's forces in America.

Dec. 8.

The conteſt with the colonies ſeemed now drawing towards a concluſion. Hitherto the royal army had ſucceeded in every attempt, ſince its firſt landing at

* Theſe privateers, commonly called the Continental Fleet, were under the command of one Hopkins, who in the month of March had ſtript Providence, the chief of the Bahama iſlands, of a conſiderable quantity of artillery and ſtores, and had been particularly ſucceſsful during the ſummer in taking prizes, among which was the Glaſgow frigate.

Staten



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Staten Iſland; while the rebel forces, beſides loſs by the ſword, captivity, and deſertion, began to dwindle to a very ſmall number, from the nature of their military engagements. They were only enliſted for a year; and the Provincials, but little accuſtomed to any kind of reſtraint, very ill brooked even ſo long an abſence from their families. Accordingly at the expiration of the term, but few were prevailed upon to continue in ſervice. Every thing, in a word, promiſed ſome deciſive event in favour of the royal arms on the ſide of New York, as ſoon as the campaign ſhould be opened, if not the immediate ſubmiſſion of ſome of the colonies: nor was the proſpect leſs encouraging on the ſide of Canada.

In order to acquire the command of Lake Champlain, which was neceſſary, as we have had occaſion to obſerve, to enable general Carleton to proceed to the ſouthward, the moſt incredible efforts were employed by the officers and men under his command, after the expulſion of the rebels. The taſk was indeed arduous beyond expreſſion. A fleet of above thirty armed veſſels, of different ſizes, all bearing cannon, was to be little leſs than created; for although a few of the largeſt were reconſtructions, the advantage derived from that circumſtance depended more upon the uſe of materials which the country did not afford, than upon any ſaving of time or leſſening of labour. When to this is added, the tranſporting over land, and afterwards dragging up the *rapids* or currents of St. Thereſe and St. John's, thirty long boats, a number of flat bottomed boats of conſiderable burden, a gondola weighing thirty tons, with above four hundred bateaux, the whole preſents a complexity of labour and difficulty, which to ſay every thing in one word, appeared ſufficient to appal even the ſpirit of the Britiſh ſeamen. It muſt be allowed, however, that the labour did not fall ſolely upon them, though they exceeded themſelves on this great and toilſome occaſion: the ſoldiers had their part, and even the peaſants and farmers of Canada aſſiſted.

The ſpirit of the commanders, as well as of the private men, roſe in proportion to the difficulties which they had to encounter. The objects in view were great, the glory to be acquired tempting, and the deſire of their attainment ſeemed to leſſen or remove obſtacles, which to cold or lukewarm ſpeculation would have appeared inſuperable. If the Lakes could be recovered, and Albany poſſeſſed, before the ſeverity of the winter ſet in, the northern army would hold a principal ſhare in the honour of bringing the war to a ſpeedy concluſion. But with all this ardour and the moſt unremitting induſtry, it was not until the month of October, that the fleet was in a condition to ſeek the enemy on Lake Champlain. The force was very conſiderable in reſpect to the place and ſervice; extraordinary, in regard to the little time ſpent in its formation; and ſuch, as a very few centuries ago, would have been deemed formidable even in the European ſeas. The ſhip Inflexible, which had been reconſtructed at St. John's, whence ſhe ſailed in twenty-eight days after laying her keel, and which mounted eighteen twelve pounders; the Maria ſchooner, mounting fourteen ſix-pounders; the Carleton ſchooner, twelve ſix pounders; the Thunderer radeau, ſix twenty-four pounders, and ſix twelve

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twelve pounders, beſides howitzers; the Loyal Convert gondola, ſeven nine pounders. Twenty ſmaller veſſels, under the denomination of gun-boats, carried each a braſs field piece, from nine to twenty-four pounders, or were armed with howitzers. Four long-boats were furniſhed in the ſame manner, and twenty-four were loaded with proviſions.

The armament was conducted by captain Thomas Pringle, and the fleet navigated by above ſeven hundred prime ſeamen, of whom two hundred were volunteers from the tranſports; who after having rivalled thoſe belonging to the ſhips of war in all the toil of preparation, now boldly and freely partook with them in all the dangers of the expedition. The guns were ſerved by a detachment of men and officers belonging to the train of artillery. The enemy's fleet, commanded by general Arnold, was in no degree equal, either with reſpect to the goodneſs of the veſſels, the number of guns, furniture of war, or weight of metal; for although they were ſenſible of the neceſſity of preſerving the dominion of the Lakes, and aided in that deſign by the original force in their hands, with a great advantage in point of time for its increaſe, they wanted timber, artillery, ſhip-builders, and all the materials neceſſary for ſuch an equipment. Their force, however, was not contemptible: it conſiſted of fifteen armed veſſels of different kinds, ſome of which carried guns of a very great ſize, particularly the Waſhington and the Congreſs galleys; each of which mounted two eighteen-pounders in the bow, two twelve and two ſmaller guns in the ſtern, and ſix ſix-pounders in the ſides. The Royal Savage ſchooner carried eight ſix-pounders, and four four-pounders; and the Revenge ſchooner four ſix-pounders and four four-pounders.

General Carleton was too full of zeal for the ſervice, as well as too anxious for the event, not to head the Britiſh armament. Having accordingly proceeded up the
October 11. Lake, he diſcovered the enemy's fleet very advantageouſly poſted under the iſland of Valicour, and forming a ſtrong line, extending from that iſland to the Weſt ſide of the continent. A ſmart encounter enſued, and was vigorouſly ſupported on both ſides for ſome hours; but as the wind was ſo unfavourable to the royal armament that the gun-boats and the Carleton ſchooner only could be brought into action, captain Pringle called them off, with the approbation of general Carleton, who was with him on board the Maria, and brought the whole fleet to an anchor in a line as near as poſſible to the rebels, that their retreat might be prevented. This deſign was however fruſtrated by the extreme obſcurity of the night. The provincial fleet was almoſt out of ſight next morning; but the fol-
October 13. lowing day they were overtaken, and brought to action, when a warm engagement took place. It laſted two hours; during which Arnold in the Congreſs galley, and five gondolas ran aſhore, and were directly abandoned and blown up by the enemy. The Waſhington galley ſtruck; and the whole armament except one galley and three ſmall veſſels, which eſcaped to Ticonderoga, was either burnt, ſunk, or deſtroyed.

Thus was Lake Champlain recovered, and the rebel force entirely broken in that quarter. Of this the enemy were ſo conſcious, that on the defeat of their fleet, they immediately ſet fire to the houſes, and deſtroyed every thing which they could

not carry off at Crown Point, then evacuated the place, and retired to Ticonderoga. General Carleton took poſſeſſion of the ruins of the fort, where he was ſoon joined by the army. As he continued there till towards the end of the month, and frequently ſent out reconnoitring parties, little doubt can be entertained that he had it in contemplation to attempt the reduction of Ticonderoga; but various reaſons determined him to lay aſide the deſign. It was evident that fortification could not be forced in its preſent ſtate, without a very conſiderable loſs of blood, whilſt the benefit reſulting even from conqueſt would be comparatively nothing. The ſeaſon was now too far advanced to admit of a thought of paſſing Lake George, and expoſing the troops to the perils of a winter campaign, in the inhoſpitable and impracticable wilds to the ſouthward; as Ticonderoga could not be kept during the winter, the moſt that could be hoped from ſucceſs would be, the deſtruction of works more indebted to nature than art for their ſtrength, and perhaps the taking of ſome cannon; the former of which could be reſtored, and the latter replaced by the rebels before the royal army could interrupt their proceedings, on the return of ſpring. But if the defence were obſtinate, although the army ſhould in the end prevail, it might be thereby ſo much weakened, that all proſpect of ſucceſs in the next campaign would be totally annihilated. The difficulty, perhaps impoſſibility, of keeping open the communication with Canada, and ſubſiſting the army during the winter was obvious. General Carleton therefore embarked the troops, without making any attempt upon that important poſt; and returning to Canada, cantoned his forces in the beſt manner the country could afford, in full hopes of leading them to the ſouth next ſummer, and not only driving the rebels from all their ſtrong holds in the neighbourhood of the Lakes, but of penetrating to the coaſt, and ſharing with general Howe the glory of reſtoring to Great Britain the undiſputed empire of North America.

CHAP. V.

The Military Operations in North America *continued, from the End of the Campaign* 1776 *to the Concluſion of the* TREATY, PERPETUAL *and* DEFENSIVE, *between the Thirteen rebellious* British *Colonies, under the Name of the* THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, *and* France, *on the ſixth Day of* February, 1778.

THOUGH an account of the whole ſucceſs of the royal arms, during the late campaign in America, did not arrive in England till the beginning of the year, the victory obtained over the provincial army on Long Iſland, and the expulſion of the rebels out of Canada, were ſufficient to revive the ſpirits of the miniſter, and make him meet the parliament with confidence. Other circumſtances contributed to that end, by rouſing the reſentment of the nation againſt the Americans. The declaration of independency had removed every doubt in

October 31.

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regard to the real views of the Congreſs, and invalidated all their ſpecious profeſſions of attachment to the mother-country, as well as the arguments of their friends, either ſecret or open, in Great Britain: the American privateers, to the ruin of the merchant and the planter, had not only greatly diſtreſſed our trade in the Weſt Indies; they had even ventured into the European ſeas, taken our ſhips in the mouth of our harbours, and dared to inſult the coaſts of England: the American agents were negociating, though long unſucceſsfully, with our natural enemies, an alliance againſt the parent-ſtate; while the rebel emiſſaries, in conjunction, or with the approbation of thoſe agents, aſſuming the office of incendiaries, in the proper ſenſe of that word, had attempted to deſtroy our naval ſtrength, as well as our commercial riches, by ſetting fire to the royal dock-yards, and to the ſhips and warehouſes in our principal ſea-ports.

At ſuch a ſeaſon it gave little ſurpiſe, that the ſpeech from the throne was warmed with a mixture of indignation. "Nothing could have given me ſo much ſatisfaction," ſaid his majeſty, "as to have been able to inform you, at the opening of this ſeſſion, that the troubles, which have ſo long diſtracted my colonies in North America, were at an end; and that my unhappy people recovered from their deluſion, had delivered themſelves from the oppreſſion of their leaders. But ſo daring and deſperate is the ſpirit of thoſe leaders, whoſe object has always been dominion and power, that they have now openly renounced all allegiance to the crown, and all political connexion with this country: they have rejected, with circumſtances of indignity and inſult, the means of conciliation held out to them under the authority of our commiſſion, and have preſumed to ſet up their rebellious confederacies for independent ſtates. If their treaſon be ſuffered to take root, much miſchief muſt grow from it, to the ſafety of my loyal colonies, to the commerce of my kingdoms, and indeed to the preſent ſyſtem of all Europe." He therefore proceeded to inform the parliament, that, notwithſtanding the ſucceſs of the royal arms, and the fair proſpect of the moſt deciſive conſequences, it was neceſſary to "prepare for another campaign;" in order to reſtore the miſguided coloniſts, (the only object, his majeſty declared, which he could have in this arduous conteſt) "to the bleſſings of law and liberty, equally enjoyed by every Britiſh ſubject, which they had fatally and deſperately exchanged for all the calamities of war, and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs."

This was the general ſenſe of the nation; and therefore, though the addreſs, in anſwer to the ſpeech, was oppoſed by thoſe members who make it their buſineſs, right or wrong, to conteſt the meaſures of the court, and to ſhew their temper, even when they know that oppoſition will be ineffectual, forty-five thouſand ſeamen, and the moſt liberal ſupplies for the land ſervice were voted almoſt without a debate. But as a powerful navy was not judged ſufficient, in all caſes, for protecting our trade and annoying the enemy, nor a powerful army for effectually ſuppreſſing rebellion, a motion was made for bringing in two bills, in aid of the other means of ſecurity and chaſtiſement. The one was "a bill for enabling the admiralty to grant commiſſions, or letters of marque and repriſal, as they were uſually called, to the owners or captains of

private merchant ſhips, authoriſing them to take and make prize of all veſſels with their effects, belonging to any of the inhabitants of the Thirteen revolted American colonies." The neceſſity of ſuch a permiſſion was ſo evident, from the devaſtations committed by the American privateers, that the bill paſſed without much difficulty; but the other bill "to enable his majeſty to ſecure and detain, perſons charged with, or ſuſpected of the crime of high treaſon, committed in America, or on the high ſeas, or the crime of piracy," was violently oppoſed. The zeal with which it was combated, was indeed enough to create a ſuſpicion, that ſome of the members thought themſelves or their friends in danger. It was, however, at length paſſed; and his majeſty, after a variety of other buſineſs, concluded the ſeſſion, with a truſt in the Divine Providence, that the enſuing campaign by ſea and land would be bleſſed with ſuch ſucceſs, as might moſt effectually tend to the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion in America, and to the re-eſtabliſhment of "that conſtitutional obedience, which all the ſubjects of a free ſtate owe to the authority of law."

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In America unhappily, notwithſtanding ſome fortunate incidents, the general aſpect of things was not ſo promiſing on the return of the ſeaſon of action, as at the cloſe of the campaign. We have already ſeen lord Cornwallis over-run the Jerſeys, and had occaſion to obſerve, that the Delaware was the only obſtacle which ſeemed capable of oppoſing the progreſs of his army, in the reduction of Philadelphia and the adjoining counties, as the Provincial army was in a manner diſſolved. The greateſt number, it is ſaid, that remained embodied, did not exceed three thouſand men; and the ſupport to be derived from new levies, not yet formed, was too remote and precarious to afford much preſent conſolation to the rebels. In this critical ſtate of their affairs, the capture of general Lee ſeemed to render their condition ſtill more hopeleſs. That officer, at the head of all the men that he could collect or keep together, being on his march to join general Waſhington, who had aſſembled the Penſylvania militia to defend the banks of the Delaware, was betrayed into a fatal ſecurity, by the diſtance of the Britiſh cantonments. In croſſing the upper part of New Jerſey, from the North River, he fixed his quarters, and lay careleſsly guarded, at ſome diſtance from the main body. Colonel Harcourt, who commanded the light horſe, and had then made a deſultory incurſion, at the head of a ſmall detachment, to obſerve the motions of the enemy, being appriſed of the ſituation of the Provincial general, conducted his meaſures with ſuch addreſs and activity, and they were ſo well ſeconded by the boldneſs and rapidity of motion which diſtinguiſhes that corps, that the guard was evaded, the centinels ſeized without noiſe, the quarters forced, and Lee carried off in triumph; though all that part of the country was hoſtile to the king's troops, and though ſeveral guarded poſts, and armed patroles lay in the route of the detachment, which conſiſted only of thirty horſe.

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The capture of a ſingle officer, in other circumſtances, would have been a matter of little moment; but in the preſent ſtate of the raw American forces, where a general deficiency of military ſkill prevailed, and the inexperience of the officers was even a greater diſadvantage than the lack of diſcipline in the ſoldiers,

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ſoldiers, the loſs of a commander whoſe ſpirit of enterpriſe was directed by great knowledge in his profeſſion acquired by actual ſervice, was of the utmoſt importance; and what made it the more diſtreſſing was, the little reaſon there remained to hope it could be ſoon ſupplied. Meantime the rejoicing in Great Britain at this event, was equal at leaſt to the dejection of the Americans. But the capture of general Lee, whatever other effect it might have, was attended with a circumſtance which has ſince been productive of much inconvenience to both ſides, and of much calamity to individuals. A cartel, or ſomething of that nature, had ſome time before been eſtabliſhed for the exchange of priſoners between the generals Howe and Waſhington; which had hitherto been carried into execution, ſo far as time and other circumſtances would admit: but as Lee was a deſerter from his majeſty's ſervice, he could not, it was ſaid, come within the conditions of the cartel, or be entitled to any of its benefits. He was accordingly confined in the cloſeſt manner, and guarded as a ſtate criminal. This conduct, however reaſonable, not only ſuſpended the operation of the cartel, but induced the provincials, by way of retaliation, to treat ſuch Britiſh officers as were in their power with the moſt unfeeling and even barbarous ſeverity. They were abridged of their parole liberty, deprived of every comfort and ſatisfaction, and thrown into loathſome dungeons; and it was boldly declared by the Congreſs, that the perſons of thoſe officers ſhould be anſwerable, in the utmoſt extent, for any violence that might be offered to general Lee.

Nor was this the only inſtance in which the Congreſs manifeſted a firm and undaunted ſpirit. Amid all the dangers with which they were environed, far from giving way to any thing like unconditional ſubmiſſion, they made no overtures towards any kind of accommodation; and as, on the other ſide, none were made to them, they prepared to renew the war, and to repair their ſhattered forces, with all diligence. They were now convinced of the inefficacy of temporary armies, engaged only for a ſhort term, and calculated merely to repel a ſudden invaſion, when oppoſed to the continued operations of a ſtanding army, and the inceſſant efforts of regular forces. It could never be hoped with raw ſoldiers, thus changed every year, to make any effectual ſtand againſt veteran troops; and the preſent critical ſituation of the Provincials, afforded too alarming an experience of the fatal conſequences which might attend that period of utter imbecillity, between the diſſolution of the old army and the eſtabliſhment of the new, not to give birth to ſome plan for preventing ſuch inconveniency in future. Orders were accordingly iſſued by the Congreſs for levying eighty-eight battalions on a new footing, the ſoldiers being bound by the terms of enliſtment to ſerve during the continuance of the war.

Theſe terms were highly advantageous. Beſides a bounty of twenty dollars to every ſoldier at the time of enliſting, lands were to be allotted at the end of the war to the ſurvivors, and to the repreſentatives of all who were ſlain in action, in different ſtated proportions, from five hundred acres, the allotment of a colonel, to one hundred and fifty, which was that of an enſign, the private men and non-commiſſioned officers being to have one hundred each; and as a bar to the thoughtleſs prodigality

prodigality common to ſoldiers, as well as to prevent the worthleſs and undeſerving from obtaining for trifles, thoſe rewards due to the brave for their ſervices and their blood, all theſe allotted lands were rendered unalienable during the war *. The congreſs had before, as an encouragement to their forces by ſea and land, decreed that all officers, ſoldiers, and ſeamen, who were or might be diſabled in action, ſhould receive during life, one half of the monthly pay to which they were entitled by their rank in the ſervice at the time of meeting with ſuch misfortune. But notwithſtanding ſo many allurements, the condition of ſerving during the indefinite term of the continuance of the war, was ſo little agreeable to men unaccuſtomed to any kind of ſubordination or reſtraint, that the Congreſs ſoon ſaw the neceſſity of admitting another mode of enliſting for the term of three years; the ſoldiers under this compact receiving the ſame bounty-money, and being entitled to the ſame privileges with the others, but excluded from any allotment of lands.

With all theſe incitements to enter into the provincial ſervice, the buſineſs of recruiting went on but heavily; and it is confidently affirmed, that the army actually raiſed, did at no time bear any common proportion, in effective men, to the numbers voted. Meantime the annual ſupplies raiſed in the different colonies, by their reſpective aſſemblies, being judged inſufficient to provide for the extraordinary expences of the war, the Congreſs found it neceſſary to negociate a loan to make up the deficiency. They accordingly paſſed a reſolution to borrow five million of dollars, at the intereſt of four per cent. on the faith of the United States; and as the ſituation of their affairs became extremely critical, and the preſervation of Philadelphia to all appearance hopeleſs, at the time that lord Cornwallis had over-run the Jerſeys, and when the Britiſh forces had taken poſſeſſion of the towns and poſts on the Delaware, the Congreſs publiſhed an addreſs to the people in general, but more particularly to thoſe of Penſylvania and the adjacent provinces. The main object of this addreſs was, to awaken the attention of the coloniſts; to remove their deſpondency, revive their hopes and ſpirits, and confirm them in the purpoſe of ſupporting the war, by ſhewing that no other means were left for the preſervation of thoſe rights and liberties for which they had originally contended: but it was particularly and immediately deſigned to forward the completion of the new army, and to call out the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries for the defence of Philadelphia.

The critical ſituation of that city, which a night or two of continued froſt would have laid open to the royal army, obliged the Congreſs, towards the cloſe of the year, to conſult their own ſafety by retiring to Baltimore, in Maryland. In this ſtate of external danger, diſſentions no leſs alarming ſprung up among the

* The holding out a promiſe of lands, as an inducement to fill up the rebel armies, was probably intended to counteract the effect of a ſimilar meaſure, which had ſome time before been adopted on the ſide of the crown; large grants of vacant lands, to be diſtributed at the cloſe of the troubles, having been promiſed to the Highland emigrants, and ſome other new troops raiſed in America, as a reward for their zeal and loyalty in the expected reduction of the rebellious colonies.

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Americans. The declaration of independency, as we have already had occaſion to notice, met with a ſtrong oppoſition in Penſylvania; and the carrying of the queſtion by a majority of the people, was far from changing the ſentiments of thoſe who had oppoſed it; among whom were moſt of the quakers, a great and powerful body in that province. Many who had formerly perſecuted the loyaliſts, and conſidered them as betrayers of their country, now joined them. The whole compoſed a very formidable party; and beſides thoſe who had fled to the commiſſioners at New York, to claim the benefit of the general pardon, the remainder were ſufficiently ſtrong to prevent an order for fortifying Philadelphia on the approach of the Britiſh forces to the Delaware, from being carried into execution.

This alarming influence of an inimical body, in the very ſeat of life and action, obliged general Waſhington, weak as he was, to detach three regiments under the command of lord Stirling *, effectually to quell the oppoſition of the loyal party, and to give efficacy to the meaſure for fortifying the city. The loyaliſts were overawed, but the deſign of fortifying the city ſeems to have been abandoned as not practicable, or not neceſſary at that time; and as the ſeaſon grew too ſevere to keep the field, though the froſts were not yet ſufficiently ſet in for the paſſage of the Delaware, it became neceſſary about the middle of December, to put the king's forces under cover. They were accordingly thrown into great cantonments, forming an extenſive chain, from Brunſwic on the Rariton, to the Delaware; occupying not only the towns, poſts, and villages, which came within a liberal deſcription of that line, but alſo thoſe on the banks of the Delaware for ſeveral miles; ſo that the latter compoſed a front at the end of the line, which looked over to Penſylvania.

Affairs were now in ſuch a ſituation, that there ſeemed to be as little probability of interrupting the deſigns, or endangering the ſecurity on the one ſide, as of reviving the ſpirit or retrieving the loſſes on the other. But the viciſſitudes of war are numberleſs; and the moſt extraordinary effects are often produced by ſmall events, originating from inconſiderable and unforeſeen cauſes. In the preſent ſeemingly ſtable and decided ſtate of things, a bold and ſpirited enterpriſe, though at firſt attended with no remarkable ſucceſs, was followed by the moſt momentous conſequences, and may be ſaid to have entirely changed the fortune of the diſpute between Great Britain and her colonies.

Colonel Rall, a brave and experienced officer, was ſtationed with a brigade of Heſſians, conſiſting of three battalions, with a few Britiſh light-horſe, and fifty chaſſeurs, amounting in the whole to about fifteen hundred men, at Trenton upon the Delaware, being the higheſt poſt which the royal army occupied on that river. Colonel Donop, with another brigade, lay at Bordentown, a few miles lower on the river; and at Burlington, ſtill lower, and within twenty miles of

* A gentleman of the name of Alexander, remotely deſcended from the firſt earl of Stirling, and complimented by his American countrymen with the title. His claim was rejected by the Houſe of Peers; and he was forbid to aſſume the title, under the penalty of being led round Weſtminſter-Hall, labelled as an impoſtor.

Philadelphia,

Philadelphia, a third body was poſted. The brigade at Trenton, as well as the others, partly from the knowledge which they had of the weakneſs of the enemy, and partly from the contempt in which they held the Provincials, conſidered themſelves as in a ſtate of perfect ſecurity, equal to that of the moſt profound peace. Of this ſecurity general Waſhington was informed. He ſaw, and comprehended in its full extent, the danger to which Philadelphia and the whole province of Penſylvania would be inevitably expoſed, as ſoon as the Delaware was thoroughly covered with ice, if the king's troops, by retaining poſſeſſion of the oppoſite ſhore, were at hand to take advantage of that circumſtance, whilſt he was utterly incapable of oppoſing them. In order to ward off this danger, he with equal boldneſs and ability, formed a deſign of diſappointing the enemy by beating up their quarters; hoping to remedy his deficiency in force by the manner of applying it, by bringing it nearer to a point, and attacking unexpectedly and ſeparately thoſe different bodies, which he could not venture to engage when united.

If the deſign ſucceeded only in part, it might probably induce the enemy to contract their cantonments, and to quit the vicinity of the river, when they found that it was not a ſufficient barrier to protect their quarters from inſult and danger; and even in that caſe, the preſent ſecurity of Philadelphia would be obtained, which was the immediate deſign of the enterpriſe. With this view, general Waſhington took the meaſures neceſſary for aſſembling his forces, which conſiſted chiefly of drafts from the militia of Penſylvania and Virginia, and formed them into three diviſions; each of which was to arrive at its appointed ſtation on the Delaware, as ſoon after the cloſe of day, and with as little noiſe as poſſible, on Chriſtmas evening. Two of theſe diviſions were under the command of the generals Erwing and Cadwallader; the firſt of whom was to paſs the river at Trenton-Ferry, about a mile below the town, and the other ſtill lower, towards Bordentown. The principal diviſion, or main body, was commanded by general Waſhington in perſon, aſſiſted by the generals Sullivan and Green, and conſiſted of about two thouſand five hundred men, provided with a train of twenty ſmall braſs field pieces.

With this body Waſhington arrived at M'Kenky's Ferry, about nine miles from Trenton, at the time appointed; hoping to be able to paſs the troops and artillery over by midnight, and that he would find no difficulty to reach that place long before day-break, and effectually to ſurpriſe Rall's brigade. The river was, however, ſo encumbered with ice, that it was with great difficulty the boats could make their way; which circumſtance, together with the extreme ſeverity of the ſeaſon, rendered the paſſage ſo difficult that it was near four o'clock in the morning before it was completed. The Provincials were further incommoded in their march by a violent ſtorm of ſnow and hail, which rendered the road ſo ſlippery, that it was with difficulty they reached the place of deſtination by eight o'clock. The detachment had been formed in two diviſions immediately after paſſing the river; one of which turning to the right took the lower road to Trenton, while general Waſhington with the other proceeded along the

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the upper, or Pennington road. Notwithſtanding theſe various delays, and the advanced ſtate of day-light, the Heſſians had no knowledge of their approach, until an advanced poſt, at ſome ſmall diſtance from the town, was attacked by the upper diviſion, the lower diviſion about the ſame time driving in the outguards on the oppoſite ſide. The regiment of Rall having been detached to ſupport the piquet which was firſt attacked, was thrown into diſorder by the retreat of that party, and obliged to join the main body. Colonel Rall now bravely charged the Provincials; but being ſoon mortally wounded, the troops under his command were broken, and almoſt inſtantly driven from their artillery. Thus overpowered, and nearly ſurrounded, the three regiments of Rall, Loſſberg, and Knyphauſen, after an ineffectual attempt to retreat to Prince Town, found themſelves under the unfortunate neceſſity of ſurrendering priſoners of war.

As the road along the river ſide to Bordentown, led from that part of Trenton moſt remote from the enemy, the light horſe, chaſſeurs, and a conſiderable number of the private men, with ſome officers, made their eſcape that way. The loſs of the Heſſians in killed and wounded was very inconſiderable, not exceeding thirty or forty at moſt: the priſoners amounted to nine hundred and eighteen. The loſs on the ſide of the Provincials was too trifling to be mentioned. Thus was one part of general Waſhington's project crowned with ſucceſs, but the two others failed in the execution. The quantity of ice was ſo great, that the diviſions under Erwing and Cadwallader found the river impaſſable, where they directed their attempts. If this had not been the caſe, Erwing by taking poſſeſſion of the bridge at Trenton Creek, in purſuance of his inſtructions, would have effectually cut off the retreat to Bordentown; and if the deſign had taken effect in all its parts, and the three diviſions had joined after the route at Trenton, it ſeems probable that they would have ſwept before them all the poſts on the Delaware. As things turned out, Waſhington could not proceed any farther in the execution of his plan: the force he had with him was far from being able even to maintain its ground at Trenton, there being a ſtrong body of light infantry at Prince Town, within a few miles of that place, and which with the junction of Donop's brigade, or other bodies from the neareſt cantonments, would ſoon have overwhelmed his little army. He therefore repaſſed the Delaware on the evening of his victory, carrying with him in triumph the priſoners; who, with their colours and artillery, afforded a new and elating ſpectacle at Philadelphia.

The ſurpriſe at Trenton did not excite leſs amazement in the royal army, than joy among the rebels, whom it ſeemed to inſpire with new ſouls. The Heſſians had hitherto been very terrible to the Americans; and the taking a whole brigade of them priſoners, appeared ſo incredible, that at the very time they were marching into Philadelphia, people were contending in different parts of the town, that the account of it was certainly a fiction, and could not poſſibly be true. The priſoners appeared: the fact was confirmed; and the Heſſians not only ceaſed to inſpire terror, but the Provincials thought nothing too great now for their proweſs, and that they had only to exert themſelves to be every where victorious.

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On the other hand, that three old eſtabliſhed regiments of a people who make war their profeſſion, ſhould lay down their arms to a ragged and undiſciplined militia, and that without ſcarcely any loſs on either ſide, appeared an event of ſo extraordinary a nature to the Britiſh officers, that it afforded full ſcope to the operation of conjecture, ſuſpicion, cenſure, and malignity, as different tempers were differently diſpoſed, or affected by the intelligence. General Howe was blamed for laying ſo extenſive a chain of cantonments *; colonel Rall was condemned for marching out of the town to meet the enemy †; and the character of the Heſſians in general did not riſe in the opinion of their allies.

The alarm ſpread by this diſaſter, induced the Britiſh and auxiliary troops immediately to aſſemble. General Grant with the forces at Brunſwick, and in that neighbourhood, advanced ſpeedily to Prince Town; whilſt lord Cornwallis, who was at New York on his way to England, found it neceſſary to defer his voyage, and return with all poſſible haſte to the defence of the Jerſeys. They were not now without an enemy to encounter; for general Waſhington, reinforced by ſeveral regiments from Virginia and Maryland, as well as with ſome new bodies of Penſylvania militia, had again paſſed the Delaware, and was with his whole force at Trenton. Lord Cornwallis marched immediately to attack the rebels, whom he found formed in a ſtrong poſition, at the back of Trenton Creek; they being in poſſeſſion of the bridge and other paſſages, which were well guarded with artillery. After ſeveral ſkirmiſhes in the approach, a canonnade enſued, which continued till darkneſs put a ſtop to the din, rather than the execution on either ſide.

January 2, A. D. 1777.

That night a brigade of Britiſh troops lay at Maidenhead, ſix miles from Trenton; and another, upon its march from Brunſwick, conſiſting of the ſeven-

* General Howe, it has been ſaid by his friends, depended upon the weakneſs of the provincial army, the good diſpoſition of the inhabitants of the Jerſeys, and the conſiderable force that was ſtationed in the advanced poſts. He was likewiſe, it is added, influenced by a deſire to cover and protect the county of Monmouth, where a great number of the people were well affected to the royal cauſe. Lord Cornwallis has further told us, that "the diſaſter that happened could not be foreſeen, and therefore not guarded againſt." But we will take the liberty to tell his lordſhip, that this is rather the language of a logician, than of a ſoldier. An army in an enemy's country is every moment liable to dangers and misfortunes, which no human wiſdom can foreſee, but which it is notwithſtanding the buſineſs of military ſagacity to defeat and prevent. The complete general does not proceed upon the doctrine of certainties, but of contingencies; and the perfection of his character lies, in guarding againſt the moſt diſtant poſſible attempts to annoy him, and in accompliſhing his ends by the leaſt probable means. By the firſt he repels or diſcomfits his enemies, while repoſing in their own craft, they hope to cut him off by the ſecond, like Waſhington, he ſurpriſes the poſts and counteracts the deſigns of an inferior commander, whoſe genius had not taught him to guard againſt ſuch remote conſequences and unexpected movements.

† Colonel Rall's miſconduct ſprung from an error very prevalent among the officers and men, both of the Britiſh and Heſſian troops; namely, too great a contempt of the Americans, inſpired by the ſucceſſes of the preceding campaign, and the vaſt ſuperiority which they perceived in themſelves in every action. They have ſince had occaſion to learn reſpect, if misfortunes and diſappointments can teach it.

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teenth, the fortieth, and fifty-fifth regiments, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Mawhood, was at Prince Town, about the ſame diſtance beyond Maidenhead. While things were in this critical ſituation on both ſides, general Waſhington, who had no intention to hazard a battle, having taken the neceſſary precaution of keeping up the fires, and every other appearance of ſtill occupying the camp, withdrew his forces at the dead of night, and with the moſt profound ſilence. Small parties being left to go the rounds, and to guard the bridge and the fords, the main body marched with ſuch expedition towards Prince Town, the immediate object of their arms, that though they took a large circuit, in order to avoid the brigade which lay at Maidenhead, their van fell in at ſunriſe next morning with colonel Mawhood, who had juſt begun his march. That officer having no idea of the enemy's ſtrength, which the fogginеſs of the morning and the irregularity of the ground prevented him from diſtinctly ſeeing, conſidered Waſhington's army only as the attempt of ſome flying detachment to interrupt his march; and having eaſily diſperſed thoſe by whom he was firſt attacked, puſhed boldly forwards without farther apprehenſion. But in a little time, he not only found that the ſeventeenth regiment, which he led, was attacked on all ſides by a ſuperior force, but that it was ſeparated and cut off from the reſt of the brigade, at the ſame time that he diſcovered by the continued diſtant firing, that the fifty-fifth regiment which immediately followed, was not in better circumſtances.

Jan. 3.

In this trying and dangerous ſituation, the brave colonel, and his equally brave regiment, behaved in ſuch a manner as to acquire immortal honour. After a violent conflict, and the greateſt repeated exertions of courage and diſcipline, they at length, by dint of bayonet, forced their way through the thickeſt ranks of the enemy, and purſued unmoleſted their march to Maidenhead. The fifty-fifth regiment was little leſs preſſed; and finding it impoſſible to continue its march, with great reſolution made good its retreat, and returned by the way of Hillſborough to Brunſwick. The fortieth regiment, which was ſtill at Prince Town when the action began, alſo retired to Brunſwick by another road, and ſuffered leſs than either of the other two. The loſs on the whole was, indeed, much leſs than might have been expected from the nature and warmth of the engagements.

This ſpirited and unexpected movement, with its dangerous conſequences, immediately recalled lord Cornwallis from the Delaware. He was alarmed, and not without reaſon, for the ſafety of the troops and magazines at Brunſwick. The Provincials, however, ſtill avoided a general action: ſatisfied with their preſent advantages, they croſſed the Millſtone river, without any farther attempt; but in a few days after, they over-ran both Eaſt and Weſt Jerſey, ſpreading themſelves over the Rariton, even into Eſſex county, where by ſeizing Newark, Elizabeth Town, and Woodbridge, they became maſters of the coaſt oppoſite to Staten Iſland; and their principal poſts were taken and ſtrengthened with ſo much judgment, that it was not practicable to diſlodge them.—Thus by a few intrepid, and well-conducted efforts, was Philadelphia ſaved; Penſylvania freed from danger; the Jerſeys nearly recovered; and a victorious and far ſuperior

army reduced to act upon the defenſive, and for ſome months reſtrained within very narrow and inconvenient limits. Theſe efforts, and the ſudden recovery of the provincials from the loweſt ſtate of weekneſs and diſtreſs, to become a formidable enemy in the field, raiſed the character of general Waſhington as a commander, very high both in Europe and America.

As the ſeaſon opened, and enlarged the field of enterpriſe, the Britiſh commanders did not, however, neglect ſeizing thoſe advantages which nature and their naval ſuperiority preſented, in a country deeply interſected with navigable rivers, and continually laid open in other parts by the numberleſs inlets and channels, which the peculiar conſtruction of the iſlands and coaſts admit in their junction with the ocean and thoſe rivers. In the meantime, a body of provincial troops was formed under the auſpices of Sir William Howe, amounting to ſeveral thouſand men; and which, under the denomination of Loyaliſts, included not only American refugees, but alſo Britiſh and Iriſh adventurers from the rebellious colonies. The officers of this corps conſiſted entirely of thoſe gentlemen, who on account of their attachment to the royal cauſe had been obliged to abandon their reſpective provinces, or by thoſe who lived under the protection of the commiſſioners in the New York iſlands. Theſe troops were placed, during the time of their ſervice, on the ſame footing as to pay, ſubſiſtence, and cloathing, with the eſtabliſhed national bodies of the royal army; with this further advantage to the private men and non-commiſſioned officers, that they were entitled to conſiderable allotments of vacant lands at the end of the troubles.

That meaſure, beſides its utility in point of ſtrength, afforded ſome preſent proviſion to thoſe, who having loſt every thing through their attachment to the royal cauſe, had been thrown upon the crown, as their only refuge, for ſupport; whereas now, inſtead of being an heavy and unprofitable burden to government, they were placed in a condition which enabled them to become active and uſeful inſtruments in effecting its purpoſes. At the ſame time ſuch an acquiſition of ſtrength, derived from and growing in the country, carried with it a moſt flattering appearance, as it ſeemed to indicate reſources for the proſecution of the war in the very theatre of action; and as all new forces muſt, from the nature of things be much fitter for defence, than for active ſervice in the field, it added further to the apparent utility of the meaſure, that the loyal Provincials could immediately be diſpoſed of to the greateſt advantage in the protection of New York and the adjacent iſlands, ſupplying thereby the place of veteran troops, and affording a free ſcope to the diſtant operations of the grand army. In order to render this defenſive ſyſtem for the iſlands ſtill more complete, governor Tryon, who already in his civil capacity commanded the militia, and who had taken the utmoſt pains for its eſtabliſhment, was now placed by the commander in chief at the head of the new corps, under the title and rank of major-general of the Provincial Loyaliſts; by which means he was enabled effectually to combine and bring into action the joint force of theſe ſeparate bodies.

The great natural ſtrength of the country, the vicinity of the North River, with its convenience in regard to the ſeat of war, had induced the Americans, during

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during the winter, to erect mills and eſtabliſh their principal magazines, in that rough and mountainous tract called the Manor of Courtland. It accordingly became their grand repoſitory. Truſting to the ſecurity of this rugged citadel, neither induſtry was wanting nor expence ſpared in abundantly providing it with immenſe ſupplies of proviſions, forage, and ſtores of all ſorts; and a place otherwiſe of no importance, called Peek's Kill, which lies about fifty miles up the North River from New York, ſerved as a kind of port to Courtland Manor, by which it both received proviſions and diſpenſed ſupplies. Sir William Howe was well aware of theſe particulars, and fully convinced of the deciſive conſequences which muſt enſue from cutting off thoſe reſources, which the enemy had with ſuch labour and expence accumulated for the ſupport and proſecution of the war. A general attempt upon Courtland Manner, however, would not only be dangerous from the ſtrength of the country, and the impracticability of the ground; a variety of other circumſtances would conſpire to render it abortive: the Provincials would even have time to remove their magazines, before the neceſſary preparations could be made. But Peek's Kill was within reach, a circumſtance of which the general determined to take advantage.

Colonel Bird, with a detachment of about five hundred men, under the conduct of a frigate, and other armed veſſels, was ſent on board ſome tranſports up the North River, for that purpoſe. On his approach to Peek's Kill, the enemy finding themſelves unequal to the defence of the place, and being convinced that there was no time left to remove any thing but their arms and perſons, ſet fire to the barracks and principal ſtore-houſes, and retired to a ſtrong paſs at about two miles diſtance. That paſs commanded the entrance into the mountains, and covered a road which led to ſome of the mills and other depoſitories, and the Britiſh troops, on landing, finding that they could neither penetrate into the country, nor have leiſure and opportunity ſafely to bring off the proviſions or other articles, completed the conflagration. This ſervice being performed, the troops reimbarked; and the ſhips, after deſtroying ſome ſmall craft laden with proviſions, returned to New York.

So far the general's deſign was completed. But the magazines at Peek's Kill were not of that importance and magnitude which he had been led to expect: ſomething, if poſſible, muſt be farther done to weaken the enemy by cutting off their reſources; and as he was informed, that the Provincials had depoſited large quantities of ſtores and proviſions in the town or village of Danbury, and other places on the borders of Connecticut, which lay contiguous to Courtland Manor, an expedition was reſolved upon to that quarter. The charge of this expedition was committed to governor Tryon, aſſiſted by thoſe active and able officers, brigadier general Agnew and Sir William Erſkine. The detachment under their command conſiſted of eighteen hundred men, who being conducted through the

April 25. Sound by a proper naval force, were landed near Norwalk in Connecticut, about twenty miles to the ſouthward of Danbury. As the country was in no ſtate of preparation, nor under any apprehenſion of the deſign, the troops advanced without interruption towards the object of their enterpriſe, and arrived at Danbury

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next day. Here they perceived that the militia were aſſembling to intercept their return; and as no carriages could be procured, though the aſpect of things had been leſs hoſtile, to bring off the ſtores and proviſions, they immediately proceded to the deſtruction of the magazine.

This prompt ſervice being performed, (in the execution of which the town was unavoidably burnt,) the detachment returned by the way of Ridgefield. Meanwhile the provincial generals Wooſter, Arnold, and Silliman, having haſtily arrived from different quarters, and collected ſuch militia as were within their reach, endeavoured by every poſſible means to interrupt the march of the Britiſh troops, until a ſufficient force could aſſemble to cut off their retreat. Wooſter hung upon the rear of the detachment, while Arnold by croſſing the country, gained their front, in order to diſpute the paſſage through Ridgefield. Nor could the excellent order, and formidable appearance of the Britiſh troops, who had large covering parties well furniſhed with field pieces on their flanks and rear, prevent the Provincials from making bold attempts to interrupt their progreſs. In one of theſe rencounters Wooſter was killed; but Arnold immediately appeared at the head of another party of the rebels, and threw himſelf into Ridgefield. The courage and diſcipline of the Britiſh troops, however, triumphed over all oppoſition: the village was forced, and the Provincials driven back on all ſides. April 27.

At this place governor Tryon halted all night, and renewed his march next morning, in ſpite of every obſtacle. At length the detachment, after diſputing each inch of ground, gained the Hill of Compo, within cannon ſhot of the ſhips. It was then evening, and the Britiſh troops had exhauſted all their ammunition. They immediately formed, however, upon the high ground, where the rebels ſeemed more determined and reſolute in their attacks, than at any time before. In this ſituation, the troops were ordered to advance, and to charge with their bayonets; a command which was executed with ſuch impetuoſity, that the enemy were totally broken, and every thing being prepared at the ſhore for the reception of the detachment, it embarked without farther moleſtation. Large quantities of corn, flour, and ſalt proviſions; a great number of tents, with various military ſtores and neceſſaries were deſtroyed in this expedition, with a very inconſiderable loſs of men; the whole in killed, wounded, and miſſing, amounting to only one hundred and ſeventy-two. The loſs on the ſide of the rebels, was more than double.

But after all, it may be queſtioned whether the enterpriſe anſwered the expectations which had been formed in regard to it. Though much miſchief was done, it did not ſeem in the leaſt to diſtreſs the enemy; and the Connecticut men, in revenge of the inſult that had been offered them, made an attack upon a port called Sagg's Harbour, on the eaſt end of Long Iſland, where a great quantity of forage, grain, and other neceſſaries were depoſited for the uſe of the royal army. Colonel Meigs, an enterpriſing officer, who had attended Arnold in the expedition to Quebec, and had been taken priſoner in the attempt to ſtorm that city, conducted this enterpriſe. Having paſſed his detachment over the Sound in whale-boats, he proceeded to Sagg's Harbour, which was only defended by a

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ſingle company of foot, and an armed ſchooner of twelve guns. The rebels arrived at the place before day-break; and notwithſtanding the reſiſtance which they met with from the guards and the crews of the veſſels, beſides the vigorous efforts of the ſchooner, which kept up a continued fire of round and grape ſhot, at only an hundred and fifty yards diſtance, they completed their deſign; burnt twelve brigs and ſloops which lay at the wharf, and entirely deſtroyed every thing on ſhore.

The ſeaſon for action was now advanced; but the royal army, we are told, was prevented from taking the field through the want of tents and field equipage, which did not arrive from England till the beginning of June. This delay was of the utmoſt conſequence to the Americans. The winter campaign had been chiefly carried on by detachments from the militia, the greater part of whom returned home, when the term of their ſervice was expired; and the buſineſs of recruiting under an engagement of ſerving during the war, or even for three years, went on but ſlowly for a long time. The return of fine weather, however, brought reinforcements from all quarters to the Jerſeys. Encouraged by ſuch an increaſe of ſtrength, general Waſhington quitted his camp in the neighbourhood of Morris Town, and advancing within a few miles of Brunſwick, took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong country along Middle Brook. On this ſingle movement hung a great part of the future events of the war in the Jerſeys. The Provincial general turned the advantages of his new ſituation to the greateſt poſſible account: he ſtrongly fortified his camp, winding along the courſe of the hills; and which, equally ſecured by nature and art, commanded a view of the Britiſh encampment in the neighbourhood of Brunſwick, and of great part of the country between that place and Amboy.

The chief object of the campaign, on the ſide of New York, ſeems to have been, that Sir William Howe ſhould penetrate thro' the Jerſeys to the Delaware, driving Waſhington before him, ſo as to clear thoſe provinces entirely of the enemy, and at the ſame time reducing the inhabitants to ſo effectual a ſtate of ſubjection, as to eſtabliſh a ſafe and open communication between that city and the army. If in counteracting this deſign, the rebels ſhould be induced to hazard a battle, nothing was more to be wiſhed, as little doubt could be entertained of ſucceſs; or if they conſtantly retired, which was more likely to be their conduct, the conſequences with regard to the general objects would be nearly the ſame; and the army having, by the reduction of the Jerſeys, left every thing ſafe in its rear, and ſecured the paſſage of the Delaware, would of courſe get poſſeſſion of Philadelphia; which, from its ſituation, not being capable of any effectual defence, could only be protected by Waſhington, at the riſk of a battle. On the other hand, if the obſtacles in the Jerſeys were found ſo great that they could not be overcome without much loſs of time and expence of blood, it was thought adviſable in ſuch circumſtances, to profit of the ſtrong naval force, and the infinite number of tranſports and veſſels of all kinds which lay at New York; to combine this powerful auxiliary with the land forces, and by conveying

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ing the army by ſea to the place of its deſtination, elude all thoſe difficulties with which the paſſage through the Jerſeys might be clogged.

In this alternative, the object was ſtill the ſame, the means of obtaining it being only changed. Philadelphia was the immediate point in view. If that object was properly choſen, (which is much to be queſtioned, eſpecially before the junction of the northern army, and perhaps the reduction of Boſton) the paſſage by ſea ſeemed the moſt ſure of its effect, though undoubtedly the ſloweſt in the operation. The Delaware, or the great bay of Cheſapeak, would open the way into the heart of the richeſt and beſt of the central colonies; and lead either directly, or by croſſing a country of no great extent, to the poſſeſſion of Philadelphia. This point gained, that city was to become the place of arms, and centre of action, whilſt every part of the three hoſtile and flouriſhing provinces of Penſylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, from their deep bays and navigable rivers, would be expoſed to the combined and continual operation of the land and marine force.

But the operations in the ſouthern or central provinces, however efficacious or extenſive, did not by any means include all the great objects of the compaign. Something was to be expected on the ſide of Canada, where a very conſiderable army had been collected, and by the ſucceſs of the laſt campaign on the Lakes, had a paſſage opened for it to penetrate into the back parts of New York and the New England provinces. The command in this expedition was committed to general Burgoyne, an officer of a bold and enterpriſing genius, who is ſaid to have formed the plan. That plan was eagerly embraced by the miniſter for the American department, who founded the greateſt hopes upon its ſucceſs, and took every means to realize them. All the advantages that had ever been expected from the complete poſſeſſion of Hudſon's river; the eſtabliſhment of a communication between the two armies; the cutting off all intercourſe between the northern and ſouthern colonies, with the conſequent opportunity of cruſhing the former, detached and cut off from all aſſiſtance, would now, it was preſumed, infallibly be obtained.

The tents and field equipage, with a body of Anſpach troops, and a number of Britiſh and German recruits, having at length arrived at New York, general Howe paſſed over to the Jerſeys, and collected his army about the middle of June. The enemy were now in a ſtrong ſtate of defence. Waſhington's army, beſides the advantages which it derived from the inacceſſible poſts which it occupied, was become very conſiderable both as to number and force. Several bodies of the New England troops, under the generals Gates, Parſons, and Arnold, advanced to the borders of the North River, where they were ready to paſs over to the Jerſeys, whenever opportunity invited, or the neceſſity of their friends demanded their aſſiſtance. At the ſame time the Jerſey militia aſſembled from all quarters with the greateſt alacrity; ſo that in every poſition it took, and every motion it made, the royal army was watched and environed with enemies.

Sir William Howe, whatever error he might have committed in not taking the field ſooner, (for a whole fortnight, at leaſt, is ſaid have been loſt, even after the

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the arrival of the camp-equipage) now left nothing untried that could provoke Washington to action, nor was any measure omitted that could induce him to quit his position. The British general pushed on detachments, and made movements, as if he intended to pass the Provincial army and advance to the Delaware. This manœuvre proving ineffectual, he advanced in the front of Washington's lines, where he continued four days, exploring the approaches to the rebel camp, and accurately examining the situation of their posts, in hopes that some weak or unguarded part might be found, on which an attack might be made with some probability of success, or that some accidental circumstance would open the way to a general engagement. But all these hopes were frustrated: Washington knew the full value of his situation; and as he had too much temper to be provoked or surprised into a dereliction of his advantages, he had also too much penetration to lose them through circumvention or sleight. He had too long profited by that rule of conduct, from which he had not once deviated during the course of the war, of never committing the fate of America to the hazard of a single battle, to depart from it upon this occasion, when it was not even demanded by any urgent necessity.

June 19. Whether Sir William Howe had now abandoned his design of enticing Washington to quit his fastnesses, is uncertain; but he suddenly retreated, and not without some apparent marks of precipitation, from his position in the front of the enemy, and withdrawing his troops from Brunswick, returned with the whole army towards Amboy. The king's forces were eagerly pursued, by several large bodies of the American regular troops, as well as of the Jersey militia, under the command of the generals Maxwel, Conway, and lord Stirling. Meantime the bridge intended for the Delaware, was thrown over the channel which separates the continent from Staten Island, and the heavy baggage with all the encumbrances were passed over. Some of the troops followed; and every thing was in immediate preparation for the passage of the rest of the army, when the British general perceived, that the vanity natural to mankind had induced the Americans to believe that this retreat proceeded from a knowledge of their superiority, and a dread of their power; that even Washington himself, with all his caution and penetration, had quitted his secure posts upon the hills, and advanced to a place called Quibble Town, to be the nearer at hand for the protection or support of his advanced parties.

This was a discovery of no small importance, and Sir William Howe lost no time in endeavouring to profit by those favourable circumstances which it afforded. He immediately marched the royal army back by different routes, and with great expedition from Amboy. He had three objects in view; namely, to cut off some of the principal advanced parties of the enemy; to come up with and bring them to an engagement in the neighbourhood of Quibble Town; or if this design failed, through the celerity of their motion, it was intended that lord Cornwallis, by turning to the enemy's left, should take possession of some passes in the mountains, which would reduce them to the necessity of abandoning that strong camp

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which had hitherto afforded them ſo perfect a ſecurity. Having diſperſed the ſmaller advanced parties of the enemy, lord Cornwallis fell in at length with lord Stirling, who with about three thouſand men, ſtrongly poſted in a woody country, and well covered with artillery judiciouſly diſpoſed, not only lay full in his way, but ſhewed a reſolution to diſpute his paſſage with vigour and firmneſs. The ardour exerted on this occaſion by an emulation between the Britiſh and Heſſian troops was conſpicuous and irreſiſtible: every obſtacle gave way before their impetuoſity in preſſing forward, to try who ſhould have the honour of coming firſt to cloſe fight with the enemy. The rebels, unable to withſtand the ſhock, were ſoon routed on all quarters; and beſides no inconſiderable loſs in men, they were obliged to relinquiſh three pieces of braſs ordnance, which were taken by the Britiſh guards and the Heſſian grenadiers. The purſuit was continued as far as Weſtfield; but the woods, and the intenſe heat of the weather, rendered it in a great meaſure fruitleſs.

In the meantime general Waſhington having perceived his error, withdrew his army from the plains, and again recovered his ſtrong camp upon the hills. Penetrating at the ſame time into lord Cornwallis's further deſign, he ſecured thoſe paſſes in the mountains, which, if poſſeſſed by the Britiſh troops, would have expoſed him to the neceſſity of a critical change of poſition, that could not have been executed without danger. Thus was every hope of bringing the enemy to an action, or at leaſt of withdrawing them from their ſtrong holds, rendered abortive by the caution and prudence of the Provincial general; and Sir William Howe being now convinced, that Waſhington was too fully attached to his defenſive plan of conducting the war, to be induced to depart from it, or to hazard a general engagement, by any thing leſs than a clear and decided advantage, perceived that nothing could be done in the Jerſeys. To advance to the Delaware, through a country entirely hoſtile, and with ſuch a force as the rebels poſſeſſed in his rear, appeared to the Britiſh commander little better than madneſs: all delay, in theſe circumſtances, was not only fruitleſs, but a waſte of time and ſeaſon, which might be employed to advantage elſewhere; general Howe therefore returned with the royal army to Amboy, and paſſed it over the next day to Staten Iſland, whence the embarkation was intended to take place. June 28

The preparations for this grand naval expedition excited a general alarm throughout North America. Boſton, Hudſon's River, the Delawar, Cheſapeak Bay, and even Charles Town were alternately held to be its objects *. General Waſhington accordingly ſent off diſpatches, at different times, in purſuance of the intelligence which he continually received from New York and the neighbouring iſlands, to

* As the ſucceſs of the campaign was univerſally underſtood to depend upon the junction of the armies under Sir William Howe and General Burgoyne, both nature and reaſon ſeem to point out Hudſon's River as the means of effecting that junction. After it was formed, Waſhington might have been cruſhed, and both Boſton and Philadelphia reduced before the cloſe of the ſeaſon of action. If Sir William Howe, inſtead of waſting his time in the Jerſeys, had proceeded up Hudſon's River, immediately on receiving his camp equipage, he might have reached Albany as ſoon as general Burgoyne arrived at Ticonderoga. By ſuch a movement the force in the north would have been diſtracted and divided, and the diſaſter that followed entirely avoided.

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put thoſe places on their guard, againſt which he had reaſon to believe the ſtorm would be firſt directed. But the Britiſh commanders had one manifeſt advantage in proceeding by ſea; namely, that it was not poſſible for the provincial general to know exactly the deſtination of the armament: he muſt therefore keep his poſition, while the king's forces might make conſiderable progreſs towards their object, before he could be in a condition to reſiſt them; and ſuch progreſs would not leave him that choice of poſts, by which he had hitherto avoided a general action.

During the ceſſation procured by preparation on one ſide, and apprehenſion on the other, a ſpirited adventure on the quarter of Rhode Iſland, not only retaliated the ſurpriſe of general Lee, but ſeemed to procure an indemnity for his perſon. Colonel Barton, a provincial officer, with ſeveral other officers and volunteers, proceeded by night from Providence Plantation to Rhode Iſland; and though they had a long paſſage by water, they eluded the vigilance of the ſhips of war and guard-boats, which ſurrounded the iſland, and conducted their enterpriſe with ſuch ſilence, boldneſs, and dexterity, that they ſurpriſed general Prescot, who there commanded in chief, in his quarters, and brought him and his aid-de-camp, through all thoſe perils, ſafe to the continent. This little expedition produced much exultation among the rebels, and more regret in the royal army than it ſeemed to deſerve, from the influence which it muſt neceſſarily have on the fate of general Lee, as well as the means by which it was accompliſhed.

July 10.

The ſeaſon of action was now far advanced; but notwithſtanding the preparations which had been made for the intended embarkation, and the aſſiſtance afforded by the crews of near three hundred veſſels, the fleet and army were not ready to leave Sandy Hook before the twenty-third of July. In order more effectually to perplex and deceive the enemy, general Howe ordered ſome tranſports, with a ſhip cut down to act as a floating battery, to paſs up the North River, a little before the embarkation was completed; a feint which ſucceeded ſo far as to induce Waſhington to detach a conſiderable body of his army to croſs that river. The force that actually embarked in the grand expedition conſiſted of thirty-ſix Britiſh and Heſſian battalions, including the light infantry and grenadiers, with a powerful artillery; a New York corps called the Queen's Rangers, and a regiment of light-horſe. Seventeen battalions, with a regiment of light-horſe, and the remainder of the new Provincial corps, were left with general Clinton, for the protection of New York and the adjacent iſlands. Rhode Iſland was occupied by ſeven battalions: ſo much was the active force of the royal army diminiſhed, by the poſſeſſion, which it was nevertheleſs indiſpenſably neceſſary to hold, of thoſe important poſts!

The voyage was far from being favourable to the progreſs of the expedition. It was more than a week before the fleet could gain the Capes of Delaware. In conſequence of information received by the Britiſh commanders of the meaſures taken by the enemy for obſtructing the navigation of that river, it was judged impracticable; and the winds were ſo contrary, that it was paſt the middle of Auguſt when the armament entered Cheſapeak Bay, where it was now reſolved to land the forces. The winds fortunately proved fair in the Bay;

ſo

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ſo that the fleet ſoon ſafely gained the mouth of the river Elk, near its extremity. Having proceeded up the Elk, as far as it was capable of admitting the tranſports, the troops were diſembarked without any oppoſition at Elk Ferry, in a degree of health and ſpirits, which could ſcarcely have been expected, after ſo long and tireſome a confinement. Whilſt one part of the army advanced to the head of Elk, the other continued at the landing place, to protect and forward the artillery, ſtores, proviſions, and other neceſſaries. At the ſame time Sir William Howe, in order to quiet and conciliate the minds of the people in Penſylvania, the Delaware Counties, and the adjacent parts of Maryland, and to prevent a total deſertion of the country in the front of the royal army, publiſhed a declaration, promiſing that the ſtricteſt regularity ſhould be obſerved by the forces under his command, and the moſt perfect ſecurity and effectual protection afforded to all his majeſty's peacable and well diſpoſed ſubjects. The ſame ſecurity and protection was extended to ſuch perſons, who not having been guilty of aſſuming legiſlative or judicial authority, might otherwiſe have acted illegally in ſubordinate ſtations, provided they would immediately return to their habitations, and demean themſelves properly in future; and a free and general pardon was offered to all rebel officers and ſoldiers in arms, who ſhould immediately ſurrender themſelves to the royal army.

Meanwhile general Waſhington, with the Provincial army from the Jerſeys, had returned to the defence of Philadelphia; and upon advice of the deſcent at Elk Ferry, advanced to the Brandywine Creek or River, which croſſing the country about halfway to that city, falls into the Delaware. The rebel force, including the militia, amounted to about fifteen thouſand men; which was probably about the number, making the neceſſary allowance for poſts and communications, that the royal army could bring into the field *. As eight days elapſed before Sir William Howe was enabled to quit the head of Elk, and purſue his march towards Philadelphia, Waſhington had advanced during that interval from the Brandywine, and taken poſt on Red Clay Creek, whence he puſhed detachments forward to occupy difficult paſſes in the woods, and interrupt the march of the royal army. The Britiſh general, from prudence as well as his

* It muſt fill the diſcerning reader with ſurpriſe and aſtoniſhment, that the royal army, conſiſting of the beſt troops in the world, never met the raw and undiſciplined Provincials, from the beginning of the year 1776 to the end of the campaign of 1777, but with an equal, if not a ſuperior force, and yet no deciſive advantage was gained. Who was in fault?—The generals have refuſed to tell us. Every one ſenſible that he is liable to error and miſconduct, has declined to blame the conduct of his predeceſſor, or that of the commander in chief; and the reſult of their information ſeems to be, that America is unconquerable, and that the miniſtry are wrong in waſting the national treaſure in ſuch a fruitleſs attempt. But would it not have been more generous in thoſe gentlemen to have made this diſcovery before they had ate the bread of the nation ſo long? Surely the trifling ſum of an hundred pounds a-day could not influence men of liberal minds to betray their country. But if this is true, they have betrayed it. Even the ſanguine Burgoyne ſeems to have turned accuſer. Broken by misfortunes, he aſcribes his diſgrace to the miniſter who called him forth to action, in preference to a ſucceſsful commander, who furniſhed him with every inſtrument of deſtruction that human imagination can deviſe, as well as with the force that he deſired for the accompliſhment of his enterpriſe.

natural

CHAP. V. A. D. 1777. natural diſpoſition, was ſparing of his troops. This caution, however, could not prevent ſome ſkirmiſhes, in which the king's forces were always victorious; and after ſeveral movements on both ſides, the rebels retired beyond the Brandywine, where they took poſſeſſion of the heights, and covered the fords, with an evident intention of diſputing the paſſage of that river.

Sept. 11. While things were in this ſituation, the royal army advanced, at day-break, in two columns towards the enemy. The right, under the command of general Knyphauſen, marched directly to Chad's Ford, which lay in the centre of the enemy's line, where they expected and were prepared for the principal attack; their right and left covering other leſs practicable fords, for ſome miles on each hand. A heavy cannonade on both ſides began about ten o'clock, and was well ſupported during the day. Meantime the general, to amuſe and deceive the enemy, made repeated diſpoſitions for forcing the ford; the paſſage of the river at that place, ſeeming to be his immediate and determined object. In order to impede or fruſtrate this deſign, they had paſſed ſeveral detachments to the other ſide; which, after a courſe of ſkirmiſhes, ſometimes advancing, and at others obliged to retire, were at length finally, and with eager purſuit, driven over the river. Thus the noiſe and ſemblance of battle was preſerved, and the expectation of the Provincials kept continually alive to the moſt immediate and deciſive conſequences, as they ſuppoſed the whole royal force was in their front, while lord Cornwallis, at the head of the ſecond column, took a long circuitous march to the left; croſſed the Forks of the Brandywine, about two o'clock in the afternoon, without oppoſition or difficulty, at Jeffery's Ford, where the diviſion of the river rendered it of courſe more practicable, and then turning ſhort down the river, took the road to Dilworth, in order to fall upon the enemy's right wing.

General Waſhington having however, about noon, received intelligence of this movement, endeavoured to provide againſt it as well as his circumſtances would admit, by detaching general Sullivan with all the force he could venture to withdraw from the main body, to oppoſe lord Cornwallis. That officer ſhewed a conſiderable ſhare of judgment in the execution of his inſtructions. He took a very ſtrong poſition on the commanding grounds above Birmingham church, with his left extending towards the Brandywine: his artillery was advantageouſly diſpoſed, and both flanks were covered with thick woods. As this poſition obliged lord Cornwallis to form a line of battle, it was almoſt four o'clock before the action began. Then, as on all former occaſions, the ſuperiority of diſciplined valour was ſoon conſpicuous. Neither the maſterly diſpoſition of the enemy, the advantages of ſituation, nor a heavy and well ſupported fire of ſmall arms and artillery, were at all ſufficient to reſtrain the impetuous, yet ſteady courage, of the Britiſh and Heſſian troops. The light infantry, chaſſeurs, grenadiers, and guards, bearing down all obſtacles, and ruſhing through all dangers, drove the enemy from their poſts, in ſpite of their moſt vigorous efforts, and purſued them, without once allowing them to breathe, into the woods on their rear. Several of thoſe corps that were firſt engaged, got indeed

ſo deeply entangled in the woods through the eagerneſs of purſuit, that they were not able to rejoin the army before night. In the meantime, as the main and collected body continued advancing, it came upon a party of the enemy which had not yet been engaged, and which had taken poſſeſſion of a ſtrong poſt, to cover the retreat of the defeated wing of their army. Here a warm action enſued; and as it was dark before the poſt could be forced, this obſtruction, together with the uncertainty of ground, and of general Knyphauſen's ſituation, prevented lord Cornwallis from purſuing his advantage farther.

The Heſſian general, after ſucceſsfully amuſing the enemy during the whole day with the apprehenſion of an attack which he did not intend, made his paſſage good in the evening, when he found that they were deeply engaged on the right. He carried the entrenchment, and took the battery and cannon, which defended and covered Chad's Ford. At this inſtant the approach of ſome of the Britiſh troops, who had been entangled in, and had penetrated through the woods, threw the Provincials into ſuch conſternation, that an immediate retreat, or rather flight, took place in all quarters; but the lateneſs of the evening, or ſome other circumſtance with which we are unacquainted, prevented a purſuit here, as in the former inſtance, otherwiſe the force of the Americans would have been finally broken. Their loſs, as things happened, was very conſiderable; three hundred men, according to computation, being killed on the ſpot, ſix hundred wounded, and four hundred taken priſoners. The loſs in the royal army was, on the whole, ſmall below proportion, the ſlain not amounting to one hundred; but the officers ſuffered ſeverely, though no one of higher rank than a captain was killed.

Notwithſtanding this victory, and the precipitate flight of the rebels, the royal army proceeded with caution and circumſpection, which did not ſeem altogether unneceſſary; for the enemy were not diſheartened, and Waſhington exerted himſelf with uncommon ability, to repair a defeat which it was not in his power to prevent. The body of the royal army was poſted in the neighbourhood of Concord and Aſhetown, whilſt a detachment was ſent to ſeize on Wilmington, which was made a receptacle for the ſick and wounded. On a movement towards Goſhen, general Howe received intelligence, that the rebel army had quitted Philadelphia, and was advanced upon the Lancaſter road, a few miles above that place. On this advice, he took ſuch effectual meaſures, it is ſaid, for bringing them to an immediate engagement, that nothing but the event which followed, or ſomething of a ſimilar nature, could have fruſtrated his deſign. An exceſſive fall of rain, which continued for four and twenty hours, rendered both parties totally incapable of action. But though a general engagement was prevented by this accident and the addreſs of Waſhington, very eſſential ſervice was performed by a detachment under major-general Grey, in conſequence of information that general Wayne, with fifteen hundred Provincials, was lying in the woods, to watch an opportunity of harraſſing the rear of the royal army. General Grey, with two regiments and a body of light infantry, ſurpriſed and forced the enemy's outpoſts, about one in the morning; and guided by the light of their fires, ruſhed in

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in upon the encampment, where a ſevere and ſilent execution by the bayonet took place, not a ſhot being fired. Three hundred Americans were killed or wounded, and a great number of priſoners taken, beſides baggage, arms, and ſtores.

Sept. 26.

There being nothing now to oppoſe his progreſs, general Howe paſſed the Schuylkill, and advanced to German Town; and lord Cornwallis next morning took poſſeſſion of the rich and flouriſhing city of Philadelphia, lately the ſeat of the general Congreſs, and the fountain of the rebel power. A number of the quakers, and ſome others of the principal inhabitants, who had juſtly been conſidered as ſtrongly attached to the royal cauſe, and violently inimical to the preſent ruling powers, had been taken into cuſtody on the immediate danger of an invaſion. Theſe gentlemen poſitively refuſed to acknowledge the government of the Congreſs: they even refuſed to confine themſelves to their reſpective dwelling-houſes; and boldly appealing to the laws for redreſs and ſecurity to their perſons, ſtrongly reproached thoſe, who under pretence of aſſerting and protecting the liberties of the ſubject, had involved the whole continent in ſlavery, contention, and civil war. For this unconquerable loyalty, they were all ſent off to Staunton, in Virginia, on the approach of the royal army to Philadelphia.

As ſoon as lord Howe received intelligence of the ſucceſs at the Brandywine, and the progreſs of the king's forces towards the capital of Penſylvania, he took the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures for conducting the fleet and tranſports round to the Delaware; not only to be at hand, in order to concur in the active operations of the campaign, but to ſupply the army with thoſe proviſions, ſtores, and neceſſaries which he knew muſt ſoon be wanted. He accompliſhed the voyage without much loſs, notwithſtanding the prodigious number of ſhips, of different kinds, which he had to conduct; but as the paſſage to Philadelphia was yet impracticable, the fleet drew up and anchored along the Weſtern or Penſylvania ſhore, from Reedy Iſland to Newcaſtle. Some introductory particulars will here be neceſſary.

When the Britiſh troops had taken poſſeſſion of Philadelphia, their firſt object was the erecting of batteries to command the river, as well to prevent the intercourſe of the American veſſels between their upper and lower ports, as to ſecure the city from any inſult by water. The neceſſity of this meaſure ſoon became obvious. The very day after the arrival of the forces, an American frigate named the Delaware, mounting thirty-two guns, anchored within five hundred yards of the unfiniſhed batteries; and being ſeconded by another frigate, with ſome ſmaller veſſels, they commenced and ſupported for ſome hours a very heavy cannonade both upon the batteries and the town. They did not, however, diſplay that judgment which their knowledge of the river might be ſuppoſed to afford. On the fall of the tide the Delaware grounded ſo effectually that ſhe could not be got off: ſhe was therefore obliged to ſtrike her colours; and the other veſſels were compelled to retire with the loſs of a ſchooner, which was driven on ſhore.

But much was yet to be done, before the paſſage of the Delaware up to Philadelphia could be rendered practicable, or the enemy expelled from the great and

and numerous works, which they had conſtructed with wonderful labour and induſtry. Their chief fortification was on a low marſhy iſland, or rather a bank of mud and ſand, which had been accumulated in the Delaware near the junction of the Schuylkill, which from its nature was denominated Mud Iſland. On the oppoſite ſhore of New Jerſey, at a place called Red Bank, they had alſo conſtructed a fort or redoubt, well covered with heavy artillery. In the deep navigable channel between, or under the cover of theſe batteries, they had ſunk ſeveral ranges of frames or machines, to which from a reſemblance in the conſtruction, they gave the name of *chevaux de frize*. They were compoſed of traverſe beams, firmly united, pointing in various directions, and ſtrongly headed with iron; and they were of ſuch weight and ſtrength, and ſunk in ſuch depth of water, as rendered them equally difficult to be weighed or cut through, and deſtructive to any ſhip which had the misfortune of ſtriking againſt them: nor could any attempt for raiſing them, or opening the channel of the river be made, until the command of the ſhores on each ſide was fully obtained.

About three miles lower down the river, the Provincials had ſunk another range of thoſe machines, and were conſtructing for their protection ſome ſtrong and extenſive works; which, though not yet finiſhed, were in ſuch forwardneſs as to be provided with artillery, and to command their object, at a place on the Jerſey ſide called Billing's Point. Theſe works and machines were farther ſupported by ſeveral gallies mounting heavy cannon, together with two floating batteries, a number of armed veſſels of different ſizes, and ſome fire ſhips. On the repreſentation of captain Hammond, who had been ſent to examine the river, general Howe detached two regiments, conſiſting of three battalions, under colonel Stirling, to diſlodge the enemy from Billing's Point. This ſervice was performed without loſs or oppoſition; the rebels on hearing of the approach of the troops, having ſpiked their cannon, ſet fire to the barracks, and abandoned the place with the greateſt precipitation:—and captain Hammond, by firmneſs and perſeverance, in ſpite of a vigorous oppoſition from the marine force of the enemy, was enabled to carry the principal object of the enterpriſe into effect, by cutting away and weighing up, with incredible difficulty, ſo much of the chevaux-de-frize, as opened a narrow paſſage for ſhips through this lower barrier.

On the return of the troops from Billing's Point, another regiment was ſent to meet them at Cheſter, in order that they might altogether form a ſufficient eſcort for a large convoy of proviſions to the camp. The main army ſtill lay at German Town, a very long and conſiderable village about ſix miles from Philadelphia, and lord Cornwallis occupied that city with four battalions of grenadiers. The rebels were encamped at Skippack Creek, about ſixteen miles from German Town: they had received ſome reinforcements; and they were not ignorant that the royal army was weakened, by the detachments it had made to Philadelphia and Cheſter. Theſe circumſtances encouraged an enterpriſe little expected, and ſeemingly as little ſuited to the general caution and ſuppoſed diſpoſition of Waſhington. The Provincial army, inſtead of ſhunning, as uſual, every thing that might lead to an action, quitted its ſtrong poſt at Skippack Creek at ſix in the

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the evening, and marched all night to ſurpriſe and attack the royal army in its camp at German Town.

About three o'clock in the morning, the approach of the enemy was diſcovered by the patroles, and the troops were immediately called to arms. The rebels began their attack upon the fortieth regiment, and a battalion of light infantry, which were poſted at the head of the village. Theſe corps being over powered by numbers, after a vigorous reſiſtance, were obliged to give way. In this exigency, a meaſure upon which the fortune of the day perhaps depended, was inſtantly and happily adopted by lieutenant-colonel Muſgrave; who, with ſix companies of the fortieth regiment, threw himſelf into a ſtrong ſtone houſe, which lay full in the front of the enemy. By this meaſure they were checked in their forward hope of gaining complete and immediate poſſeſſion of the village; which among other obvious advantages, would have enabled them effectually to ſeparate the right and left wings of the royal army, as the line of encampment croſſed German Town at right angles about the centre. The colonel and his brave party, though ſurrounded by a whole brigade, and attacked on every ſide with great impetuoſity, defended the houſe with the moſt unſhaken courage; and though the enemy at length brought cannon up to the aſſault, he ſtill maintained his poſt with the ſame intrepid reſolution, pouring a dreadful and unceaſing fire through the windows, until affairs had taken ſuch a turn as afforded him relief.

That change was accompliſhed by major-general Grey; who bringing the front of a conſiderable part of the left wing by a timely movement to the village, led on three battalions of the third brigade, and attacked the enemy with great vigour: and he was as bravely ſupported and ſeconded, by brigadier general Agnew, at the head of the fourth brigade. The engagement was now for ſome time very warm; but the enemy being attacked on the oppoſite ſide of the village by two regiments of the right wing, were thrown into total diſorder, and driven out of the place with conſiderable ſlaughter. Meanwhile the light infantry, and piquets of the right wing, ſupported by the fourth, and ſeconded by the forty-ninth regiment, were cloſely engaged with the enemy's left. General Grey, however, after breaking their force in the village fortunately paſſed it, and was bringing forward the left wing, when all execution was prevented by flight. The rebels now fled on all ſides, and were purſued for ſome miles; but the country being woody and ſtony, the purſuit was attended with ſo little effect, that they carried their cannon clear off.

The loſs of the royal army in this action, including the wounded and a few priſoners, rather exceeded that at the Brandywine, the whole amounting to five hundred and thirty-five; but the proportion of ſlain was ſtill ſmaller than in the former engagement, and did not exceed ſeventy. Among the laſt number, however, were unhappily ſome very brave and diſtinguiſhed officers, particularly brigadier-general Agnew, and lieutenant-colonel Bird. The number of officers wounded was conſiderable. The loſs of the Provincials was eſtimated by general Howe, in his diſpatches *, at between two and three hundred ſlain, ſix hun-

* The Provincials never publiſhed any account of their loſs at the Brandywine or German Town.

dred wounded, and above four hundred priſoners. Among the ſlain was general Naſh, with ſeveral other officers of all ranks, and fifty-four officers were taken priſoners.

Various have been the reaſonings on this battle: the following reflections, however, naturally preſent themſelves. The Americans here, and here only, acted on the offenſive; their force was ſuperior to that of the royal army; if they had not all, they had ſtill many of the advantages of ſurpriſe: they were repulſed and routed, though led by their moſt able commander. The obvious concluſion therefore is, That a fair action, or what appears to be the ſame thing, a victory purſued, would at any time, during this or the former campaign, have terminated in the utter diſperſion of the rebels. The difficulty of bringing them to a fair action, in ſuch a country as North America muſt however be admitted, and the danger of purſuing an advantage, as well as the impracticability, in many inſtances, of improving it in that country, is acknowledged by all military men who have ſerved in the preſent war.

In conſequence of theſe peculiar circumſtances, and partly perhaps through a want of enterpriſe in the Britiſh commander, the rebel army, though repeatedly defeated, ſtill kept the field. It was even evident, that until the Delaware could be cleared, the royal army could not ſupport itſelf in Philadelphia during the winter; and therefore, as the whole fruits of the campaign depended upon that operation, about a fortnight after the battle, the king's troops removed from German Town to the capital, as being a more convenient ſituation for the reduction of Mud Iſland, as well as for co-operating with the naval force in opening the navigation of the river. To relate particularly all the ſteps taken by the admiral and general for that purpoſe, would be equally tedious and unintereſting: it will therefore be ſufficient to obſerve, that a ſtrong body of the Heſſians under colonel Donop, were repulſed in attempting to force the redoubt at Red Bank, and that the ſhips failed in an attack upon Mud Iſland, as they could not bring their fire to bear with ſufficient effect upon the works, by reaſon of the obſtructions in the channel. The brave colonel Donop was mortally wounded and taken priſoner; ſeveral of his beſt officers were killed or diſabled, and the loſs of the Heſſians in private men was very conſiderable. The Auguſta frigate and Merlin ſloop of war were deſtroyed, in conſequence of their being grounded: the firſt took fire in the engagement, and the latter was blown up, in order to prevent her from falling into the hands of the enemy.

The ill ſucceſs of this enterpriſe did not, however, damp the reſolution of the commanders, in the proſecution of the abſolutely neceſſary undertaking of opening the navigation of the Delaware. New meaſures were adopted, and every preparation made that could inſure ſucceſs to the deſign. Nor were the enemy idle on their ſide: they well underſtood the great importance of keeping the naval forces ſeparated from the army, and of rendering the communication between them tedious and difficult. They accordingly left nothing undone to ſtrengthen their defences: but the officers and ſailors of the fleet being continually employed in conveying heavy artillery, proviſions, and ſtores up the river, by

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a narrow channel on the weſt ſide, to a ſmall moraſſy iſland, where they erected batteries, which greatly incommoded the enemy's works on Mud Iſland; and the Iris and Somerſet men of war, having paſſed up the eaſt channel, ſuch a vigorous attack was made upon that place by the ſhips in front, and by two armed veſſels and the batteries in other quarters, that the rebel artillery was ſoon ſilenced, and the fortifications were abandoned in the night. The enemy's works at Red Bank were alſo abandoned on the approach of lord Cornwallis, with a powerful detachment; and their ſhipping having now left all protection on either ſide of the river, was all deſtroyed, except a few veſſels, which took the advantage of a foggy night to paſs the batteries at Philadelphia, and eſcape to places of ſecurity farther up.

But though the Delaware was now ſo far opened as to admit the paſſage of tranſports, and ſhips of moderate burden, with proviſions and neceſſaries, for the uſe of the army at Philadelphia, the ſeaſon of the year, and other impediments, made the perfect clearing of the river impracticable. Meanwhile Waſhington, being reinforced with four thouſand men from the northern army, advanced within fourteen miles of that capital, to a place called White Marſh, where he encamped in a very ſtrong poſition. As this movement ſeemed to indicate a deſign to hazard a new engagement, general Howe marched the royal army from Philadelphia on the fourth of December at night, and took poſt next morning on Cheſnut Hill, in front of the enemy's right wing. Finding that this quarter afforded no opening for an attack, he took a new poſition oppoſite to their centre and left. Here he was no more ſucceſsful; and therefore, after continuing three days conſtantly in their ſight, and finding their camp as impracticable, as his attempts to induce them to leave it were ineffectual, he returned to Philadelphia without being purſued or incommoded. To fight when attacked or oppoſed, and to oblige an enemy to fight, when they are not inclined to it, or only on their own terms, require very different degrees of talents.

Dec. 5.

Dec. 8.

As the ſeaſon was now too far advanced to admit of any other attention on our part, except what related to the accommodation of the army, a grand detachment was ſent out to procure forage for the winter. This expedition was ſucceſsfully performed, and with it the campaign upon the Delaware may be ſaid to have been cloſed; a campaign which affords room for the moſt ſerious reflections. The Britiſh arms were, in every action, crowned with ſucceſs; two very conſiderable victories were obtained; and in every attempt, except the firſt attack on Red Bank, they equally triumphed: yet with all this tide of ſucceſs, the only fruit of Sir William Howe's victories, was a good winter lodging for himſelf and his army in Philadelphia. What was ſtill more diſcouraging, general Waſhington had given repeated proofs, that though he might engage the royal army, when he thought it to be his advantage, it was beyond the power of the Britiſh commander to bring him to action againſt his will. Theſe conſiderations gave occaſion to much uneaſineſs in England, where the news of the firſt ſucceſſes had cauſed the greateſt exultation; and that uneaſineſs was heightened into the deepeſt melancholy, and moſt poignant affliction, when the mortifying

intelligence, long in compaſſion with-held, was received of the final miſcarriage of the northern expedition, and the utter ruin of the army under general Burgoyne.

We have already had occaſion to obſerve, that the noble lord at the head of the American department had founded the moſt ſanguine hopes on the ſucceſs of the northern expedition. Accordingly nothing was left undone, on his ſide, that could give efficacy to the operations of the number of regular troops which could be ſpared for that ſervice. Beſides Canada, it was expected, would ſupply a warlike though undiſciplined militia, well calculated for, and acquainted both with the nature of the ſervice and the country; nor were means neglected to bring ſeveral nations of ſavages into the field. In order to ſtrengthen this irregular but neceſſary aid, arms and accoutrements were amply provided; and general Carleton, though juſtly diſguſted, that an expedition within his government, ſhould be committed to an officer, in an independent capacity, who had lately acted under his direction, omitted nothing in his power to forward the preparations *. The regular force conſiſted of four thouſand Britiſh, and three thouſand German troops, exclusive of the artillery corps. A powerful artillery may indeed be conſidered as the great and effective arm in an American war, where a numerous and undiſciplined enemy is to be continually attacked in different poſts, and driven out of woods and faſtneſſes: that part of the ſervice was therefore particularly attended to by the miniſtry; and the braſs train that was ſent out upon this expedition, was perhaps the fineſt, and probably the moſt excellently ſupplied with officers and private men, that had been allotted to ſecond the operations of any army, which did not far exceed the preſent in numbers. The number of Indians and Canadians in actual ſervice is not diſtinctly known, but may be computed at full three thouſand; namely, two thouſand of the latter, and one thouſand of the former.

General Burgoyne was ſeconded in this expedition by able and experienced officers. Of theſe major general Philips of the artillery, who had gained ſuch diſtinguiſhed reputation during the late war in Germany deſerves to be particularly mentioned. He was alſo aſſiſted by the brigadier-generals Frazer, Powel, and Hamilton, all eminent officers; by the Brunſwick major general, baron Reideſel, and brigadier-general Speecht. The army was, in every reſpect, in the beſt condition that could poſſibly be expected or wiſhed; the troops being in high ſpirits, admirably diſciplined, and uncommonly healthy. Beſides the principal expedition, a detachment of ſeven or eight hundred men under colonel St. Leger, proceeded by the way of Oſwego to the Mohawk River, in order to co-operate with the main army. This detachment was joined by a ſtrong body of

* That general Carleton was diſguſted, ſufficiently appeared from the complaints of his friends in England, as well as from the immediate reſignation of his government. He was not even conſulted, it is ſaid, as to the number or nature of the troops that were to remain in his hands for the defence or ſecurity of Canada; and he had the mortification to ſee the army which he had lately commanded, and twice led to victory, placed under the direction of officers then obedient to his controul, and this when he expected to lead it to ſtill greater ſucceſs.

ſavages.

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ſavages. The regular forces left in Canada, after the departure of theſe two armaments, amounted to about three thouſand ſeven hundred men, including under this deſcription the Highland emigrants.

The principal army being at length arrived, and encamped near the river Boquet, on the weſt ſide of Lake Champlain, and at no great diſtance to the northward of Crown Point, general Burgoyne there met the Indians in congreſs; and afterwards, in compliance with the cuſtom of thoſe ſavages, gave them a war feaſt.

June 21. The ſpeech which he made to them on this occaſion has been publiſhed: it was calculated to excite their ardour in the common cauſe, and at the ſame time to repreſs their barbarity. They were told, that they ſhould only kill thoſe who were oppoſed to them in arms; that old men, women, children, and priſoners, ſhould be held ſacred from the knife or hatchet, even in the heat of actual conflict; that they ſhould only ſcalp thoſe whom they had ſlain in fair oppoſition; that under no pretence or colour of provocation ſhould they ſcalp the wounded, or even the dying, much leſs kill perſons in that condition, by way of evading the injunction. They were promiſed a compenſation for priſoners, and informed that they ſhould be called to account for ſcalps; but though theſe injunctions did in ſome meaſure mitigate, they were not of force wholly to reſtrain their ferocity, of which ſome unhappy inſtances afterwards appeared.

General Burgoyne ſoon after diſperſed a manifeſto, calculated to ſpread terror among the contumacious, and particularly to raiſe in their minds every latent impreſſion of fear, derived from the knowledge or information of the cruel operations of the ſavages, whoſe numbers were accordingly magnified, and their eagerneſs to be let looſe upon their prey deſcribed with uncommon energy. The force of that great power, which was now ſpread by ſea and land, to embrace or to cruſh every part of North America, was diſplayed in full, lofty, and expreſſive language; the rebellion with its effects, and the conduct of the preſent ſeditious leaders, were charged with the higheſt colouring, and exhibited a moſt hidious picture of unparalleled injuſtice, cruelty, perſecution, and tyranny; encouragement and employment were aſſured to thoſe, who with a diſpoſition and ability ſuited to the purpoſe, ſhould actually aſſiſt in redeeming their countrymen from ſlavery, and in the re eſtabliſhment of legal government; protection and ſecurity were held out to the peacable and induſtrious, who ſhould continue in their habitations; and all the calamities and outrages of war, arrayed in their moſt terrific forms, were denounced againſt thoſe who ſhould perſevere in their hoſtility.

The army having made a ſhort ſtay at Crown Point, for the eſtabliſhment of magazines, an hoſpital, and other neceſſary ſervices, proceeded in concert with the naval armament, to inveſt Ticonderoga, which was the firſt object of their enterpriſe. This fort, as we have already had occaſion to obſerve, lies on the weſtern ſhore, and only a few miles to the northward of the commencement of that narrow inlet, by which the water from Lake George is conveyed to Lake Champlain, and is ſeated on an angle of land, three ſides of which are ſurrounded by water covered with rocks. Great part of the fourth ſide is protected by a deep moraſs; and where that fails, on

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the north-weſt quarter, the old French lines ſtill continued as a defence. Theſe lines the Provincials had ſtrengthened with additional works and a block houſe. They had other poſts with works, on the left, towards Lake George; and to the right of the French lines, they had two new block houſes, with other works. On the eaſtern ſhore of the inlet, and oppoſite to Ticonderoga, they had taken ſtill more pains in fortifying an high circular hill, to which they gave the name of Mount Independence. On the ſummit of this hill they had erected a ſtar fort encloſing a large ſquare of barracks, well fortified and ſupplied with artillery. The foot of the mountain, which on the weſt ſide projected into the water, was ſtrongly entrenched to its edge, and the entrenchment well lined with heavy artillery: a battery about half way up the mount, ſuſtained and covered theſe lower works; and the Americans with their uſual induſtry, had joined thoſe two poſts by a bridge of communication thrown over the inlet. This bridge was ſupported by twenty-two ſunken piers of very large timber, placed at nearly equal diſtances. The ſpaces between theſe were filled with ſeparate floats, each about fifty feet long, and twelve wide, ſtrongly faſtened together with chains and rivets, and fixed in the ſame manner to the ſunken pillars. On the Lake Champlain ſide, the bridge was defended by a boom compoſed of very large pieces of timber, faſtened together by rivetted bolts and double chains, made of iron an inch and half ſquare. Thus not only a communication was maintained between theſe two poſts, but all acceſs by water from the northern ſide was totally cut off.

But notwithſtanding the apparent ſtrength of Ticonderoga, it was entirely overlooked, and its works effectually commanded, by a mountain called Sugar Hill. This circumſtance occaſioned a conſultation among the rebel officers, in regard to the fortifying of that eminence; but their works were already too extenſive for their powers of defence, and would have required, to man them completely, ten or twelve, whereas they had only between five and ſix thouſand men. Beſides, it was hoped, that the difficulty of aſcending Sugar Hill, and the ſavage inequality of its ſurface, would prevent the king's forces from attempting to profit by its elevation. Meantime the royal army approached to the object of its deſtination with equal caution and order, on both ſides of the Lake, the naval force keeping its ſtation in the centre. The frigates and gun boats caſt anchor, juſt out of cannon ſhot from the enemy's works; and on the approach of the right wing on the Ticonderoga ſide, the rebels immediately abandoned and ſet fire to their works, block-houſes, and ſaw mills, towards Lake George, and permitted major-general Phillips to take poſſeſſion of the very important poſt of Mount Hope; which beſides commanding their lines in a great and dangerous degree, totally cut off their communication with that lake. July 2.

This unexpected advantage being gained, the royal army proceeded with ſuch expedition in the conſtruction of its works, the bringing up of artillery, ſtores, and proviſions, and the eſtabliſhment of its poſts and communications, that matters were ſo far advanced in a few days, as to require little more time for completely inveſting the Provincial poſts on both ſides of the lake. Sugar Hill was alſo examined; and the advantages it preſented were found to be ſo im-

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portant, that conſiderable progreſs was made in cutting a road to its top, through very rough ground, and conſtructing a level there for a battery, when a haſty council of war held in the fort, by the rebel officers, rendered any farther preparations for a ſiege unneceſſary. In that council it was repreſented, that their whole effective numbers were not ſufficient to man one half of the works; and that as the Britiſh batteries were ready to open, and the place would be inveſted on all ſides within twenty-four hours, nothing could ſave the troops but an immediate evacuation of the fortifications. This determination was unanimouſly agreed to by the council, and the place was accordingly evacuated that night.

The baggage of the rebel army, with ſuch artillery, ſtores, and proviſions, as the neceſſity of the occaſion would permit, were embarked with a ſtrong detachment on board of above two hundred bateaux, and diſpatched under convoy of five armed gallies, on the South River, (or what nearer its ſource is called Wood Creek) in their way to Skeneſborough. The principal army took its route by the way of Caſtletown, with a view of reaching the ſame place by land. But they were not ſuffered to proceed unmoleſted. No ſooner did the firſt light of

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the morning diſcover the flight of the enemy, than their main body was eagerly purſued by general Frazer, at the head of his brigade; conſiſting of the light troops, grenadiers, and ſome other corps. Major-general Reideſel was alſo ordered to join in the purſuit by land, with the greater part of the Brunſwick troops, either to ſupport general Frazer, or to act ſeparately as circumſtances ſhould direct. The provincials left a prodigious artillery behind them, amounting to upwards of an hundred pieces of cannon. They likewiſe left ſome military ſtores of different ſorts, and no inconſiderable ſtock of proviſions, at Ticonderoga.

General Burgoyne conducted the purſuit by water in perſon; and that bridge and thoſe works which the Americans had laboured hard for ten months to render impenetrable, were cut through in leſs time by the Britiſh ſeamen and artificers, than it would have taken them to examine their ſtructure. In a word, they did their buſineſs with ſuch incredible ſpeed and effect, that not only the gun-boats, but the Royal George and Inflexible frigates, had paſſed through the bridge by nine o'clock in the morning. Several regiments embarked on board the veſſels, and the purſuit up the river was ſupported with ſuch vigour, that by three o'clock in the afternoon, the foremoſt diviſion of the gun-boats was cloſely engaged with the Provincial gallies near Skeneſborough Falls. Meanwhile three regiments that had been landed at South Bay, aſcended and paſſed a mountain with great expedition, in order to attack the enemy's works at the Falls, and thereby cut off their retreat. But their ſpeedy flight prevented the execution of that deſign; and on the approach of the frigates, the gallies, which were already over-powered by the gun boats, became an eaſy prey. Two of them were taken, and three blown up. Now loſing all ſpirit, and giving way entirely to deſpair, the rebels ſet fire to their works, ſtockaded fort, mills, and bateaux, after which they eſcaped as well as they could up the Wood Creek. This ſtroke ſeemed to complete the ruin of the detachment, as the fugitives were

were left naked in the woods, without proviſions, or any other means of defence except what they derived from the arms in their hands.

Confuſion and diſmay equally attended the main body of the Provincials, who retreated by land. General Frazer continued and ſupported the chace throughout the vehement heat of a burning day, with his uſual activity and vigour; and having received intelligence that the enemy's rear, commanded by colonel Francis, one of their beſt and braveſt officers, was at no great diſtance, his troops lay that night on their arms. About five o'clock next morning he July 7. came up with the rebels, whom he found ſtrongly poſted, with great advantage of ground, and a ſtill greater ſuperiority in point of numbers. He did not, however, heſitate to begin the attack, as he hoped ſoon to be joined by general Reideſel, and was apprehenſive that the enemy might eſcape, if he delayed. But Frazer's brigade was not ſupported ſo ſoon as he had reaſon to expect: the Provincials, encouraged by the advantages they poſſeſſed, made a vigorous defence; and though the light infantry and grenadiers gave ſeveral diſtinguiſhed proofs of their valour and addreſs, the diſpute remained undecided when the Germans arrived, and put an end to the ſtruggle. The enemy now fled on all ſides, leaving their brave commander with many other officers, and above two hundred men dead on the field. About the ſame number, beſides a colonel, ſeven captains, and ten ſubalterns, were taken priſoners. Above ſix hundred are ſuppoſed to have been wounded, many of whom periſhed miſerably in the woods. The principal loſs on the ſide of the royal army was that of major Grant, a gallant officer, who was killed.

On receiving an account of this diſaſter, and of the more fatal ſtroke at Skeneſborough, St. Clair, who had commanded in Ticonderoga, and was now with the van of the Provincial army at Caſtletown, about ſix miles farther on, ſtruck into the woods on his left. He was apprehenſive of being intercepted at Fort Anne, and perhaps doubtful whither he ſhould direct his courſe. Meantime colonel Hill was diſpatched with the ninth regiment from Skeneſborough towards Fort Anne, in order to intercept the fugitives that fled along the Wood Creek; whilſt another party of the army was employed in carrying bateaux over the Falls, in order to faciliate their movement to diſlodge the enemy from that poſt. In this expedition the colonel was attacked by a body of the rebels conſiſting, as he conjectured, of ſix times the number of his detachment. After finding all their efforts in front ineffectual, to force the judicious poſition he had taken, they attempted to ſurround the regiment. This alarming attempt put him under the neceſſity of changing his ground in the heat of action. Nothing leſs than the moſt perfect diſcipline, ſupported by the cooleſt intrepidity, could have enabled the regiment to execute ſo critical a movement in the face of the enemy in ſuch circumſtances: it was however performed, with ſuch ſteadineſs and effect, that the rebels, after an attack of three hours, were totally repulſed, and with ſuch loſs, that having ſet fire to Fort Anne, they fled with the utmoſt precipitation towards Fort Edward, on Hudſon's River. The loſs of the royal army in all this ſervice, and in ſo many different engagements, ſome of which were

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were warm, was very ſmall; the whole in killed and wounded, ſcarce exceeding two hundred men.

Such was the rapid torrent of ſucceſs, which, for a time, ſwept away every thing before the northern army in its progreſs. It is therefore little to be wondered at, if both officers and private men were highly elated with their good fortune, and deemed their proweſs to be irreſiſtible: if they regarded their enemy with contempt, conſidered their toils to be nearly at an end, and Albany already in their power; if the reduction of the northern provinces appeared to them rather a work of time, by reaſon of the extent of the country, which could not be traverſed in a day, than an arduous taſk full of difficulty and danger. Nor was this opinion confined to America. The joy and exultation of the court party in England was extreme. All the contemptuous and degrading charges which had been brought againſt the Provincials as wanting the reſolution and abilities of men, even in the defence of whatever was moſt dear to them, were now confidently repeated and believed. Nay, thoſe who had moſt zealouſly aſſerted the cauſe of the colonies, could not help feeling on this occaſion, that the Americans ſunk not a little in their eſtimation. An opinion became general, that the war in effect was over; and that, after the loſs of thoſe great keys of North America, Ticonderoga and the Lakes, all further reſiſtance would prove in vain, and could only ſerve to render more ſevere the terms to be impoſed upon the rebels.

General Burgoyne, whoſe hopes of future ſucceſs were ſanguine in proportion to the ardour of his zeal to command it, continued for ſome days with the troops at Skeneſborough, where they were under the neceſſity of waiting for the arrival of their tents, baggage, and proviſions. In the meantime no labour was ſpared in opening roads by the way of Fort Anne, for advancing againſt the enemy. Equal induſtry was uſed in clearing the Wood Creek from the obſtacles of fallen trees, ſunken ſtones, and other impediments (which had been laid in the way by the enemy) in order to open a paſſage for bateaux, for the conveyance of artillery, ſtores, proviſions, and camp-equipage. Nor was leſs diligence uſed at Ticonderoga, in the carrying of gun-boats, proviſion-veſſels, and bateaux, over land into Lake George. Theſe were all laborious works; but the ſpirit of the army was, at that time, ſuperior to danger or toil.

The Provincials, on their part, were not idle. General Schuyler was at Fort Edward, where he was endeavouring to collect the militia. He had been joined by St. Clair, with the wretched remains of his army. This officer had taken a round about march of ſeven days through the woods; in which from the exceeding badneſs of the weather, with the want of covering, proviſions, and all manner of neceſſaries, the troops under his command had ſuffered the moſt extreme miſery. Many others of the fugitives had alſo arrived; but ſo totally broken down, that they were nearly as deſtitute of arms, ammunition, and all the materials of war, as they were of vigour, hope, and ſpirit, to uſe them with effect. They had leiſure, however, to repair the one, and to recruit the other, before either was again called into exerciſe.

Although

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Although the direct diſtance from Fort Anne, where the bateaux navigation on Wood Creek terminates, or even from Skeneſborough to Fort Edward, is only between twenty and thirty miles, yet ſuch is the ſavage face and impracticable nature of the country, that the march of the king's forces thither was a work of much labour and time. It will ſcarcely be credited in after ages, and may well now find difficulty in obtaining belief in any other part of the world, except in England and her unhappy colonies, that it coſt an active and vigorous army, without any enemy to oppoſe its progreſs, nearly as many days in paſſing from one part of a country to another, as the diſtance in a ſtraight line would have meaſured miles!—yet ſuch, however extraordinary, is the fact, which certainly has no parallel in hiſtory ſacred or profane, ſince the wanderings of the Iſraelites in the deſert. But what is ſtill more extraordinary, the road from Ticonderoga to Fort Edward, and even to Albany, is almoſt as well known as that from London to York.

The unraveling of this myſtery, however, is very ſimple. By returning down the South River to Ticonderoga, after the defeat of the rebels, general Burgoyne might again have embarked his army on Lake George, and proceeded to the fort of the ſame name, at the head of the lake, from which there is a waggon road to Fort Edward. But he was afraid that a retrograde motion in the height of victory, would tend to abate that panic by which the enemy were confounded and overwhelmed; and that it would even cool the ardour, and check the animation of the troops, to call them off from the proſecution of their ſucceſs to a cold and ſpiritleſs voyage. Theſe arguments are not without their force; though, on a cloſe examination, it will be found, that they owed their influence, as well as their exiſtence, chiefly to a ſpirit naturally fervid, and to a mind intoxicated with proſperity. If the ardour of the troops had cooled in the voyage, they would have been freſh and alert for action, when they landed; and what is of the utmoſt importance, while thus freſh, they would have been near the final object of their enterpriſe. They would have been irreſiſtible: whereas by marching, for three weeks, through an impracticable wilderneſs, where the face of the country was ſo broken with creeks and marſhes, that they had more than forty bridges to conſtruct, the ſtrength and ſpirits of the army muſt have been much exhauſted

But all theſe toils and difficulties, which the troops encountered with their uſual patience and alacrity, were at length overcome; and hope brightened on the general's creſt, at the proſpect of the promiſed land. On the approach of the royal army, the enemy abandoned Fort Edward, and retired to Saratoga. The enthuſiaſm of both officers and ſoldiers, when they reached Hudſon's River, which had ſo long been the object of their eager wiſhes, may be better imagined than deſcribed; and an event in itſelf ſo deſirable, was rendered ſtill more propitious by other circumſtances. As the enemy, by previouſly abandoning Fort George, and burning their veſſels, had left the Lake entirely open, a great embarkation of proviſions, ſtores, and neceſſaries, was already arrived at that fort from Ticonderoga. The army was accordingly immediately, and fully employed in tranſporting thoſe ar- July 30.

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ticles, with artillery, bateaux, and ſuch other materials as were judged neceſſary for the proſecution of their future meaſures, from Fort George to Hudſon's River.

Let us now take a view of the condition of the Americans. Though nothing could exceed the aſtoniſhment and terror which the loſs of Ticonderoga and its immediate conſequences ſpread through the New England provinces, no diſpoſition to ſubmit appeared in any quarter. On the contrary, the New England governments, as well as the Congreſs, acted with vigour and firmneſs in their efforts to repel the common danger. Arnold was ſent, with a conſiderable body of troops, to reinforce the routed army under St. Clair. He carried alſo with him a train of artillery which he received from Waſhington. On his arrival he drew the provincial forces back from Saratoga to Still Water; a central ſituation between that place and the mouth of the Mohawk river, where it falls into Hudſon's, or the great North River. This movement was made with a view to check the progreſs of colonel St. Leger, who was now advancing upon the former of thoſe rivers. Arnold's forces were daily increaſed through the outrages of the ſavages; who notwithſtanding the regulations and endeavours of general Burgoyne, were too prone to the exerciſe of their uſual cruelties to be effectually reſtrained; and the friends of the royal cauſe, as well as its enemies, were equally victims to their undiſtinguiſhing rage.

Occaſion was taken from theſe exceſſes, which were exaggerated in publications for the purpoſe, to blacken the royal party and army, and to place in one point of view the barbarities of the Indians, and the cauſe in which they were exerted. The terror excited by thoſe ſavage auxiliaries, inſtead of being productive of the advantages expected from it, therefore, in its conſequences, not only counteracted its own immediate influence, but operated in favour of the rebels. The inhabitants of the open and frontier countries had no choice of acting: they had no means of ſecurity left, but by abandoning their habitations and taking up arms. Every man ſaw the neceſſity of becoming a temporary ſoldier, not only for his own ſecurity, but for the protection of thoſe connexions, thoſe ties of kindred and affection, of nature and of blood, which are dearer than life itſelf *. Thus an army was poured forth by the woods, mountains, and moraſſes; which, in this part of the continent, were thickly ſown with plantations and villages. The Americans recalled their courage; and when their regular army ſeemed to be annihilated, the ſpirit of the country produced a greater and more formidable force.

In the meantime the royal army, under general Burgoyne, in the neighbourhood of Fort Edward, began to experience thoſe difficulties, which increaſed as it advanced, and at length overwhelmed it. From the beginning to the middle of Auguſt, the troops were continually employed in bringing forward bateaux, proviſions, and ammunition, from Fort George to the neareſt navigable part of

* The murder of Miſs M'Crea, in particular, ſtruck every breaſt with horror. This young lady is repreſented to have been in all the innocence of youth and bloom of beauty. Her father is ſaid to have been deeply engaged in the royal cauſe, and the youth who ſhared her affections, a Britiſh officer, to whom ſhe was to have been married on the very day that ſhe was maſſacred.

Hudſon's river, a diſtance of about eighteen miles. The toil was exceſſive in this ſervice, and the effect in no degree equivalent to the expence of labour and time. The roads are in ſome parts ſteep, and in others they required great repairs. Of the horſes that had been ſupplied by contract in Canada, (through the various delays and accidents attending ſo long and intricate a combination of paſſage by land and water) not more than one third were yet arrived. The induſtry of the general had been able to collect no more than fifty team of oxen, in all the country through which he had marched. Theſe reſources were totally inadequate to the purpoſes of ſupplying the army with proviſions for its current conſumption, and to the eſtabliſhment, at the ſame time, of ſuch a magazine as would enable it to proſecute the further operations of the campaign. Exceeding heavy rains added to all theſe difficulties impeded the ſervice ſo much, that after the utmoſt exertions for fifteen ſucceſſive days, there was not a week's proviſion in ſtore, nor above ten bateaux in Hudſon's River!

While in theſe embarraſſing circumſtances, general Burgoyne received intelligence that colonel St. Leger had arrived before Fort Stanwix, and was concerting meaſures for the reduction of that place. He inſtantly conceived, that a rapid movement forward, at this critical juncture, would be of great importance. The propriety of ſuch a meaſure was indeed evident; but the difficulty lay in finding means to carry the deſign into execution. To maintain ſuch a communication with Fort George, during the whole progreſs of ſo extenſive a movement, as would afford a daily ſupply of proviſions for the army, was obviouſly impracticable. Some other ſource of ſupply was therefore to be ſought, or the deſign dropped. The enemy received large ſupplies of cattle from the New England provinces; which paſſing the upper part of Connecticut River, took the route of Mancheſter, Arlington, and other parts of the New Hampſhire Grants, until they were at length depoſited at Bennington; an obſcure place, about twenty miles to the eaſtward of Hudſon's River, and which nothing but the preſent troubles could have called into notice. Bennington was however, at this time, not only a ſtore for cattle, but a magazine for large quantities of corn and other neceſſaries; and what rendered it peculiarly an object to the royal army, a large number of wheel-carriages, of which they were in great want, was alſo laid up there. It was guarded by a body of militia, whoſe force was uncertain and fluctuating.

The Britiſh general ſaw that the poſſeſſion of this depoſitory, would at once remove all the impediments that reſtrained the operations of the army, and enable him to proceed directly in the proſecution of his deſign of co-operating with St. Leger. He accordingly laid a ſcheme to ſurpriſe the place, and entruſted the execution of it to the German lieutenant-colonel Baum, who had been already ſelected, and was then preparing to conduct an expedition which had ſimilar objects in view, towards the borders of Connecticut River. The force allotted to this ſervice amounted to at leaſt five hundred men; conſiſting of about two hundred of Reideſel's diſmounted German dragoons, captain Fraſer's marksmen, the Canada volunteers, a party of loyal Provincials, who were perfectly acquainted with

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with the country, and above an hundred Indians. The party was beſides furniſhed with two pieces of artillery.

In order to facilitate the operations of this detachment, and to be ready to take advantage of its ſucceſs, the army moved up the eaſt ſhore of Hudſon's River, and encamped nearly oppoſite to Saratoga; having at the ſame time thrown a bridge of rafts over, by which the advanced parties were paſſed to that place. Meanwhile lieutenant colonel Breyman's corps, conſiſting of the Brunſwick grenadiers, light infantry, and chaſſeurs, were poſted at Batten Kill, in order, if neceſſary to ſupport Baum; who, in his march, fell in with a party of the army eſcorting ſome cattle and proviſions, both of which he took with little difficulty and ſent back to the camp. But the ſame fatal impediment which retarded all the operations of the army, namely the want of horſes and carriages, concurred with the badneſs of the roads, in rendering the advances of this officer ſo ſlow, that the enemy were well informed of his deſign, and had time to prepare for his reception before his arrival. Having received intelligence on his approach, that the rebels were too ſtrong to be attacked by his preſent force, he took poſt near Santcoick Mills, on the nearer branch of a ſtream which becomes afterwards the Hoſick River, but which is there called Walloon Creek, and about four miles diſtant from Bennington; ſending at the ſame time an expreſs to the Britiſh general with an account of his ſituation.

This notice was not neglected. Colonel Breyman was inſtantly diſpatched from Batten Kill to reinforce the detachment under Baum; but that evil fortune now began to appear, which henceforth, like an over-ruling fatality, continued to perſecute the unfortunate, though now high-ſpirited Burgoyne, and his brave but diſtreſſed army. Breyman was ſo obſtructed by bad weather and bad roads, that he was two days in marching twenty-four miles *; and general Starke, who

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commanded the militia at Bennington, advanced on the morning of the ſecond day, to attack Baum in his poſt, which he had entrenched, and rendered as defenſible as time and its nature would admit. The colonel made a brave defence; but his ſmall works being at length carried on every ſide, and his two pieces of cannon taken, the Indians, Canadians, and Britiſh markſmen, ſought refuge in the woods. The German dragoons being leſs able to eſcape, ſtill kept together; and when their ammunition was all ſpent, were bravely led by their commander to charge with their ſwords. The effort was however ineffectual: they were overpowered by numbers; and the ſurvivors, among whom was the wounded colonel, were made priſoners.

Breyman, who was ſo unfortunate as not to receive the ſmalleſt intimation of this diſaſter, arrived near the ſame ground about four o'clock in the afternoon; where, inſtead of meeting his friends, he found his detachment attacked on all ſides by the enemy. Notwithſtanding the ſevere fatigue they had undergone, his

* Mr. Burgoyne, who brings a heavy charge againſt the Germans in general, on account of the ſlowneſs of their motions, affirms that the diſaſter at Bennington would have been prevented, if the detachment under colonel Breyman had marched at the rate of two miles in the hour.

troops

troops behaved with great ſpirit and reſolution, and drove the rebels in the beginning of the action, from two or three different hills where they had poſts: but they were at length overwhelmed by a multitude of enemies, and obliged to ſeek their ſafety in flight; a circumſtance to which the lateneſs of the evening was very favourable. The loſs of men ſuſtained by theſe two engagements could not be leſs than five or ſix hundred; of whom, however, the greater part were priſoners. But this was not the only, nor indeed the greateſt loſs: the confidence and courage communicated to the militia by their ſucceſs—to find that they were able to defeat regular forces, and that neither Engliſhmen nor Germans were invincible, nor invulnerable to their impreſſion, was of much greater conſequence. Their exultation was accordingly exceſſive: nor could the royal army help feeling ſome damp to that eagerneſs of hope, which an unmixed ſeries of fortunate events naturally excites even in the moſt moderate minds. CHAP. V. A. D. 1777.

Meantime St. Leger carried on his operations againſt Fort Stanwix, and had been favoured with ſuch ſignal ſucceſs, as ſeemed to render its fate inevitable. Underſtanding that general Harkimer, a leading man in that country, was marching with nine hundred militia, to the relief of the place, he judiciouſly diſpatched Sir John Johnſon, ſon of the famous Sir William, with ſome regulars, the whole of his own regiment of loyal Provincials, and a party of Indians, to lie in ambuſh in the woods, and intercept the enemy on their march. The unſuſpecting Americans ruſhed blindly into the trap that was laid for them; and being thrown into a ſudden and inevitable confuſion, by a near and heavy fire on almoſt all ſides, it was compleated by the ſavages, who inſtantly purſuing their fire, broke in upon the diſordered ranks of the enemy, and made dreadful havoc among them, with their ſpears and hatchets. In the midſt of ſuch extreme danger, and ſo bloody an execution, the rebels, however, ſo far recollected themſelves, as to recover an advantageous ground, which enabled them afterwards to maintain a kind of running fight. Their loſs notwithſtanding was great, being computed at four hundred killed, and two hundred priſoners. The reſt eſcaped into the woods. Auguſt 6.

On the day, and probably during the time of this engagement, the provincial garriſon in Fort Stanwix, having received intelligence of the approach of their friends, endeavoured to make a diverſion in their favour, by a vigorous and well conducted ſally, under the direction of colonel Willet, the ſecond in command. Willet executed his buſineſs with ability and ſpirit: he did conſiderable miſchief in the camp, brought off ſome trophies, no inconſiderable ſpoil, and a few priſoners. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, he afterwards undertook, in company with another officer, a much more perilous enterpriſe: they paſſed by night through the works of the beſiegers, in contempt of the vigilance and cruelty of the ſavages, and made their way for fifty miles through pathleſs woods and unexplored moraſſes, in order to raiſe the country, and bring relief to the fort.

Colonel St. Leger was ſenſible of the danger, as well as of the probability of ſuch relief arriving, and therefore left no means untried to profit of his victory, by intimidating the garriſon. He ſent verbal and written meſſages ſtating their

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hopeleſs condition, the utter deſtruction of their friends, and the impoſſibility of their obtaining any relief, as general Burgoyne was now at Albany receiving the ſubmiſſions of the neighbouring countries: he magnified his own force; and he particularly dwelt on the pains he had taken in ſoftening the rage of the Indians, while he related their bitter execrations, in caſe of longer reſiſtance, and the impoſſibility of reſtraining them, if irritated by a fruitleſs obſtinacy, from maſſacring not only the garriſon, but every man and woman in the Mohawk country. Colonel Ganſevort, the governor, was not intimidated by theſe threats. He replied with great firmneſs and good ſenſe, that he had been entruſted with the charge of that fort by the United States of America; that he would defend it to the laſt extremity; and that, as he did not think himſelf accountable for, he ſhould give himſelf no concern about the conſequences which might attend the diſcharge of his duty.

This determined tone was not aſſumed without reaſon. The fort was ſtronger, in better condition, and more powerfully defended than St. Leger imagined. After great labour in his approaches, he found that his artillery was not of ſufficient weight to make any conſiderable impreſſion. In order to remedy this defect, he with the greateſt diligence ſet about bringing his approaches nearer, that his fire might be more fully felt. But when the operations for that purpoſe were almoſt completed, the Indians, who had for ſome time been ſullen and untractable, received a flying report, that Arnold was coming with a thouſand men to relieve Fort Stanwix. The Britiſh commander endeavoured to hearten them, by promiſing to head them himſelf, to bring his beſt troops into action, and by calling their leaders out to mark a field of battle. All this flattery, however, was not ſufficient to rouſe their flagging ſpirits: the rumour, partly circulated by themſelves, not only gained ground, but firſt doubled and then trebled the number of the enemy, with this comfortable addition, that Burgoyne's army was entirely cut to pieces. St. Leger returned to the camp, and called a council of their chiefs, hoping that through the influence of Sir John Johnſon, and that which the ſuperintendants Claus and Butler had over them, they might ſtill be induced to make a ſtand; but he was diſappointed. A body of the Indians decamped while the council was ſitting, and the remainder threatened to abandon him, if
Auguſt 22. he did not immediately retreat. He was under the neceſſity of complying; and it ſhould ſeem that the reſt of his troops were ſeized with the ſame panic, as the tents, with moſt of the artillery and ſtores, fell into the hands of the garriſon.

Nothing could have been more untoward in the preſent ſtate of affairs, than the unfortunate iſſue of this ſecondary expedition. The Provincials were again elated, and filled with new confidence. The northern militia began now to look high, and to forget all diſtinctions between themſelves and regular troops; and as this confidence and pride increaſed, the apprehenſion of general Burgoyne's army of courſe declined, until it ſoon came to be talked of with indifference and contempt, and even its fortune to be publickly prognoſticated. In the meantime general Gates, on whoſe conduct and ability it appears the Americans placed much reliance, had arrived in the camp near Still Water, to take upon

upon him the command of the rebel army. This circumſtance enabled Arnold, then ſecond in command, to ſet out on an expedition to Fort Stanwix with two thouſand men; though for the greater expedition, he quitted the main body, and proceeded by forced marches through the woods with a detachment of nine hundred choſen troops, with which he reached the place only two days after the ſiege had been raiſed. So that the fears of the Indians, it appears, were not altogether ill-founded; and that their untractable temper, and watchful apprehenſion of danger, probably ſaved them from a ſevere chaſtiſement, and perhaps St. Leger's whole army from utter ruin.

During theſe tranſactions general Burgoyne continued in his camp, on the eaſtern ſhore of Hudſon's River, nearly oppoſite to Saratoga, where he exerted the moſt unremitting induſtry and perſevering efforts in bringing ſtores and proviſions forward from Fort George. As a ſwell of the water, occaſioned by heavy rains, had carried away his bridge of rafts, he threw another of boats over the river at the ſame place; and having at length, by indefatigable labour, brought forward about thirty days proviſion, with other neceſſary ſtores, he took the reſolution of paſſing Hudſon's River with the army *. This he accompliſhed towards the middle of September, and encamped on the heights and in the plains of Saratoga, the enemy remaining in the neighbourhood of Still Water.

As the king's forces advanced along the river towards the rebels, they found the country very impracticable; but being at length arrived in the front of the enemy, ſome woods only of no great extent intervening, the general put himſelf at the head of the Britiſh line, which compoſed the right wing of the royal army. That wing was covered by general Frazer and colonel Breyman, with

Sept. 19.

* This meaſure has not only been a ſubject of much diſcuſſion among military men, but of parliamentary inquiry. That inquiry is not yet cloſed; but as far as it has gone, it appears, That if general Burgoyne had not paſſed Hudſon's River, he might have made his way back to Ticonderoga; that his orders were however expreſs to proceed to Albany; and he tells us, that whenever he entertained a doubt on this head, the propriety of devoting the army under his command, in order to facilitate the operations of Sir William Howe, always turned the ſcale, and prompted him to perſevere: he therefore did not think it neceſſary to call a council of war in regard to the meaſure of paſſing Hudſon's River, as the peremptory tenor of his orders and the ſeaſon of the year admitted of no alternative. It appears nevertheleſs, that his principal officers did not diſapprove of that meaſure; and that the ſubſequent misfortunes of the army aroſe from circumſtances which we ſhall have occaſion to develope, not from any miſconduct in the general. But it alſo appears, at the ſame time, to the author of this work, (who is not yet acquainted with lord George Germain's defence) that the general's charge againſt the American miniſter is the effect of ſpleen, diſappointment, and ill-humour: for after converſing with Americans, ſoldiers, and politicians on the ſubject, He cannot find that the liberty of falling down upon the New England provinces, which the general complains was denied him, would have afforded any greater proſpect of ſucceſs to the king's forces under Mr. Burgoyne, than the route which he was directed to purſue; and how expreſs ſo ever the general's orders may have been, they could never oblige him to proceed farther than he was able, or be meant to prevent him from taking the moſt prudent meaſures for ſaving his troops. The notion therefore of devoting his army, or that it was meant to be devoted, as he inſinuates in his whining letter to the miniſter, in order to facilitate the operations of Sir William Howe, is an idea too extravagant to deſerve a moment's ſerious conſideration.

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the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, who kept along ſome high grounds that commanded its right flank; being themſelves covered by the Indians, loyal Provincials, and Canadians, in the front and flanks. The left wing and artillery, under the major-generals Phillips and Reideſel, kept along the great road and meadows by the river ſide. Incapable from the nature of the country of perceiving the different combinations of the march, the enemy iſſued from their camp in great force, with a view of turning the right wing, and taking the Britiſh line on the flank; but being unexpectedly checked in their deſign, by the ſtrong poſition of general Frazer, they immediately countermarched; and the ſame peculiarity of country which had occaſioned their miſtake, now operating as effectually to prevent the diſcovery of their ſubſequent movement, and conſequently the taking any means to obſtruct it, they directed their principal effort to the left of the ſame wing.

The Britiſh troops were not a little ſurpriſed at the boldneſs with which the Provincials began the attack, and the vigour and obſtinacy with which it was ſuſtained, from three o'clock in the afternoon, till paſt ſun ſet. Arnold led on the rebel forces, and ſought danger with that eagerneſs and intrepidity, which had long diſtinguiſhed his character. Though often obliged to give ground, he as often rallied them, and returned to the charge with freſh ardour. It muſt be obſerved, however, that the Americans were continually ſupplied with freſh troops, whilſt the action, on the ſide of the royal army, lay for a long time principally upon the twentieth, the twenty-firſt, and ſixty-ſecond regiments, which were engaged for near four hours without intermiſſion, and behaved with great firmneſs and gallantry. The twenty-fourth regiment, which belonged to Frazer's brigade, with the grenadiers and part of the light infantry, were indeed for a while brought into action; and Breyman's riflemen, with ſome other parts of his corps, alſo did good ſervice: but theſe troops only acted partially and occaſionally, as the heights on which they had been originally poſted were of too great importance to be totally evacuated. Major-general Phillips upon firſt hearing the firing, made his way with major Williams and part of the artillery, through a very difficult part of the wood, and from the time of his arrival rendered moſt eſſential ſervice. Major-general Reideſel likewiſe exerted himſelf to bring up part of the left wing, and arrived in time to charge the enemy with bravery and effect; yet the rebels did not give up the conteſt, till the cloſe of day. Then they left the royal army maſters of the field, but darkneſs equally prevented purſuit and priſoners; ſo that nothing but honour was gained by this hard fought battle, which, notwithſtanding their defeat, was to the Americans a kind of victory.

The king's forces had now grappled with ſuch an enemy, as they had never before encountered in America; and ſuch as they were too apt to imagine it could not produce. The deluſive idea, that the Provincials could only fight under the cover of walls, hedges, or entrenchments, and were utterly incapable of ſuſtaining a fair and open conflict in the field, was now at an end; an opinion which, as we have already ſeen, had alſo in ſome meaſure been ſhaken

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in the ſouth. Here they met with an antagoniſt who ſeemed as eager for action, as careleſs of danger, and as indifferent in reſpect to ground or cover as themſelves *. The royal army loſt many brave men in this conflict, and it was but a poor conſolation to troops in their circumſtances, that the rebels loſt a greater number. The king's forces lay all night on their arms in the field of battle, and in the morning took a poſition nearly within cannon ſhot of the enemy's camp; fortifying their right wing, and extending their left, ſo as to cover thoſe meadows through which the river runs, and where their bateaux and hoſpitals were placed. The enemy's right, it is ſaid, was unapproachable, and their left too ſtrongly fortified to be inſulted †.

The zeal and alacrity of the Indians began now to ſlacken: ſuch cloſe and dangerous ſervice was by no means ſuited to their diſpoſition, and the hopes of plunder were narrowed almoſt to nothing. They were alſo diſguſted by ſome checks which they had received, on account of their barbarities; and fidelity and honour being principles for which their language has no terms, and of which they could frame no ideas, they deſerted the royal army in the ſeaſon of its danger and diſtreſs, when their aid would have been more particularly uſeful; affording a ſecond inſtance, within a ſhort time, of the little reliance that ſhould be placed in ſuch auxiliaries. A great deſertion alſo prevailed among the Canadians and loyal Provincials; nor does it appear, that the ſervices of thoſe who remained were much to be depended upon.

General Burgoyne had from the beginning, nor did it, he declares, entirely forſake him to this time, a firm hope of being powerfully ſuccoured, if neceſſary, or at leaſt of being met and joined at Albany by a ſtrong force from the army at New York ‡. He now received, with great difficulty, a letter from Sir Henry Clinton, informing him of his intention to make a diverſion on the North River, by attacking Fort Montgomery, and ſome other fortreſſes which the rebels had erected, in order to guard the paſſage up that river to Albany. Though this diverſion fell far ſhort of the aid which Bourgoyne expected, or at leaſt wiſhed for, he flattered himſelf that it would yet afford eſſential ſervice, by obliging Gates to divide his forces. He accordingly returned the meſſenger, and afterwards diſpatched two officers in diſguiſe, with other confidential perſons, all

* General Burgoyne declared before the committee of the Houſe of Commons, appointed to inquire into his conduct, that he never ſaw more active or ſteady troops than the American regulars, or continental battalions, and that even the militia anſwered all the purpoſes of trained troops. Yet it is but a few years, if we recollect right, ſince this gentleman boaſted, and that after he had ſerved againſt the Provincials, that he would engage to march from one end of North America to the other with only ten thouſand men. If officers vary in their ſentiments ſo much, what wonder that miniſters ſhould find themſelves deceived in their attempts to ſubdue the rebels!

† The moſt reſpectable officers examined in regard to the practicability of improving the advantage gained over the rebels on the 19th of September, ſeem to leave the matter in doubt; and when this is the caſe, it would ill become the hiſtorian to decide.

‡ That hope however, it appears, though natural and reaſonable at firſt, ought now to have been conſiderably abated, as general Burgoyne had long before this time received a letter from Sir William Howe, informing him of the expedition to the ſouthward, and of the moderate force left with Sir Henry Clinton.

 ſeparately

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ſeparately and by different routes, to acquaint general Clinton with the exact ſtate, ſituation, and condition of the army under his command; to preſs him urgently to the immediate proſecution of his deſign, and to inform him that the northern army was enabled in point of proviſion, and the general fixed in his determination, to hold his preſent poſition, in the hope of favourable events, until the twelfth of the following month, or about three weeks from the departure of the meſſengers. In the meantime, every exertion of military ſkill was employed in fortifying the camp, and ſtrong redoubts were erected for the protection of the magazines and hoſpitals; not only to guard againſt a ſudden attack, but for their ſecurity in any future movement which the army might make, in order to turn the enemy's flank:—and the ſtricteſt watch on the motions of the enemy, as well as attention to their own ſecurity, became every day more neceſſary for the king's troops, as the rebel army was continually increaſing in force, by the acceſſion of freſh bodies of the militia.

The ſpirit of exertion and enterpriſe which was now rouſed in the New England provinces, was indeed become too general, and was too much animated by ſucceſs, to be eaſily withſtood at once in all the different points of its direction. Whilſt general Burgoyne was fully engaged with Gates and Arnold, and found himſelf already involved in circumſtances ſufficiently perplexing, all his difficulties were increaſed, and his ſituation was rendered much more critical and precarious, by an unexpected enterpriſe of the militia, from the upper parts of New Hampſhire and the head of Connecticut, totally to cut off all communication with Canada. This expedition was conducted under the direction of general Lincoln, and the immediate execution was committed to the colonels Brown, Johnſton, and Woodbury, with detachments of about five hundred men each; and they conducted their operations with ſuch ſecrecy and addreſs, that they effectually ſurpriſed all the out-poſts between the landing-place at the north end of Lake George, and the body of the fortreſs of Ticonderoga. Mount Defiance, Mount Hope, the French lines, and a block-houſe, with two hundred bateaux, an armed ſloop, and ſeveral gun-boats, were almoſt inſtantly taken. Four companies of foot, with nearly an equal number of Canadians, and many of the officers and crews of the veſſels, were made priſoners. They brought the cannon out of the armed veſſels, and planted them againſt the fortifications: they repeatedly ſummoned brigadier Powell, who gallantly rejected all their propoſals to ſurrender the place intruſted to his care, and made reiterated attacks, for four days, on the works at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence; but finding that they were repulſed in every aſſault, and totally unequal to the ſervice, they

Sept. 21. abandoned the deſign.

General Burgoyne thought it neceſſary, about the beginning of October, from the uncertainty of his ſituation, to leſſen the ſoldiers rations of proviſions; a meaſure which, however diſagreeable to an army, was now ſubmitted to with a chearfulneſs that does the greateſt honour to the troops. In this ſtate things continued until the ſeventh of the month, when there being no appearance of intelligence of the expected co operation, and the time limited for the ſtay of the royal

royal army in its preſent camp being drawn near a cloſe, it was judged adviſable to make a movement to the enemy's left; not only to diſcover whether there was any poſſibility of forcing a paſſage, ſhould it be neceſſary to advance, or to diſlodge them for the conveniency of a retreat, but alſo to cover a foraging party ſent out for the relief of the army, which was exceedingly diſtreſſed by the preſent ſcarcity. A detachment of fifteen hundred regulars was accordingly ordered to move, being commanded by the general in perſon, ſeconded by thoſe excellent officers, Phillips, Reideſel, and Frazer. No equal number of men was ever better commanded, nor were fifteen hundred braver men perhaps ever led to action. The guard of the camp upon the high grounds was committed to the brigadiers Hamilton and Speeht; and that of the redoubts and the plain near the river, to brigadier Goll. October 7.

The force of the enemy immediately in the front of the lines, was ſo much ſuperior to that of the royal army, that it was not thought ſafe to augment the detachment beyond the number already ſtated. The troops were formed within three quarters of a mile of the enemy's left, and the irregulars were puſhed on through bye-ways, to appear as a check to their rear; but the intended operations of the detachment were prevented, by a very ſudden, impetuous, and unexpected attack of the enemy upon the Britiſh grenadiers, who were poſted to defend the left wing of the line. Major Ackland, at the head of the grenadiers, ſuſtained this fierce attack with great reſolution; but the numbers of the enemy enabling them, in a few minutes, to extend their attack againſt the whole front of the Germans, who were poſted immediately on the right of the grenadiers, and who ſhamefully deſerted their ground *, it not only became impracticable to form a ſecond line, but the great weight of the enemy's fire, ſtill fell upon the left flank. The right wing was yet unengaged, but its danger was not leſs. It was ſoon perceived, that the enemy were marching a ſtrong body of troops round the right flank, in order to cut off its retreat. On purpoſe to oppoſe that bold attempt, the light infantry, with part of the twenty-fourth regiment, were thrown into a ſecond line, in order to cover the retreat of the king's troops into the camp. But before this movement was completed, the enemy puſhed a freſh and ſtrong reinforcement to decide the action on the left wing; which being totally overpowered by ſo great a ſuperiority, was compelled by dint of force to give way. On that occaſion the light infantry and twenty-fourth regiment were obliged, by a new and very quick movement, to endeavour to ſave the left wing from final deſtruction. It was in this movement, that the gallant general Frazer was mortally wounded †; an

* Captain Money declared before the committee of the Houſe of Commons, that he obſerved a battalion of Brunſwickers diſperſe, without the loſs of a man; and that, in his opinion, the miſbehaviour of the Germans was the cauſe of the loſs of a victory, if not of the captivity of the whole army, which was the conſequence of that loſs. He alſo declared, that the attack on the 7th of October was made by Arnold, without the order of Gates, from a confidence that certain high lands that ought to have been occupied by the Brunſwickers were left unguarded; and that he heard the Britiſh troops cry, "Shame! ſhame!" when the Brunſwickers *ran*.

† Open, familiar, candid, and ready to declare his ſentiments on ordinary occaſions, but cloſe and conſequential in matters of importance, Frazer ſeems to have poſſeſſed all the qualities that inſpire

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an officer whoſe loſs was afterwards ſeverely felt, and whoſe place it would have been difficult to ſupply in the beſt appointed European army.

The ſituation of the detachment was now exceedingly critical; but the danger to which the lines were expoſed, was ſtill more alarming. The major-generals Phillips and Reideſel, were ordered to cover the retreat; and thoſe troops which were neareſt, or moſt diſengaged, returned as faſt as poſſible for their defence. The king's forces in general retreated in good order, though hard preſſed, and the enemy purſued their advantage with great eagerneſs. The troops had ſcarcely entered the camp, when the rebels ſtormed it in different parts with uncommon intrepidity and reſolution; ruſhing to the lines, with the utmoſt fury, through a ſevere fire of grape-ſhot and ſmall arms. Arnold led on the attack with his uſual impetuoſity, againſt a part of the entrenchments into which the light infantry, under lord Balcarras, with a part of the line, had thrown themſelves, by orders. He there met with a brave and obſtinate reſiſtance; and the action continued for ſome time very warm, each ſide ſeeming to vie with the other in ardour and perſeverance. In this critical ſeaſon of glory and danger, Arnold, who had been frequently repulſed, but who had as often returned to the charge, was grievouſly wounded, as he was attempting to force his way into the works; and his party, after long and repeated efforts, were finally beat back, and obliged to withdraw.

Fortune was leſs favourable to the royal army in another quarter. Colonel Breyman, who commanded the German reſerve, being killed, the entrenchments defended by that body were carried ſword in hand; and the troops were routed, with the loſs of their baggage, tents, and artillery. This misfortune was not retrieved, although orders for the recovery of the poſt were diſpatched by the general. Night only put an end to the engagement, in which many brave men fell. The Britiſh officers ſuffered exceedingly. Among thoſe of greater note, or who were diſtinguiſhed by higher rank, beſides general Frazer and colonel Breyman, already mentioned, Sir James Clarke, aid-de-camp to general Burgoyne, was mortally wounded and taken priſoner; major Williams of the artillery, and major Ackland of the grenadiers, were alſo taken, the latter being wounded; and the liſt of inferior officers, killed and wounded, was long and melancholy. On the ſide of the Americans the loſs was yet greater, though they loſt no officer of note; but general Lincoln as well as Arnold was dangerouſly wounded.

It ſhould ſeem that nothing could exceed the diſtreſs and calamity of the royal army after this battle. They bore their condition, however, with that excellency of temper, and that unconquerable firmneſs of ſpirit, which are peculiar to Britiſh

inſpire confidence or conciliate affection, as well as thoſe that are more intimately connected with high command; and I will not perhaps be too much to ſay, that he only wanted time and opportunity to have formed one of the greateſt military characters in the preſent age. On entering his tent, he ſatisfied himſelf as to the knowledge of his wound being mortal, and then ſet his family affairs to rights; and on receiving a doubtful anſwer from the ſurgeon, he ſat down and wrote a long letter to his wife, with as much compoſure as if he had been in the moſt perfect eaſe and ſafety. Before it was finiſhed an inflammation was begun, and he expired ſoon after. His wound was acroſs the lower part of the belly.

troops. It was evidently impoſſible to continue in their preſent ſituation, without ſubmitting to a certainty of deſtruction on the enſuing day. A total change of poſition was therefore undertaken; and as it ſeems to have been conceived with great judgment, it was carried into execution during the night with a degree of coolneſs, ſilence, order, and intrepidity, which has ſeldom been equalled, and never exceeded. It was not the movement of a wing or a part, it was a general remove of the whole army of the camp and artillery, from its late ground to the heights above the hoſpital; and thus, by an entire change of front, to reduce the enemy to the neceſſity of forming an entirely new diſpoſition. All this was accompliſhed in darkneſs, and under the doubt and apprehenſion inſeparable from a night ſo fatally uſhered in, and accompanied throughout with circumſtances of ſuch uncommon peril, as were ſufficient to diſturb the beſt formed mind, and to ſhake the firmeſt reſolution; accompliſhed without loſs, and, what is ſtill more, without diſorder.

October 8. During the courſe of next day, the royal army, ſenſible that nothing leſs than a ſucceſsful and deciſive action could extricate them from their preſent difficulties, offered battle repeatedly to the enemy. But the rebels were preparing, with great coolneſs, the carrying of meaſures into execution, which were leſs dangerous than engaging a brave and deſperate army, and which promiſed to anſwer their end as effectually. A continued ſucceſſion of ſkirmiſhes were, however, carried on; and theſe did not paſs without loſs on both ſides. In the meantime general Burgoyne diſcovered, that the rebels had puſhed a ſtrong body forward to turn his right; a movement, which if effected, would have enabled them to encloſe him on every ſide. Nothing was left to prevent this fatal conſequence, but an immediate retreat to Saratoga. The army accordingly began to move at nine o'clock at night; and though the movement was made within muſket ſhot of the enemy, and the army encumbered with all its baggage, the retreat was effected without loſs.

October 10. Through various impediments in the march, the royal army did not paſs the fords of Fiſh Kill Creek, which lie a little to the northward of Saratoga, until the ſecond morning after their departure. They found a body of the enemy already arrived, and throwing up entrenchments on the heights before them. This party retired, at the approach of the king's troops, over a ford of Hudſon's River, and joined on the other ſide a greater force, which was ſtationed to obſtruct the paſſage of that river. No hope now remained to the army, but that of effecting a retreat, at leaſt as far as Fort George, on its way to Canada. For this purpoſe a detachment of artificers under a ſtrong eſcort, was ſent forward to repair the bridges, and open the road to Fort Edward; but they were not long departed from the camp, when the ſudden appearance of the enemy, in great force, on the oppoſite heights, with a ſeeming intention to bring on an engagement, rendered it neceſſary to recall the greater part of the eſcort; and the remainder proved inſufficient to protect the workmen, who were left to ſhift for themſelves before they had repaired the firſt bridge.

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Nor was this the only inconveniency. The farther ſhore of Hudſon's River being every where lined with detachments of the enemy, it was found neceſſary to land the proviſions from the bateaux, which had attended the motions of the army ſince its departure from the neighbourhood of Still Water, and bring them up the hill to the camp; a labour which was accompliſhed under a heavy fire with difficulty and loſs. In theſe deplorable circumſtances, councils of war were held, one after another, to conſider of the poſſibility of a farther retreat. The only meaſure, that carried even the appearance of practicability was, by a night march to reach Fort Edward, the troops carrying their proviſions on their backs, and to force the fords near that place. While preparations were making for carrying this forlorn and deſperate reſolve into execution, intelligence was received, that the enemy had already, with great foreſight, provided againſt every poſſible meaſure that could be adopted for an eſcape; that beſides being ſtrongly entrenched oppoſite to the fords which it was intended to paſs, they had a camp in force, and provided with artillery, on the high and ſtrong grounds between Fort Edward and Fort George; and that their parties were, at the ſame time, ſo watchful along the river, and their poſts ſo cloſe, that not the ſmalleſt movement could be made without diſcovery.

Nothing could be more deplorably calamitous than the preſent ſtate of the royal army: worn out by long toil, inceſſant effort, and ſtubborn action; abandoned in its utmoſt neceſſity and diſtreſs by the Indians; weakened as well as diſcouraged, by the deſertion and timidity of the Canadians and loyal Provincials; and the regular troops reduced by repeated and heavy loſſes, of many of their beſt ſoldiers and moſt diſtinguiſhed officers, to the number of only three thouſand five hundred effective fighting men, of whom not above two thouſand were Britiſh!—In theſe diſtreſſing circumſtances, and in this ſtate of weakneſs, without a poſſibility of retreat, and their proviſions near exhauſted, the king's forces were inveſted by an army of four times their own number, and whoſe poſition extended three parts in four of a circle round them; which refuſed to fight from a knowledge of their condition, and which, from the nature of the grounds, could not be attacked in any part. But though in this helpleſs condition, and obliged to lie conſtantly on their arms, while a continued cannonade pervaded all the camp, and even rifle and grape-ſhot fell in every part of the lines, the Britiſh troops retained their conſtancy, temper, and fortitude, in a wonderful manner; and as true courage ſubmits with difficulty to deſpair, they ſtill flattered themſelves with the hopes of ſuccour from their friends on the New York ſide; or perhaps with no leſs fervent wiſhes of an attack from the enemy, thereby to quit all ſcores at once, and either have an opportunity of dying gallantly, or to extricate themſelves with honour.

Meanwhile the rebel force was hourly increaſed, by the pouring in of the militia from all parts. Every one was eager to partake of the glory, the ſpoil, or the pleaſure of beholding the degradation of thoſe whom they had ſo long dreaded, and whom they regarded as their moſt implacable and dangerous enemies. At length no ſuccour appearing, and no rational ground of hope remaining to the royal

royal army, an exact account of the proviſions was taken on the evening of the thirteenth of October, when it was found that the whole ſtock in hand would not afford the troops more than three days bare ſubſiſtence. This was an alarming circumſtance, and ſhewed the neceſſity of ſome immediate reſolution. A council was accordingly called; and the general thinking it juſt and proper, in a deliberation ſo momentous to individuals as well as the whole, to obtain the general ſenſe of the army, ſo far as it could with decency be collected, invited beſides the field officers, all the captains commanding corps or diviſions, to aſſiſt at the council. The reſult was, an unanimous determination to open a treaty, and enter into a convention with general Gates.

The Provincial commander ſhewed no marks of arrogance, nor betrayed any ſigns of being carried away by the preſent extraordinary torrent of ſucceſs. The terms were moderate conſidering the ruined ſtate, and irretrievable circumſtances of the royal army. The grand difficulty related to a point of military honour, in which the Britiſh general and troops were peremptory, and Gates by no means obſtinate; namely, the grounding of their arms in the camp. Sooner than ſubmit to this indignity, they declared that they would ruſh on the enemy, determined to take no quarter. The principal articles of the convention, as at laſt ſettled, (excluſive of thoſe which related to the proviſion and accommodation of the troops in their way to Boſton, and during their ſtay at that place) were, That the army ſhould march out of the camp with all the honours of war, and the artillery of the entrenchments, to a fixed place, where the arms and artillery ſhould be depoſited; that the troops ſhould be allowed a free paſſage to Europe from the port of Boſton, on condition of their not ſerving again in North America during the preſent conteſt; that the officers ſhould not be ſeparated from their men; that roll-callings, and other duties of regularity, ſhould be admitted; that the officers ſhould be permitted to wear their ſide arms, and allowed the privilege of their parole; that all private property ſhould be ſacred, and the public delivered upon honour; that all perſons, of whatever country, appertaining to or following the camp, ſhould be fully comprehended in the terms of capitulation; and that the Canadians, and perſons belonging to the Canadian eſtabliſhment, ſhould be permitted to return home; be ſupplied with proviſions for that purpoſe, conducted to the firſt Britiſh poſt on Lake George, and bound by the common condition of not ſerving in North America during the war. October 16.

General Gates fulfilled all the conditions, ſo far as he was, or could be concerned in them, with the utmoſt punctuality. His humanity and politeneſs, in every part of this humiliating tranſaction, have indeed been deſervedly celebrated by the officers of the royal army. It is even ſaid, that he paid ſo nice and delicate an attention to the Britiſh military honour, and to the character and feelings of thoſe brave troops, who now experienced ſo deplorable a reverſe of fortune, that he kept his army cloſe within their lines, and did not ſuffer a rebel ſoldier to be witneſs to the degrading ſpectacle of the king's forces piling their arms, though at the command of their own officers. The Americans ſtate the whole number who thus ſubmitted at five thouſand, ſeven hundred, and fifty-

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two men; but in this number is undoubtedly included, not only the Canadians, loyal Provincials, and volunteers, but all the artificers, labourers, and followers of the camp. They alſo got a fine train of braſs artillery, amounting to thirty-five pieces *.

During theſe unfortunate tranſactions, general Clinton conducted his expedition up the North River with great ſucceſs. He embarked about three thouſand men for that ſervice, accompanied by a ſuitable naval force; conſiſting of ſhips of war, armed gallies, and ſmaller veſſels, under the direction of commodore Hotham. The general's firſt object was the reduction of the forts Montgomery and Clinton; which, though of conſiderable ſtrength, were left in ſuch an unguarded ſtate, that it was reſolved to attempt them by ſurpriſe. They were ſituated on the oppoſite ſides of a creek, which deſcends from the mountains to Hudſon's River, and their communication was preſerved by a bridge. Several motions, neceſſary to maſk the real deſign, being made, the troops were landed in two diviſions, at ſuch a diſtance from their object, as occaſioned a march of ſome length and much difficulty through the mountains. It was calculated, however, with ſuch judgment, and conducted with ſo much preciſion, that the two detachments arrived on the oppoſite ſides of the creek, and began their ſeparate attack on the forts, at nearly the ſame time. The terror and conſternation of the garriſons were increaſed by the appearance of the ſhips of war, and the arrival and near fire of the gallies, which approached ſo cloſe as to ſtrike the walls with their oars. The aſſault on both ſides of the creek was exceedingly vigorous, and the impetuoſity of the troops ſo great, that, notwithſtanding a bold defence, both the forts were carried by ſtorm; and as the ſoldiers were much irritated, as well by the fatigue they had undergone, and the oppoſition they met with, as by the loſs of ſome brave and favourite officers, the ſlaughter of the enemy was conſiderable.

On the loſs of theſe two forts, the rebels ſet fire to two fine new frigates, and to ſome ſmaller veſſels, which with their artillery and ſtores, were all conſumed. Another fort, called Conſtitution, was precipitantly ſet on fire a day or two after, on the approach of the land and naval force. General Tryon, at the head of a detachment, alſo deſtroyed a new and thriving ſettlement, called Continental Village, which contained barracks for fifteen hundred men, with valuable ſtores. The artillery found in the three forts amounted to ſixty-ſeven pieces, of different ſizes. A large quantity of artillery and ſtores, with ammunition and proviſions, were likewiſe taken; and a great boom and chain, the making of which is ſuppoſed to have coſt ſeventy thouſand pounds, and the conſtruction of which was conſidered as an extraordinary proof of American labour, induſtry, and ſkill, were partly deſtroyed, and partly carried away. Upon the whole,

* Whether this train was too large for the ſervice, is a queſtion of much difficulty: but it was certainly the occaſion of great delay; and may therefore be conſidered as the remote cauſe of the loſs of the army, as well as of the failure of the expedition. If general Burgoyne, after defeating the rebels at Skenesborough, could have marched to Albany in the uſual time, he would not have met a ſingle enemy to oppoſe his progreſs.

the loſs of the rebels in value, was probably greater than on any particular occaſion ſince the commencement of hoſtilities. The loſs of the king's troops in killed and wounded was inconſiderable, as to number, but ſome diſtinguiſhed and much-lamented officers fell. Among theſe, lieutenant colonel Campbell, who commanded the attack on Fort Montgomery, and major Sill, were univerſally regretted, as they had formerly been eſteemed for their many excellent and amiable qualities. Major Grant, of the New York volunteers, and count Grabouſki, a Poliſh nobleman, and aid-de-camp to general Clinton, were alſo ſlain in the attack on thoſe forts.

The operations on the North River did not end here. Sir James Wallace with a flying ſquadron of light frigates, and general Vaughan with a conſiderable detachment of troops, continued for ſeveral days an excurſion farther up, carrying terror and deſtruction wherever they appeared; and at the very time that the king's forces under general Burgoyne were piling their arms, the fine village or town of Eſopus, at no great diſtance, was reduced to aſhes. But on the approach of the victorious Gates, the troops and veſſels retired to New York; and this expedition, though conducted with vigour and ability, was of little moment in the general account. It was no balance for the loſs of the northern army, and the utter failure of the campaign.

This truth was ſeverely felt in England; where, as an arch wit has obſerved, the ſpirits of the people are always either in the garret or the cellar: they are elevated to an extravagant height by proſperity, and depreſſed in a proportional degree by adverſity; and between theſe two extremes, they ſeem to know no medium. The reduction of the revolted colonies, which had lately been conſidered as certain, was now believed to be impracticable. The attempt was execrated, and its adviſers ſtigmatized. The torrent of diſſatisfaction ſwelled from the city to the country, from the country up to the Houſe of Commons: the miniſter yielded to the tide, which he was no longer able to ſtem; and a conciliatory treaty with America was propoſed, from which every idea of taxation was excluded, and nothing reſerved to the parent-ſtate, except the commercial advantages of the colonies. But before the neceſſary ſteps could be taken for that purpoſe, a dangerous ſtab was given to the proſperity of Great Britain: a treaty, EVENTUAL and DEFENSIVE, was at length concluded between Lewis XVI. and the thirteen revolted Engliſh provinces, under the name of the United States of America, which has entirely changed the nature of the war. The diſpute is no longer between the colonies and the mother-country, but between France and England. That ancient animoſity which has ſo frequently roufed the two rival nations to arms, is now inflamed, on our part, by domeſtic aggravations: by the ambitious and ſelfiſh interpoſition of our natural enemies in a quarrel between ſubjects and their ſovereign; and it is now in the boſom of fate, whether France or Great Britain ſhall give law to America.

Feb. 6. A. D. 1778.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

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Adverti*ſ*ement, page iv. l. 4, for *ever* read *even*. Text, p. 4, l. 18, dele *indeed*; p. 5, l. 4, From the bottom of the page, for *void* read *arid*; p. 9, l. 4, from the bottom, dele *in that city*; p. 19, l. 22, for *appearance* read *variation*; p. 53, l. 19, for *received* read *paid*, and dele *with* in the ſame line; p. 55, l. 19, for *repair* read *come*; p 60, l. 26, for *excurſion* read *expedition*; p. 66, l. 27, for *honour* read *intereſt*; p. 77, l. 3 from the bottom, for *preſence* read *perſon*; p. 120, l. 30, for *produced* read *abounded*; p. 121, l. 29, for *confidence* read *friendſhip*; p. 185, l. 6, for *indignities* read *indignation*; p. 248, l. 4 from the bottom, dele *and*; p. 256, l. 33, for *in* read *from*; p. 282, l. 3, for *Prilcus* read *Bilcas*; p. 286, l. 5 from the bottom, for *honours* read *honour*; p. 303, l. 14, for *of* read *as*; p. 315, l. 8, for *perſiſted* read *he perſiſted however*; p. 351, l 21, for *ideas* read *idea*; p. 364, l. 26, for *preſent ſtate* read *parent-ſtate*; p. 386, l. 23, for *here* read *thither*; p. 389, l. 20, for *expected*, read *been expected from*; p. 392, l. 29, for *drawn* read *ariſing*; p. 393, l. 22, after *Moſquitos* read *properly ſo called*, and dele the ſame words after *country*, in l. 24; p. 416, l. 29, for *John* read *Henry*; p. 436, l. 3 from the bottom, for *choſe* read *chuſe*; p. 490, l. 29, for *ſilver* read *that metal*; p. 499, laſt line, before *diſtinguiſhed* inſert *who have*; p. 501, l. 5, for *the* read *that*; p. 514, l. 3 from the bottom for *were* read *are*; p. 528, l. 23, for *into* read *to*; p. 529, l. 6, for *declining ambition of France*, read *declining condition of Spain againſt the dangerous ambition of France*; p. 539, l. 19, for *Charcas* read *Caraccas*; p. 558, l. 7. from the bottom, for *by* read *pay to*; p. 561, l. 3. for *reaſon* read *means*; p. 562, l. 9, for *reſign* read *ſtrike*; p. 564, l. 5. from the bottom, before *among* dele *that*.

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Page 35, l. 19, for *coaſt* read *main*; p. 62, l. 13, for *adopted* read *adapted*; p. 108, l. 27, for *the northern* read *its northern*; p. 111, l. 17, for *or* read *nor*; p. 115, l. 3, for *they* read *any*, and dele *in* l. 7; p. 120, l. 15, before *the* inſert *and*; p. 121, l. 1, after *find* inſert *examples of*; p. 125, l. 2 from the bottom of the text, for *prevents* read *prevent*; p. 130, laſt line of the laſt note, for *boats* read *boat*; p. 142, l. 8 in the notes, for *preceptor* read *preceptors*; p. 159, l. 21, for *up in* read *upon*; p. 165, l. 10, for *his* read *the*; p. 173, l. 9 from the bottom, for *rayment* read *veſtments*; p. 174, l. 27, after *rapturous* inſert *and*; p. 304, l. 1. for *hoops-others*; *in* read *hoops*; *others in*; p. 220, l. 2 from the bottom, for *left* read *laſt*; p. 232, l. 4. from the bottom, for *There* read *Thence*; p. 244, l. 8 from the bottom, for *the new* read *their new*; p. 285, l. 25, for *to the mercy* read *a prey to*; p. 287, l. 25, for *took advantage* read *availed himſelf*; p. 302, l. 1, for *muſt* read *may*; p. 320, l. 7 from the bottom, for *ſuppoſed* read *ſupreme*; p. 366, l. 16, for *lops* read *tops*, and for *tops* read *mountains* in the following line; p. 370, l. 15, after *was* read *to be*; p. 417, l. 6, for *would* read *could*; p. 420, l. 29, after *treaty*, inſert *and new held*; p. 488, l. 20, for *methods* read *method*; p 569, l. 11, for *operations* read *operation*; ſame page, l. 6 from the bottom, for *interſects* read *interſect*; p. 575, l. 22, after *Clinton* dele *and*; p. 577, l 2 from the bottom, for *great* read *ſingular*; p. 578, l. 31, for *with* read *and*; p. 579, l. 1, after *beſides* inſert *their*; p. 581, l. 11, before *as* inſert *and*; p. 582, laſt line, for *were* read *are*; p. 586, l. 28, for *be* read *the*; p. 590, l. 13 in the note, before *who* inſert *and*; p. 604, l. 33, for *fled* read *gave way*; p. 607, l. 23, after *had* inſert *ever*; p. 626, l. 30, for *grounds* read *ground*.

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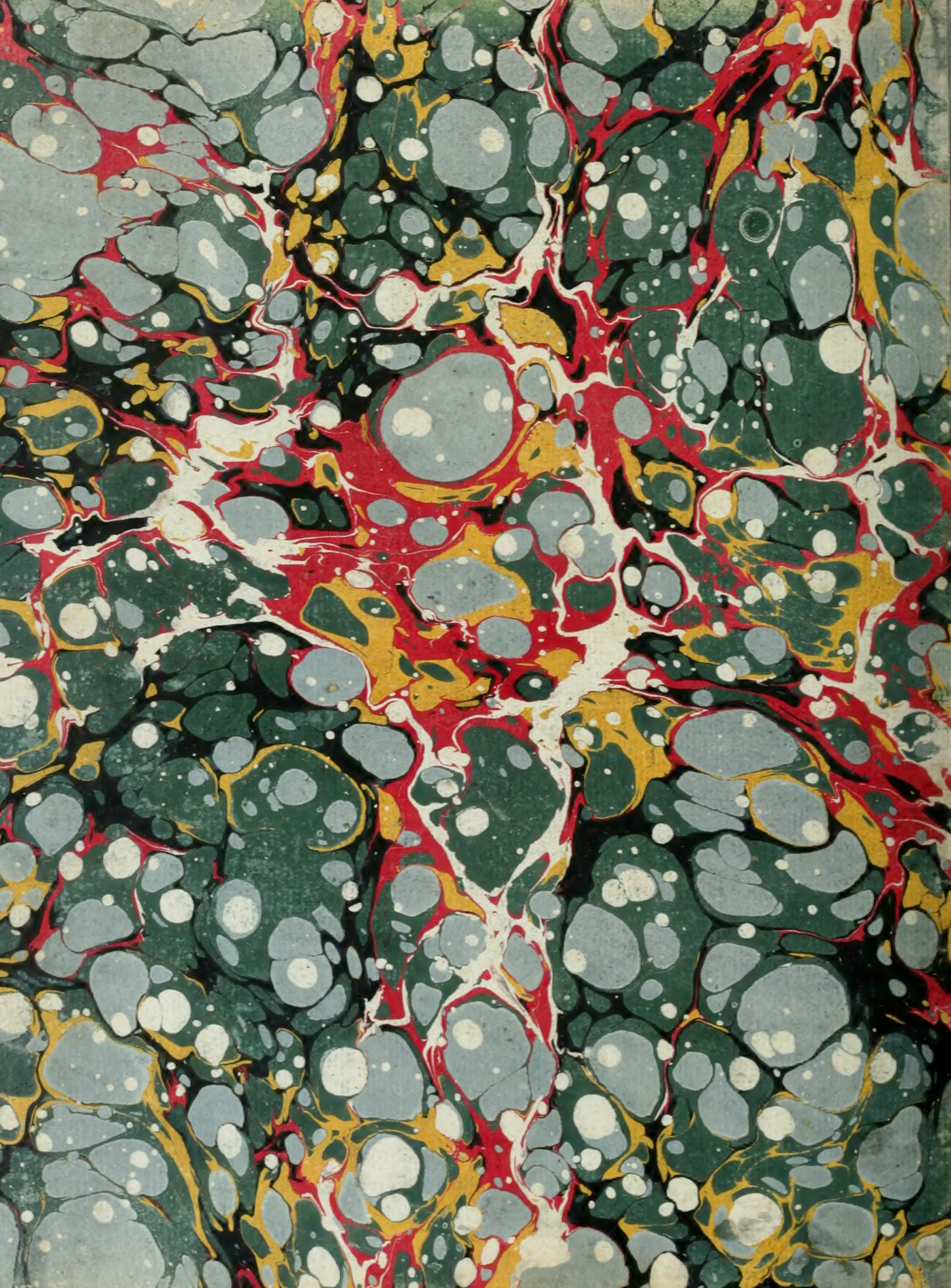
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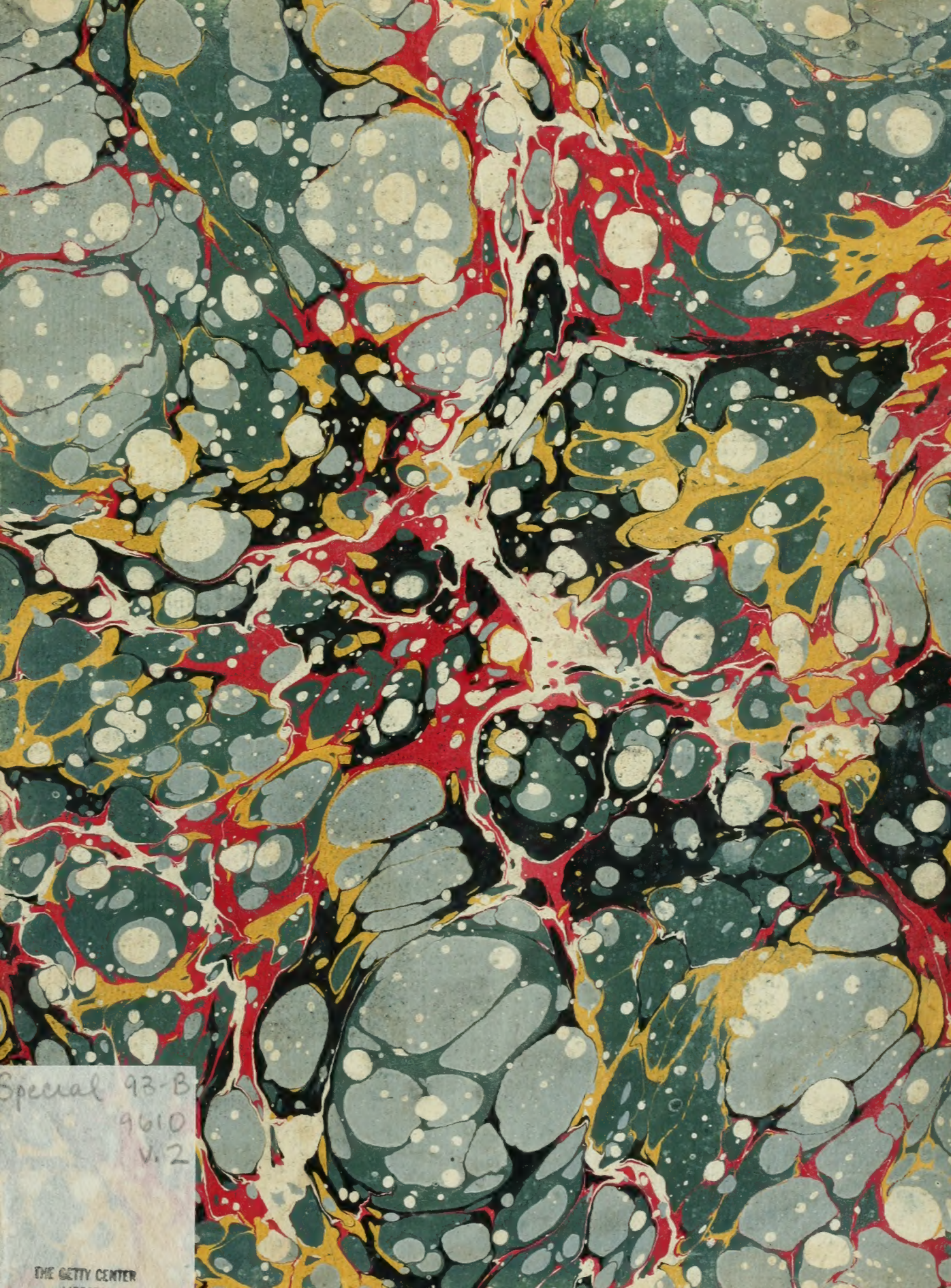
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